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Benj^m West

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XXXII.

1908.

No. 1

BENJAMIN WEST'S FAMILY.

The American President of the Royal Academy of Arts
Not a Quaker.

BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

With letters of West in the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Transcribed by Miss J. C. Wylie, Assistant Librarian in charge of Manuscripts.

So very little is known of the family of Benjamin West, the Pennsylvanian President of the Royal Academy of Arts, London, that every little counts, and mayhap by exploiting that little it will act as the magnet and draw more ample data to itself. John Galt, who was the official biographer of West, was a romance writer and not a historian; consequently he coined many pretty fictions that have taken root and spread by being served up by all subsequent writers, so that now it is almost impossible to lop them off and eradicate them, although mere romances. What seems strange, too, is they appear to have received the sanction of West himself, who, however, was noted for his vanity, which they helped to flatter. Ashmead, in his *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania* (p. 726), says: "His biographer, Galt,

has succeeded in gathering about the narrative of West's life more mythical incidents than any book purporting to be historical published during the nineteenth century."¹

In the instance of the West family the usual traditionary three brothers did come to America. William, Thomas and John West, sons of Thomas and Rachel² (Gilpin) West, emigrated from England to Pennsylvania, soon after its settlement, and located in Chester County. They were birthright members of the Society of Friends, but John, the father of Benjamin, the brother in whom we are interested, came to this country *without a certificate of transfer*, which shows that he was not in good standing with Friends when he left England.

William West married Deborah Coppock and died, in 1720, without issue.

Thomas West married Mary Dean and had eight children, with whom he removed, in 1736, to what is now Wilmington, in the State of Delaware, where he died, in 1743, leaving many descendants.

John West, born in 1690, arrived in Pennsylvania *circa* 1715, leaving a wife in England, who soon after gave birth to a son,—named for his grandfather, Thomas,—and died in childbed. As we have noted, John West was not a Quaker when he settled in Pennsylvania,³ as he is represented to have been by Galt and his followers, and he did not become a member of that sect until late in life. He married, in Chester County, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Pearson who came from England with William Penn. She, too, was a birthright member of the Society of Friends, but for some indiscretions, prejudicial to the well-being of Friends, was "disowned," or read out of meeting, so

¹ Buell's *Paul Jones* will doubtless hold in the present century the unique position that Galt's *West* held in the last century.

² In all printed accounts her name is given as "Ann"; but Mr. Albert Cook Myers, who has made special investigations into the Gilpin family, says this is an error; that her name was *Rachel*.

³ Smith's *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, p. 512.

that "this marriage was not accomplished according to the good order of the Society of Friends"¹ and the children of John and Sarah West, credited to number ten, were therefore *not Quakers*. This is the reason we do not know their names; otherwise they would be upon the records of meeting.

It is both important and interesting to know that *Benjamin West the painter was not a Quaker*, either by birth or by adoption, after all these years and with the many stories that have been told of his struggles with Friends, in and out of meeting, to follow his bent for art. This fact alone shows the multitudinous errors of Galt, as he hangs so much upon West's being a Quaker.

Sarah West, the mother, died in 1756, aged fifty-nine, and it was not until three years later that John West, the father, who had kept, for many years, a public house of entertainment, in Chester County, joined meeting.

We are ignorant of the names of West's brothers and sisters, but he is credited with being the youngest child. We know that he had a brother William, for there are several interesting letters from the former to the latter in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, printed supplemental hereto. In one of July 2, 1780, Benjamin writes: "Our brother at Reading [Thomas] and his family are well.....I mention the death of our Father to have been on the fifth of October 1776." In another, February 14, 1789, he says: "It is with great pleasure I can assure you that our nephew Mr. J. L. Clarkson has every appearance of a deserving sensible young man; and it has afforded me great satisfaction in having had the happiness of seeing him." Unfortunately, a better acquaintance with this young scion changed his uncle's opinion, as on February 13, 1793, he writes to his brother: "John L Clarkson is in London, but I do not see him often." He then speaks of his having come to plunder him "under the mask of relationship." According to the *Memoirs of Matthew Clarkson of Philadelphia*,

¹ Smith's *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, p. 512.

(p. 23), "John Clarkson of the New York branch married a Rachel West." These were doubtless the parents of "John L. Clarkson," which would make his mother "Rachel" a sister of Benjamin West. And in West's letter of February 23, 1772, *infra*, he speaks of his sister Rachel and her unhappy marriage, doubtless the same. Galt (pt. 1, p. 68) also mentions that West was living in Philadelphia, in 1758, with "Mr. Clarkson, his brother-in-law, a gentleman who had been educated at Leyden." The author of the Clarkson memoir states that "a Joseph West married an Elizabeth Hazard who died in Philadelphia July 14, 1758." He then naively says that his object in introducing these West items "is to claim, however remotely, some kindred with the American painter Benjamin West."

William West died December 6, 1808, at the age of eighty-four. He was a noted agriculturist¹ and for five years a member of the legislature of Pennsylvania. He was not received into membership with Friends until 1752, which shows that he was not a Quaker by birth. John Trumbull painted a miniature cabinet portrait of him which the artist took to England in 1794 and presented to Benjamin.² According to Cope and Ashmead,³ William West had four children, Passmore, Sally, Samuel, and Hannah. But in the *McFarland and Stern Families* (p. 167) mention is made of "Joseph West a son of Benjamin's brother William," whose daughter's family lives near Alexandria, Virginia, and owns (1885) West's self miniature painted when he was eighteen, a reproduction of which is there given.⁴

¹ *Vide* Eulogium on William West. By James Mease. February 13, 1810. *Memoirs of Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture*, vol. 2, p. 147.

² Letter from B. West to William West, July 27, 1794, *infra*.

³ *Historic Homes and Institutions of Chester and Delaware Counties, Pennsylvania*, vol. 2, p. 10.

⁴ "It was sold with the effects of the lady to whom he gave it and purchased by Joseph West, a son of Benjamin's brother William, for \$147, and is yet in his daughter's family near Alexandria, Va."

A diligent search for this miniature, extending over many years, has failed to discover its whereabouts, but its history is most interesting. Its earliest appearance in recorded history was when it was exhibited, in 1817, at the Sixth Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and it occupies considerable more space than usual in the printed Catalogue. The entry is as follows :

“87. Miniature of Mr West, painted by himself in the 18th year of his age. This picture, the property of C . . . Esq of Philadelphia, was shown to Mr. West in January 1816. The dialogue between himself and his visitors on the occasion is characteristic of the painter, and of sufficient interest to deserve insertion.

“Mr. C. opened the object of our visit by saying, that some years ago he had waited on Mr. W. with the picture of a great man, an American,¹ and now had the pleasure of showing him the picture of another great man, also an American ; at the same time presenting the miniature. He looked at it earnestly. ‘This is a curiosity ! Where did this picture come from, Sir ?’ I replied from Philadelphia. ‘This is indeed a very great curiosity ! This, Sir, was done for me and by me ! Who does it belong to ?’ I said to myself. ‘You gave it, Sir, to a Miss Steele, who married a Mr. W. and was the mother of my wife.’ ‘Yes, Sir, and well I remember it ; ’tis now sixty years ago ! And there is something more about it that, may be, you don’t know. We were very much in love with one another, Sir, and the old lady, her mother, whose memory I honor, didn’t like my intended profession, and she knew too there was such a place as the Swedes Church where people sometimes got married.’ ‘There,’ again looking earnestly at the picture, ‘this I did and gave her previous to my going to New York, whither I was sent for to paint some portraits. Now this is not a bad picture for one who had never seen a miniature !’ He returned the miniature, particularly requesting that I would have engraved on the back of it that it was painted in 1756, by himself.”

Another account, in manuscript, says that Miss Steele married John Cook, who took the miniature to London and showed it to West, and Cook would stand for “C . . . Esq” in the above extract. It would be interesting if the name of “Mr. W.” could be supplied.

¹ General Washington.

The next appearance of the miniature in history, that I know, is an advertisement that appeared in a London newspaper of August, 1857, which was copied into the *Historical Magazine* for November, 1857 (vol. 1, p. 340).

“MINIATURE OF BENJAMIN WEST P. R. A. FOR SALE.

Painted by himself, in Philadelphia, U. S. in the year 1756, at the age of 18. First miniature ever painted by the great artist and his earliest likeness extant. Framed in an appropriate Walnut frame. Price 150 Guineas. Address C. L. West, care of T. Brettell, 25 Rupert Street, Hay Market; or H. Mogford Esq, Fine Art Gallery, Crystal Palace, where the miniature may be seen.”

“C. L. West” was doubtless Clement L. West, a son of Joseph, whose brother Preston West was, in 1853, in the U. S. Coast Survey, at Washington. This would bring the family of Joseph West “near Alexandria, Va.,” and if they owned the miniature, in 1885, when the *McFarland and Stern Families* was published, the London advertisement could not have met with success. It would be very gratifying if this account of the earliest self portrait of Benjamin West should be the means of discovering it.

Mrs. Rachel Pusey West Leys, of Chester, Pennsylvania, a great-granddaughter of William West, thinks that her great-grandfather had a sister Mary and a brother Samuel; also a brother John who removed to Virginia and had a large family. She always has understood that her ancestor was the eldest and Benjamin the youngest child of their parents.

Mrs. Harriet Morris Livingston, of Pasadena, California, affirms that her grandmother was *Elizabeth Morris, a sister of Benjamin West.*¹ But the voluminous *Morris Family History* by Doctor Moon makes no mention of such a marriage. Smith, in his *History of Delaware County*, says (p. 513): “The only early paintings of Benjamin West that the author has been able to discover are the likenesses of two children, now [1862] in the possession of Mrs. Phoebe Worthington, of

¹ Mrs. Livingston also claimed to be descended from Robert Morris, the Financier of the American Revolution, which she was not.

West Chester. They were the children of John and Elizabeth Morris, the maternal grandparents of Mrs. Worthington. These children were respectively Jane and Robert Morris." These paintings were exhibited in the Pennsylvania building at the Jamestown Exposition, and this Robert Morris may be the ancestor of Mrs. Livingston; but if Elizabeth, wife of John Morris, was a sister of Benjamin West, it surely would be known. We know that West was on familiar terms with the Morris family, as it was Doctor Jonathan Morris who early helped him in his artistic efforts and their friendship lasted until the end.¹

Benjamin West was born near Springfield, Chester (now Delaware) County, Pennsylvania, October 10, 1738. In his twenty-second year he went abroad, arriving in Rome July 10, 1760. There he remained nearly three years, reaching London, June 20, 1763, where his studio was for years the Mecca for all would-be American painters. He was chosen President of the Royal Academy of Arts, London, March 24, 1792, and died March 10, 1820, and on the 29th was interred, with great pomp, in St. Paul's Cathedral. Soon after his arrival in England he visited his half-brother Thomas West, at Reading, who was born after his father left England, so that father and son had never met; but when their father went over to London, the next year, with Elizabeth Shewell to be married to Benjamin West, he went to Reading and lived with Thomas and never returned to America. Their portraits are in West's picture of *The West Family*, made familiar by the stipple engraving by the brothers Facius; and as if to emphasize that they were Friends and he was not, West has represented them wearing their broad brim hats, with straight hair and in the plain garb of the Quaker, while he wears a curled wig and queue, and a loose robe. Further, in not one of the many portraits that West painted of himself has he ever depicted himself wearing his hat or in Friend's habiliments.

¹ PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG. Vol. xviii, p. 221.

It is opportune here to discuss the date of West's marriage. Galt gives it (pt. 2, p. 10) as "2nd of September 1765, in the Church of St. Martin's in the Field." Whether this was a typographical error or an actual blunder, of course cannot be known or does it signify, for however it may be, it has been followed and perpetuated by all subsequent writers and it is wrong by one year. Benjamin West was married to Elizabeth Shewell on September 2nd, 1764. That this date is correct is shown by several incontrovertible authorities. In Matthew Pratt's *Autobiographical Notes*¹ he sets down :

"1764. June the 24th. I took my departure from Philadelphia in company with Miss Betsy Shewell and Mr John West, father to the famous Benjamin West, bound to London, where we arrived in a passage of 28 days. In a few weeks after our arrival I had the pleasure of officiating as a father in the marriage ceremony at St Martin's Church in the Strand, in joining Miss Shewell to Mr Benjr. West as wife. They having been engaged to each other in Phia. three years before our leaving it :—*To the entire satisfaction of all their friends and relatives.*"

These words which I have italicized were plainly introduced by Pratt, when he wrote up his autobiography, to negative the romantic story which has been told and retold until it is threadbare, of Betsy Shewell's escape by a rope ladder, with the aid of Franklin, Bishop White, and Francis Hopkinson, to journey to her marriage with West. What originated the story I do not know but I do know that authentic history is silent on the subject and it can be relegated to the same place as holds the story of the golden-haired boy giving the signal to his grandfather to ring the bell and proclaim liberty throughout the land on July 4th, 1776, and its kind.

The accuracy of the date we have given for West's marriage is confirmed by an obituary notice of Mrs. West in the *Analectic Magazine* for June, 1815, (p. 524), where her birth date is given as November 1st, 1741, and her marriage "the

¹ PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG. Vol. xix, p. 462.



Eliza Hest

2nd of September 1764.”¹ This would seem conclusive, but in case any one should quibble over the value of these two pieces of direct evidence, we have circumstantial evidence as to the year that is unimpeachable. Among the Franklin manuscripts in the American Philosophical Society there are two letters from Doctor Franklin to his wife written from London, on respectively the 9th and 14th of February, 1765, in the first of which he says: “I went to see Mrs West. She was then unwell and I did not see her, and have since been too busy, but shall wait on her again very soon.” And in the second, “I have seen Mrs West. She desired to be remembered to you.” As she was “Mrs. West” in February of 1765, she could not have been married the September following, as Galt has it, and thus is confirmed, beyond peradventure or cavil, the correctness of the year 1764 as set down by Matthew Pratt. I published the correction of this error of date first in my *A Limner of Colonial Days*,² and several times since when opportunity offered, yet, so much easier is it to perpetuate an error than to correct it, that every one, even as late as Isham, in his *History of American Painting* (1905, p. 49), sticks to the wrong date. It may not be without interest to add that I attempted to verify the date of the marriage by the records of St. Martin's church. Galt says, “St. Martin's in the Field.” Pratt says, “St. Martin's in the Strand.” There is no church in London called “St. Martin's in the Strand” and there was not in 1764, but St. Martin's in the Field being in Charing Cross, just at the end of the Strand, the slip is quite pardonable in a stranger. But the records of Saint Martin's in the Field fail, upon examination, to show the marriage of Benjamin West, so that we have to rely upon the other data that we have.

Benjamin and Elizabeth West had two children, Raphael Lamar West, who, when West wrote to Franklin, on April

¹ Mrs. West died December 6th, 1814. But Galt, with his usual inaccuracy, puts it three years later, 1817 (pt. 2, p. 201).

² *Harper's Weekly* of July 4, 1896.

28, 1782,¹ was in his sixteenth year, and Benjamin West, who was in his tenth year. As to the latter, Franklin writing to Mrs. Franklin, August 22, 1772,² says: "Mrs West has another son to whom I am God father. That Family is well. They always desire to be remembered to you." Raphael Lamar West was married September 19, 1798, to Maria Siltso and brought her to this country, whither he came to look after some lands of his father in the Genessee country. They remained here about a year. The only child of this marriage who reached adult age was a daughter, Maria, who December 12, 1829, married Thomas George Margary, and their second child and eldest son, H. W. O. Margary, who was born April 14, 1833, was, in 1898, living at Eustis, Lake County, Florida. In the fall of that year he came to Philadelphia to see me and he was the last lineal descendant of the American President of the Royal Academy. Benjamin West Junior also married and had a son, Benjamin 3d, who followed his grandfather to the grave but did not live to attain his majority or to leave issue.

Galt mentions Benjamin West's "eldest sister Sally" in his story of West's first drawing, when seven years old, of the child in the cradle, but her surname has not come down to us; so that the only children of John and Sarah West, whose names have been preserved, are William, Rachel, and Benjamin, with possibly Sarah, Mary, Samuel, John, Joseph, and Elizabeth.

Benjamin West is one of those unfortunate characters in history whose poise has been shaken, if not entirely lost, when regarded through the perspective of time. This is especially wrong in his case and is due largely to the false plane of the view-point. We must not consider West's work as though he were one of us, painting in our midst to-day; but we must look upon him, and it, in the period and atmosphere and environment when he did paint. At that

¹ Franklin MSS. Amer. Phil. Soc. (vol. xxv, No. 49).

² *Ibid.*

time he was entitled to his preëminence, as easily first among history painters, his work being, as Sir Thomas Lawrence said, "superior to any former production of English art"; and if he seems too highly rated in his own day, he has certainly been too much depreciated in ours. For one achievement alone he is entitled to and should receive the highest consideration both for his conception of it and for his grit in carrying it out. I mean, of course, the revolution he wrought, by the stroke of his brush, in his painting of *The Death of Wolfe*,—the abandonment of classic costume in the treatment of contemporary heroic subjects. This may seem like a small matter, but it required a strong and determined character to carry it out. When his project was whispered abroad he received almost a royal command to desist, and when the work was completed the King refused to accept it, but it was quickly purchased by Lord Grosvenor, whose descendant now owns it. Its exhibition won every one over to West's view and George III, acknowledging his mistake, at once ordered a replica, which now hangs in Hampton Court Palace, London.

It may not be known that West contemplated painting a series of works illustrating events in American history connected with the Revolutionary War. The earnestness of his intention is shown by the following important letter to his early pupil, Peale, dated August 4, 1783:

"I wrote you by Mr Vaughan my intention of composing a set of pictures containing the great events which have affected the revolution of America; for the better enabling me to do this, I desired you to send what ever you thought would give me the most exact knowledge of the costume of the American armys, portraits in small, either painting or drawing, of the conspicuous characters necessary to be introduced into such a work. I now embrace by my friend Capt. Falconer the opportunity to make the same request and that you would on his return to this country send me (on consulting some able friend) what you might have in readiness with his plan for such an undertaking. I mean the arrangement of the subject most expressive and most painted as for instance—The cause of the quarel; the commencement of it; the carrying it on; the Battles; alliences etc. to form one work to be given in

ellegant engravings call'd *The American Revolution*. This work I mean to do, at my own expense and to employ the first engravers in Europe to carry them into execution not having the least doubt as the subject has engaged all the powers of Europe, all will be interested in seeing the event so portraided. I have made Capt Falconer a confident in such things who will have a pleasure in conphering with you."

All the progress that we know he made in this scheme was to sketch in the *Signing of the Preliminary Treaty of Peace*, which unfinished canvas is owned by Lord Belper of Kingston, Derby, England, and to depict the *Reception of the American Loyalists by Great Britain in 1783*, which was engraved in outline by Henry Moses,¹ but the most persistent and earnest seeking has failed to locate the original or even a copy of the print. The latter is not in the British Museum or in the Library of Congress or in the Public Library of New York, three of the most extensive collections of historical prints in the world.

I hope these memoranda, rich in inquiries, will encourage others who may have data, no matter how slight, to contribute their mite to this interesting subject, for surely who were of Benjamin West's family, the non-quaker President of the Royal Academy, is of more than the ordinary genealogical interest.

The portraits of Mr. and Mrs. West accompanying this article are of too much importance to be allowed to pass unnoted. They were painted by Matthew Pratt, of Philadelphia, who accompanied Miss Shewell to London to become the wife of West, and were painted in that city shortly after the marriage. They were unknown until discovered by the writer in the possession of a great-granddaughter of the painter, Mrs. Rosalie V. Tiers Jackson, when he was seeking portraits for the first exhibition of historical portraits ever held in this country, that he arranged at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1887-88. The two

¹ Sabine's *American Loyalists*, 1847, p. 527; Wilson's *Memorial History of New York*, vol. ii, p. 574.

portraits were exhibited in that collection and afterward, at the earnest solicitation of the writer, were presented to the Academy by Mrs. Jackson.

LETTERS FROM BENJAMIN WEST.¹

(To Peter Thomson of Philadelphia.)

LONDON, PANTON SQUARE

Feb^r 23rd 1772

DEAR COUSIN²

Your kind letter I have received with the enclos^d from my Brother W^m to Father, which I immediately sent him and have since heard from him, he is in good health considering his advanc'd age, aunt is in health also.—My Dear Betsey and her little Boy are in health. She promises to present me with an other little Increase to my Family in a few months,—I should have wrote you this by Capⁿ Falconer but his sudding departure from London prevented me the pleasure. I hope you will not take my omission in writeing to any slight, but what it realy is, and which is the truth that I dont like writeing—its as defcult to me as painting would be to you—every man in his way, I could as soon paint you a description of things on this side the water as write—I belive I should have made a Figure in South America in the time of that conquest when we find the natives of that country communicated with each other by Painting the Images of their amaginations and not in writeing characters to discribe them—now as writeing is your profession³ it will make me happy in now and then receiving a specimen of your great abilities in that way and I promis you for the feuture I will endeavour to answer them aither in Painting or Scrawling.—

¹ Letters of West have appeared in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, vols. xiii and xviii.

² To be West's own cousin Thomson's mother would have had to be a West or a Pearson, which I have been unable to verify.

³ Peter Thomson, conveyancer, died in Philadelphia of yellow fever in August, 1793.

Betsey desiers to be kindly remembered to you and Cousin Hanna—to whome please to present my love—I am sorry to hear from you of your distress in regard to your daughters marrage—and permit me to thank you for your attention to my sister Rachel in her unhappy marrage, her life is a continuation of misfortune and unhapiness seems probable to over spread the remainder of her days, I am afraid she may have been imprudent but the more virtue in those that aid her or any one in those circumstances.—

I beg you to remember me to Brother W^m and his family, I should have wrote him but have nothing perticular at preasant to communicate to him—his letter gave me great pleasure concerning his Farme. I should have Infinite pleasure in seeing you all on that side of the water—Till then I can do no more while at this distance than show how much I am

Your affectionate Cousin

BENJ^N WEST

[Addressed] To PETER THOMSON
 per favor of } of
 Mr. Clifford } Philadelphia

(To William West.)¹

July 12, 1775

DEAR BROTHER

I could not neglect so favorable an Opertunity as this by Cap^t Falconer to send you the print of W^m Penn's Treaty with the Indians when he founded the Province of Pennsylvania—I have taken the liberty to introduce the likeness of our Father—and Brother of Reading, into the picture in the group of Friends that accompeny W^m Penn, that is the likeness of our Brother that stands imediately behind Penn, resting on his cane—I need not point out the figure of our Father, I believe you will find some likeness of him in the

¹ In the possession of the City of Philadelphia, accompanying West's painting of Penn's Treaty in the State House.

print, tho [torn] have all lost something of that when compared with the Original picture—I have the pleasure to acquaint you our Father is in as perfect health as I ever remember to have seen him, he has been in London with me on a visit for this month, and left me but yesterday on his return to Oxfordshire—all our relations hear are well—my youngest Boy who is turned of three years old is just recovered from anocolation—who has had it in a fine manner, it is a happy circumstance, and has removed a load of anxiety from me and his Mamma—

My Father acquainted me when in town—that your Mother-in-Law's sister was dead and that she was left her Heir—that he believed no one had wrote to her concerning it—if so I think some Body should see into the situation of things as I understand there is something of consequence left—if your Mother should not have been informed, please to communicate the subject of this to her—and if I can be of any use in aiding her in the Buisness on this Side the water she may command me.

My Betsey desires her love may be given with mine to you and sister and Family—

I am Dear Brother
Your Affectionate
BENJ^N WEST

When you for the fewture write to me, direct to Newman Street, Oxford Street.

[Addressed] To WILLIAM WEST—Upper Darby
to the care of Joseph Shewell—
Philadelphia.

(To William West.)

No 14, NEWMAN STREET, OXFORD STREET LONDON
July 2nd 1780

DEAR BROTHER,

I could not omit so favorable an opertunity by my Friend Mr Lloyd who is returning to his native Country, to just acquaint you I am well with all my family. I have wrote

you several letters in the course of the last three years, but weather you have received one of them is unceartan knowing the many hands they are to pass through before they can reach yous. I am anxiety to know how you have been during the great commosions of war in our native land, and what is become of all my relations. I think the time at no great distance when tranquility will take place; and mankind better understand each other. We have had great commosions in this City,¹ at present they are over—but with to loss of many hundred lives, as the Military ware obliged to act; the rioters in their fury destroyed the houses of Magistrates, Roman Catholic Chaples, Prisons, privit dwelling houses &c. &c. to the amount of many hundred thousand pounds value, there still remains a Tragical sean to be preformed,—which is, the bringing to justice the leaders of these horrid depredations. Judges are siting every day and many of the Rioters condemed and many more to be tryed, and I hope time will discover what all this means and justice fall on its movers

Our Brother at Reading and his family are well, as also our Aunt in the country, in all my former letters I mention the death of our Father to have been on the fifth of Oct^r 1776. I should be made happy, if you could send by some convenient opertunity those writings or coppys of them, our Father deposited in the hands of William Fell by Spring Field meeting house Chester County—my love to all Relations and Friends—and believe me to be

Dear Brother

with great affection

BENJ^N WEST.

[Note by Jno. F. Watson.—This original letter of Benj. West was given to John F. Watson in March, 1852, by Jesse J. Maris of Chester, Pa. (Pres't of the Delaware Co. Bank), who is a descendant of Benj.

¹ Lord George Gordon riots, June 8, 1780.

West's.¹ This letter was addressed to W^m West of Upper Darby, a celebrated agriculturist and a brother of Benj. At the same time Mr. Maris showed me a letter of Benj. West to the same brother William, dated London July 12, 1775, saying he then sends him an engraved print of W^m. Penn's treaty,—“wherein I have taken the liberty to introduce the likeness of our Father and brother Thomas of Reading.” [England?] “That is the likeness of our brother which stands immediately behind Penn, resting on his cane. I need not point out the picture of our Father, as I believe you will find it in the print from memory.”

Mr. Maris explained it to me, as being the person who stands a little back, with side face visible, & showing only a part of his person. At the same time Mr. Maris told me, that in the picture of Christ healing the sick, by West, in the Penn^a Hospital, the paralytic woman is a likeness done from the face of Benjⁿ West's wife—She is, if the woman in the foreground, a very good resemblance of the late Deborah Logan—noticed by me at first seeing that distinguished painting.

J. F. W.]

(To Monsieur Pierre, Peintre du Roy a Paris.)

A LONDRES le 7^e de dec^{bre} 1781

MONSIEUR

Quoique Je n'ay pas lhonneur d'etre connu personnelment de vous, J'ose me flatter que mon nom et character ne vous est pas inconnu, et me confiant a la reputation generale de vos genereux sentiments, Je prens la liberte de vous recom-mander le S^r Joseph Wri^gth² [sic] un Jeune Americain de ma ville de Philadelphie qui a Envie d'aller etudier a Paris, et ensuite a Rome, vous m'obligeres sensiblement de lui rendre les petits Services quil vous fera possible dans L'Academie, que Je compteray comme pour moy meme. Ce Jeune homme a etudie quelquetons a notre Academie, et a remporté un prix, Sa mere est protegée par la Duchesse

¹ Mr. Maris was not a descendant of Benjamin West. His wife was Mary West, a grand niece of Benjamin West, and this note is a fair sample of Mr. Watson's general inaccuracy of statement in his well-known *Annals of Philadelphia*.

² Son of Patience Wright, the modeller. He painted the portrait of Washington in the Hopkinson Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society. Joseph Wright died of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, November, 1793.

de Chartres, J'espère que votre bon Cour excusera cette liberté, et me rendra la Justice de croire que Je Serai charmé de vous rendre le réciproque, et trouver l'occasion de vous prouver que J'ay L'honneur d'être avec la plus parfaite estime

Monsieur

Votre très humble et tres
obeissant Serviteur
BENJ^N WEST

(To William West.)¹

LONDON, July 25th, 1787.

DEAR BROTHER

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that your Draft on me for one hundred Pounds arrived safe—and is answered by payment agreeable to your advice. The Timber on the estate at Banghurst my Brother Thos. and self have sold and I have the satisfaction to tell you, we have got the better of all clamants, who when they heard the Timber was to be sold, and that at a good price put in their clamors in four different parties; but fortunate for us, Our friend John Butler of Shillingford in Oxfordshire being alive and in the possession of papers which proved your right—he is an honest man, and had he been otherway, neither you or any of your wifes relations would ever possessed one shilling of that property, it having layed so many years neglected. When debts on the estate, expense of Laws, and other matters are settled I judge you will then be in the receipt of about £500 Sterling. This part of the estate I am in hopes will be completely settled by Christmas. The Land we have not disposed of tho several people have applyed, but it is the advice of our friends, not to sell that, till the ground is entirely cleared of the Timber, as they are shure it will then rise in its value, this advise we have taken wishing to act for you in the best manner possible.

¹ In possession of Mr. Alfred E. Maris, Philadelphia.

The property in the hands of Sarah Rakestraw, I am afraid will not prove so productive as that at Banghurst, there appears but little disposition in that quarter to come to a just settlement, and the accompt of money which I understand from some friends is considerable lays entirely in Sarah's hands. All we have therefor to go by is her honor and honesty and from a state of the property she has given me, I have little opinion of either—. I have mentioned in several of my letters to you, that the power of Attorney you sent me and our Brother Thos. is not authority for us to settle that business with her—; I hope therefore you will loose no time in transmitting us such a power, for should John Butler die befor that is terminated I am afraid you will loose the whole of that property. I mention him as I believe there is no other person living that has a knowledge of that business but himself and he as well as others are of opinion, that it must be a business settled by Friends and not by law —The power of Attorney must be to settle with Sarah Rakestraw, of High Wickham in the County of Buckinghamshire —were as the power of Attorney we are now in possession of, only Authorises us to settle that business at Banghurst. —I send out to Capt. Falconer by the ship Harmony Capt. Willitt a fresh power of Attorney in which I have taken the liberty to insert your name with his, to act separately or jointly, in case of eithers demise against Stephen Shewell respecting all property laying in his hands now and to come, as may happen. What money may be received from Stephen Shewell take into your hands and transmit me an account of the same by the very first oppertunity as it may ballance that property of yours which will shortly come into my hands, and by this mode put you in possession of money sooner than any other method of convaying it possible can. I hope Stephen Shewell will act with dispatch and honor in terminating the accompt between him and his Sister, respecting that property she left in her Mothers hands, which from motives of Delicasey I never drew. This conduct of mine united to the assistance I have given his Daughter and

Grandchildren in this Country (which amounts to much more than the original property left in his hands) I was in hopes would have been felt by him as a mark of esteem of mine that connection which on my part has been ever honorable and friendly, and I must say, merits other returns than those which I have received.

I hope this will find you and your family in health, as through marcey mine are. My love to your Wife and all friends.—

I am

Dear Brother

Your Affectionately etc.

BENJ. WEST.

Mrs. West with my sons desires to be Affectionately remembered to you all.

(To William West.)

LONDON Feby 14th '89

DEAR BROTHER

The three drafts on me through the Hand of *John Field* for London dated Philadelphia Nov^r 7th—88 came safe to hand, and are paid. The Business with Sarah Rakstraw of High Wyckham is not settled, there being some demur respecting the power of Attorney you transmited my Brother and me that not being sufficient to make the Purchaser title good, who may purchase the lands both at Shoplake and Banghurst, by reason of the Power lacking one of the names of the Lagettees in America—our Attorney at Reading, (Mr. Matthias Deane) wrote me ten days past, that he should be soon in London when he would take the advice of Council on the velidity of the power.

I shall be greatly obliged to you, the first oppertunity that offers to this place, you will send me the statement of

the moneys you have received of Mr. Stephen Shewell ¹—and the Bills you have at verious times drawn on me in London that I may Ballance the present accompt as it stands between us before you draw any more Bills on me—for fear your business with Sarah Rakstraw and &c may not be adjusted agreeable to our expectations. It is with great pleasure I can assure you that our Nephew M^r J. L. Clarkson has every appearance of a desarving sensible young man; and it has afforded me great satisfaction in having had the happyness of seeing him—tho his great purpose of coming has been at an unfortunate moment, it not being so much in my power to render him sarvices in the money way, there being a total stop to the Prive Purse by reason of the Kings Illness and as that was my great source of supply I am under the necessity of being sircumspect with my ready Cash till I know how things will be situated at the close of the present momentious Parlimentery Business respecting the Regency—for, should the Kings demise take place or a Regency be establish, it will lay me under the necessity of contracting my present situation and depend on my own resources—If therefore at a future Period I should find myself situated to render him assensual service, I shall do it with the greatest pleasure. Our brother Tho^s at Reading during the late severe frost was nearly at the point of Death, nor do I think he will recover—which will be a great loss to his two Daughters, who were his House keepers since his Wife's death; they with two grand children of seven and eight years old, will be destitute of that support they have been accustome to recive from their father; and situated as I am in this country must of course render them a support addequate to their being my Relations.

Mrs. West and sons are well—she is with her eldest at my house in Windsor, where we have been all the Winter—my youngest son is in Switzerland, I had a letter from him two days past, he was well on the 25th of last month. I

¹ Brother of Mrs. West.

hope this will find you and your family in health, to whome please to make my love—as likewise to all relations—and be assured

I am

Dear Brother

with great friendship

Yours &c &c

BENJ^N WEST

P. S. I have ordered M^r Clarkson to Draw a Bill on me in London when he returns to Philadelphia, for fifty pounds starling, this I think proper to inform you of, that it may give him credit with some house corresponding with London.

(To William West.)

LONDON Feb^r 13th 1793

DEAR BROTHER

Our friend Mr. Gilpin¹ returning to Philadelphia, I could not omit so favorable an oppertunity as that which offers by him, to send you these few lines. I have to inform you that on christmas day last, our Brother Thomas West died—he has left two daughters unmarried—the eldest in bad health—and not capable of helping herself, I have ordered her an annual allowance; the other, a woman of health and good capacity, and I hope with some small assistance, she will be able to go through to world with comfort. Mrs. West with my two sons are in health, and desires to be kindly remembred to you and your family, to whom please to give my love.

Inclosed I send you Sarah Rakestraws letter written to me respecting the land at Shiplake near Reading, the proposuals in the letter are such, that I cannot undertake to deside on them—therefore refer it to you for the desetion; but in my judgement, I should prefer that estate, as well as the other at Banghurst in Hampshire to be sold, as the

¹ Joshua Gilpin.

money arising from the sale of them may be put to use, when they two estates laying as at present, for any time, will be an encumberence to you in case of my demise, as you will then be deprived of having an executor in this country to manage the business; but whatever may be your determination I shall execute it to the best of my judgement.

I beg to be remembred to all relations and every enquiring friend and be assured I am with great love and regard

Your affectionate Brother

BENJ^N WEST

P. S. John L. Clarkson is in London, but I do not see him often, he says he is disposing of Lands which lie in Virginia; I should have been obliged to you and my other friends had you when Clarkson first came to this country for the avowed principles to plunder me under the mask of relationship, that you had communicated to me that character of him you must then have known, and which has been sinc transmitted to me—but not till the breach of honor and honasty was made by him, on my benevolence

[Addressed] Mr. W^m WEST
in Upper Darby Chester County
Pensylvania

by favor
of Mr. Gilpin.

(To William West.)¹

LONDON, July 27th, 1794.

DEAR BROTHER

Dr. Edwards returning to his native land America, I embrace the oppertunity which by him offers to send you this letter. I have found in him many points of information respecting the prosperity of your State (Pennsylvania) in perticular concerning the purchasing of lands; on this sub-

¹ In Roberts Collection, Haverford College Library, Pennsylvania.

ject I have given him a commission, and on this he will have conversation with you. The letter I have placed in his hands conveying wishes, which letter I recommend him to shew you—when a mutual friendship in the negotiation in my favour will be highly esteemed.

Dr. Edwards¹ is a gentleman much engaged in the study of Agraculture; and the high charactor you have in that pursute makes him desirious of seeing you and your Farme. It is his intention to pay you a visit—when he will hand you this letter.

Mr. Trumbull is arrived in London with Mr. Jay, he has presented me with a small portrait of yourself; time has brought you to a great resemblance of our Father—I am very happy with the present. Mr. Trumbull informed me he made you a visit at upper Darby, and was much pleased with the Entertainment you gave him. The like reception to my friend Dr. Edwards will be very pleasing to me, as well as affording him great delight in viewing your place.

Mrs. West and my sons are well, they joyne me in kind affections to you and family.

Pray remember me to all friends—and

I am with the greatest affection

Dear Brother—Yours &c

BENJ^N WEST

(To William West.)²

LONDON, NEWMAN STREET, Sept. 18th, 1796.

DEAR BROTHER

By the return of Dr. Edwards to Philadelphia, I embrace the oppertunity to send you this letter, and with it some of the county reports, which have been placed in my hands by Sir John Sinclair (the President of the Board of Agraculture) to be transmited to you by the first conveyence. Sir John speaks in high terms of your letter on the property of

¹ Dr. Enoch Edwards, son of Evans Edwards, and brother of Major Evans Edwards, adjutant general to Greene in his southern campaign. West painted his portrait in 1795.

² In possession of Alfred E. Maris, Philadelphia.

Gypsam which he received through the conveyance of General Washington; and he has heard much of the high state of cultivation your Farm is in; Dr. Edwards and Mr. Trumbull speak of it with delight, and indeed so do all that have seen it.

Your several letters I have received, and have now to inform you, that since the Death of our Brother of Reading, the Lawer in whose hands he and myself placed the Business you submitted to our care—became a Bankrupt, and I have been under difficulties to get the Deeds and other wrighting respecting the Property at Banghurst, and Sheep-lake into my hands again. I have the pleasure to inform you that I have succeeded and shall place the business in the hands of a proper person to have that business concluded with Mrs. Rakestraw of Wickham, and yourself, as soon as possible.

The lands which Dr. Edwards and yourself have procured me in Pensylvania through the friendship of Mr. Drinker etc. I highly approve of; I have had much conversation with the Dr. on the subject, and the more I know of such purchases the better I am satisfied. I have written to Mr. Drinker on the business by this oppertunity and have mentioned my satisfaction; and at the same time say, that what ever may be his or your determination respecting those Lands in future, I leve it to your better judgement, and to submit to your decision in what will be to the advantage of me, or my family.

When you see Dr. Morris, remember me kindly to him, and thank him for the friendly letter he sent me by Mr. Savery; that I was happy to hear, that he was alive, and of the prosperity of himself and family.

Your letter by Mr. Johnson he delivered in person, I found him a pleasing young man. I waited on Mr. Savery at his lodgings—he did not call on me, I found him a conversable man and of much information, he has gone for Hamberge, and with him George Dilwine; they intend to pass over much of the continent of Europe before they return.

Mrs. West and my sons are all well, they desire to be affectionately remembered to you and your family.

I beg to be in like manner remembered to them.

And I am with great affection—Dear Brother

Your much obliged—

BENJ. WEST.

(To Robert Barclay.)

LONDON NEWMAN STREET Sep' 5th 1810,

DEAR SIR

You will have the goodness to make Mr Hamilton of Woodlands near Philadelphia when you write him next, acquainted with the following, viz. That I have received his letter of instructions for finishing the picture which contains the Portraits of himself and Niece whole lengths That I have a pride in rendering the picture as a finished work of art to the utmost of my abilities—and I am therefore re-painting it all but the Faces—that it may possess the accumulated practice which twenty years study has added to the period since the picture was first undertaken; that it may honour—as far as my humble abilities will permit the memmory of Hamilton, that of my native country—and myself as the painter of it. For the additional painting and enrichments which I am making to the picture I shall not increse the charge for it; but shall charge the same I had for whole length Portraits when the picture was began—which was sixty guineas a figure whole lengths.¹

When the picture is finished and ready to be sent to America I will then give into your hands the amount of the whole expence—which are for the picture—the case—and the duties in passing the custom in London. I shall send the picture at the same time the Historical picture

¹ This painting of William Hamilton and his niece, Mrs. Anna Hamilton Lyle, hangs in the hall of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and was reproduced in Vol. xxix (July, 1905,) of this magazine.

goes to Philadelphia, which I am painting for the Pennsylvania Hospital—which will be not before next Spring.

I have the honour to be

My Dear Sir

[Addressed]

ROBT BARCLAY Esq^r

Your much obliged

BENJ^N WEST.

Berry Hill near Dorking

Sept. 5}

Surrey.

(To J. Taylor.)¹

NEWMAN STREET Feb^y 12th 1811

MY DEAR SIR

I have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your friendly letter, in which was inclosed this evening Paper the sun. In that Paper I observe you have spoke with much friendly warmth, and observations on the several productions of art now on Exhibition in the Gallery of the British Institution in Pall Mall. My sentiments are in unison with those of yours on the subject of the advance which my children of the Pencil have made this year in their several departments of painting; but how can their venerable Father in art be able to express his grateful feelings to you, for the hansom way in which you have made known to the Public, the picture he is painting for the Pennsylvania Hospital in the city of Philadelphia. Such commendations are to artists of sensibility—Like the Nightingals sweet lays, when given by those deserving prais.

With great respect, as well as that

I am, My Dear Sir

Yours with sincerity

BENJ^N WEST

P. S. Mrs. West sends her respects
to you and we shall be pleased to see
you any evening to Tea at 7 oclock }

¹ John Taylor was the grandson of an itinerant oculist of the same name known as "The Chevalier," and himself became oculist to George III. He was editor of the *Morning Post*, *The True Briton*, and *The Sun*, and author of "Monsieur Tonson."

(To Dr. Taylor, Sec'y to the Society of Arts.)

NEWMAN STREET Feb^y 23rd 1814

SIR

In Mr. Busbys letter to me on the 17th Ins^t he says—"that the society of arts having last night, come to a resolution to improve the upper part of their great room, according to the Plan which I had the honour to submit to you a few days since—and which received your approbation."—This word approbation may carry the minds of gentlemen to a greater extent than what was my meaning. I therefore hold it a duty I owe to the confidence with which I have been honoured by the Society, in adopting my advice respecting the lighting, cleaning, and adapting the colour of the ground most advantageous to the Painting by Barry in their great room of the Society.

My complacency to Mr. Busbys design, alluded to, for bringing more light from the centre of the ceiling on the Pictures—was—that he had by the square aperture gained two or three more feet of light over the surface of the Pictures, than that which the present round aperture admitted, which is creditable to Mr. Busbys professional talents. But the Plan of lighting those Pictures from the vertical light in the centre, whether it is round or square matters not, as the principle is mathematically wrong—and what is so, cannot be made right: on this principle we must not forget—that the greater body of light which the Pictures receive on their surfaces—the more powerful are the angles of incidence, as well as the angles of reflection—and oil Paintings having a varnished surface—the angle of reflection from the vertical light falls into the spectators eye without his being able to see the Pictures thus lighted—but in parts. It is therefore my decided Opinion—that all gallery of Pictures should be so constructed in lighting them—that the reflected rays of light from their shining surface, should fall at the feet of the beholder, and not in his face. This mode of lighting Pictures I explained to several gentlemen in the great room

of the Society some weeks past. But as my Plan for lighting to advantage those Paintings by Barry—cannot be adopted without rebuilding the roof over them—the gentlemen will best judge what is proper to be done on the present occasion.

With great respect,

I am Sir

Yours with sincerity

BENJ^N WEST.

P. S. The gout demands my staying at home or I should have waited on you.

(To Joseph Wharton.)

LONDON NEWMAN STREET March 17th 1814—

DEAR SIR

When I consider the place in the Pennsylvania Hospital in which my Picture of our Saviour in the Temple healing the Lame and Blind is to be placed, on its arrival there, that place may answer the purpose of a temporary deposit. I therefore by the return of Mr. Emlen to Philadelphia, take the liberty to sejest to the gentlemen of the Hospital, and the city—that could a place within the precincts of the Hospital be found to erect a room on, as the place of a final deposit for the Picture, it would *Dignify the Present*, as well as the Hospital.

A place thus created with a proper light for the Picture to be seen in, would not only be seen with more pleasure and conveniency than that of its being placed in any room of the Hospital as a furniture picture; and it would also relieve the apartments of the Hospital from the press of people daily crowding to see the picture. I have therefore taken the liberty to accompany this letter, with the geometrical Plan of a room, every way appropriate for seeing the Picture—as well as its safety :—was such a room to be erected for accomodating the Spectators, it would be the means in a few months to indemnify the expence of its

erection, and as a Fund from which, an encreasing revenue would arrise to the Hospital—as the inhabitance of the city, and the peopulation of America increased; this is worthy of being taken into consideration.

Having now accomplished my great Picture of our Saviour brought from the Judgement Hall by Pilate to Caiaphas the High Priest, the Elders—Scribes—and Jewish people, I shall next finish my Picture for the Hospital—that it may be ready for going to Philadelphia by the first convayence which offers for that city. But before that can take place—we must have Pece on the earth—the seas—and good will towards men; this is the doctrine of Him, which my Pictur for the Hospital is Typical.

By Mr. Emlen I send you a Print—the likeness of one who holds himself much indebted for your many friendly letters—as well as that he is Dear Sir—

Yours with sincerity

BENJ^N WEST

P. S. By the care of Mr. Paxson or Mr. Emlen, you will receive a Print of my Portrait painted by M^r Lawrence

(To Henry Fauntleroy.)¹

NEWMAN STREET Decem^r 28th 1816

MY DEAR SIR

In the letter I had the honour to write you a few days past, I mentioned that indisposition had confined me to my Bed and Room several days, was the cause of my not waiting on you during that time; and in that letter I requested you would favour me by calling any day in this week for the purpose of arranging the account between us up to the close of the year. In the letter you favoured me with yesterday you mentioned seeing me on Monday next—I shall esteem your visit on that day a favour at any hour after 12

¹ Famous London banker and forger who was executed in 1824.

oclock. You likewise mention those points which made me solicitous when I requested you would favour me with a call? It was for us to arrange those Periods which would best sute the Liquidating those Demands your House have on me, which I was most anxious to be adjusted, both honourable and safe to all concerned.

And it is with sincere respect, I have the honour to be

My Dear Sir

Your much obliged

BENJ^N WEST

(To Mrs. Sarah Robeson.)¹

LONDON—No. 14 NEWMAN STREET, OXFORD STREET,

August 5th 1817

MY DEAR MADAM

Your letter to me bearing date on the 8th of May last I received, communicating to me the demise of your highly respected, and honourd Parent: this information became a second affliction to the feelings of one who had a great attachment to him—knowing as I did his great attachment, and his sincere friendship. The first information of his death I allude to—was communicated to me by Mr. Sargent then in London; by a correspondent of his in Philadelphia not many days after the demise took place of that much lamented and sincere friend; his last letter which I was honoured with, was that by the hands of Mr. Sargent, as his intruduction to me? Which letter I shall ever hold with a most sacred regard, and with profound respect to his Memory.

By the same convayence which this letter goes to you, in Philadelphia by the ship Electra Capⁿ Williams; I send the Picture of our Saviour receiving the sick, and Blind in the

¹ Daughter of Joseph Wharton, who died December 25, 1816. Mrs. Robeson died August 27, 1847, aged 75.

Temple to Heal them, for the Pennsylvania Hospital;¹ what a real joy would this occurrence have afforded your venerable Father; it being a work in one of the branches of the Fine Arts in which he took so lively an interest; and for which I have in my Paper of Instructions to the President and Managers of the Hospital Registered his name, Nathaneal Falcknors with my own, and that of Mrs. Wests. All mutual friends and natives of Pennsylvania. These Names I always held in mind should be transmitted to subsequent ages with that Picture, for the lively interest they had for its being placed in the Pennsylvania Hospital.

It is my Dear Madam, the records given, by the Pen—the Pencil—and the Chisel, that transmits the civilized periods of men to distant ages, as having been civilized;—the fourth means have never been discovered. And as I hold one of these means professionally, I have ever devoted it to that purpose, as much as my humble abilities would permit me to do.

With this letter I enclose a Medal, of one in copper your Father did me the honour to accept—and the present one is finished in a Tasteful Stile most fit for a Lady—and which I request you will honour me by giving it a place in your possession as a Token of that great respect for the Daughter of my friend Joseph Wharton, which this Medal will stand as a lasting Pledge amongst his Relatives, for my sincerity.

And be assured My Dear Madam, that I am most truly

Your greatly obliged

BENJAMIN WEST

[Addressed] To SARAH ROBISON

The Daughter of the late Joseph Wharton in
Philadelphia

By the ship Electra
Capⁿ Williams—and to
the care of Samuel Coates
President of the Pennsylvania Hospital—

¹ The picture was received by the Pennsylvania Hospital Oct. 17, 1817, and from its exhibition to the close in 1843 yielded \$25,000 at a cost of about \$10,000, so that the Hospital made a profit of \$15,000 from West's gift.

(To the Lords of the Treasury.)

NEWMAN STREET August the 11th 1817—

MY LORDS

I avail myself of this opportunity to request the Lords commissioners of His Majestys Treasury, will accept my warmest acknowledgements for their prompt compliance in granting me the courtesy I asked; for my Picture in its case to pass Duty Free (by their seal) on Board the ship Electra then in the London Dock, and bound for the City of Philadelphia: to which place I was sending that Picture as a gratuitous offering to the Pennsylvania Hospital? And the Picture was our Saviour in the Temple receiveing the lame, and Blind to heal them.

And I have the honour to inform your Lordships with thanks, that your seal was honoured by the Dock officers, and placed on board the ship Free of Duty. With profound respect I have the honour to be, My Lords

Your Lordships greatly obliged
and obedient ser^t

BENJAMIN WEST.

P. S. With this letter I have the honour to lay before your Lordship three Papers containing the account of various articles belonging to artis (British subjects) which have been examined by two Inspectors of the Royal Academy, and are found to come under the priveladge of passing Duty Free: And your Lordships commands for that purpose will greatly oblige,

DIARY OF CLEMENT HUMPHREYS, OF
PHILADELPHIA.

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS LETITIA A. HUMPHREYS.

[John Marshall, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Elbridge Gerry were appointed in June of 1797 envoys to France. They arrived at Paris in October, and were shortly after approached by secret agents (X. Y. Z.) of Talleyrand with a demand for money—£50,000 for private account and a loan to the government. These suggestions were repelled with indignation, and a paper prepared by Mr. Marshall was sent to the minister, which set forth with great precision and force of argument the views and requirements of the United States, and their earnest desire for maintaining friendly relations with France. But it availed nothing, and Pinckney and Marshall, who were Federalists, were ordered to leave the country, while Gerry, as a Republican, was allowed to remain. The news of these events was received in America with the deepest indignation. Clement Humphreys was sent by Timothy Pickering, Secretary of State, as bearer of dispatches to Mr. Gerry, and it was while on this service that the following diary was kept.]

Friday, March 30, 1798.—Waited on T. Pickering Esq. Sect^r of State and rec^d my orders together with my dispatches, at about 2 P. M., went on board the United States Brigg Sophia. Capⁿ Henry Geddes, and proceeded on our Voyage, at night off. Wilmington.

Saturday, March 31.—Went on shore at Wilmington with Mr Joseph Dugan, and proceeded up the creek. to Newport, dined with Capⁿ Geddes, at 4 P. M. Set off for Wilmington & in the evening set off and arrived at New Castle, at which place we lodged.

Sunday, April 1.—Sent our Stock on board; in the afternoon went on board in comp^r with Cap^t Geddes & Mr Dugan, and the vessel proceeded down the river at about 8 a. m. Came to anchor at Reedy Island wind ahead.

Monday, April 2.—All these Twenty four hours blowing a very heavy gale from the N E. accompanied with rain &c.

Tuesday, April 3.—All these twenty four hours Blowing very heavy from the N. E. with a considerable deal of rain.

Wednesday, April 4.—Blowing very heavy from the N. E. raining very hard.

Thursday, April 5.—The gale still continues from the N. E.

Friday, April 6.—At about 5 O'clock weighed anchor and proceed down the Bay; at 3 P. M. the Pilot left us. Wind about N. E. and moderate; in the evening it blowed fresh. Proceeding on our passage with head winds. untill

Friday, April 13.—Fresh breezes in the morning, accompanied with much rain. at about 3 o'clock P. M., a severe flash of Lightning struck our Main Mast, about 4 feet above the deck, and started a Plank, from thence it proceeded along a Beam, and passed through the Brig side, starting at the same time the plank, also broke a small piece of moulding off. A very heavy sea running at the same time.

N. B. The Lightning also set fire to our Main Top Gallant Sail, which was prevented from spreading on account of the sail being very wet. Proceeding on our passage

Sunday, May 6.—Saw several sail at about 10 P. M. discovered a convoy ahead, at half past 3 was brought too by a British forty-gun ship, the Camel, Cap^t Bell, who desired us not to go ahead of him. At 7 a boat from the Camel came on board and took out Cap^t Geddes and detained him all night. A Lieutenant, a Mates Mate, and two men was sent on board of us & took possession. Lat. 49 : 30—Lon. 6. 30.

Monday, May 7.—The Lieutenant still on board & the Convoy in Company; at 12 a. m. Cap^t Geddes returned on board. after having been obliged to go on board the Commodore, who on examining our papers, permitted us to pass

on. At about 7 P. M. passed by the Commodore (Gifford in the Frigate Mahoneiza of 31 guns); at 9 P. M. saw Scilly light dis't. about 6 or 7 Leagues, bearing N. N. E.

Tuesday, May 8.—Proceeding up Chanel passed by a number of vessels; at about 5 P. M. saw the Land bearing to N., a number of vessels in sight, At 7 P. M. was brought too by a British Cutter Brig of 16 guns and permitted to pass, the land in sight and off Plymouth Sound; the Eddystone bearing N. distance 7 Leagues: light winds from N. W.

Wednesday, May 9.—Proceeding up Channel, a number of vessels in sight; also several ships of War; at 6 P. M. saw the Bill of Portland; light airs from the Westward.

Thursday, May 10.—Proceeding up Channel. a number of vessels in sight: at 9 a. m., bore away for Havre, the Isle of Wight distance about 6 or 7 Leagues.

Friday, May 11.—At about 6 P. M. arrived at Havre de Grace, went on shore and procured a Passport, to proceed to Paris; dined with Mons. Delamotte, the American Consul; at 5 P. M. set out for Paris & travelled all night. A deal of rain all night.

Saturday, May 12.—At 3 P. M. passed through Rouen; also passed through a number of small towns; the Country very beautifull. At about 5 P. M. arrived at Paris; waited on Mr Gerry and delivered him my dispatches, and took lodgings at the Hotel D'Elbeuf.

Sunday, May 13.—Wrote a circular letter to the Consuls respecting the relief of American Seamen, & in the evening went to the Opera House.

Monday, May 14.—Making arrangements for Cap^t Geddes; wrote to Cap^t G.

Tuesday, May 15.—Waited on 1st Sec^y of the Minister of foreign affairs and procured a passport for Montpellier. In the afternoon took a seat in the Dilligence for Lyons.

Wednesday, May 16.—After breakfast set out accompanied with M. Waldo, from Boston, veiwed the Pantheon, a most superb building; from thence went to the Jardin des Plants, a very beautifull place, & from thence to the Goblins, to see the manufactory of Tapestry.

Thursday, May 17.—Breakfasted with M^r Waldo; at 3 P. M. set out for Lyons or Montpelleir in the Dilligence.

Friday, May 18.—Continued on my journey; at 8 a. m. arrived at Auxerre & there lodged;

Saturday, May 19.—Continued on my journey, dined at Avalon.

Sunday, May 20.—Continued on my journey: dined at Chalons; from thence took passage in the dilligence by water, on the river Soane in a batteau, drawn by four horses; at 9 a. m. arrived at & lodged at Macon.

Monday, May 21.—At 5 A. M. set out from Macon. by water; dined at Trevous; at 3 P. M., arrived at Lyons, waited on Gen^l Pinckney & communicated my business to him. In the evening went to the Grand Theatre in comp^y with the Gen^l P.; took lodgings at the Hotel du Parc Place du Terreaux.

Tuesday, May 22.—Rose early & took a seat in the Dilligence for Paris. Walked about the quay & Place de Belcour; in the evening took a walk with Gen^l P. & his lady.

Wednesday, May 23.—Rose early and walked over Pont du Bois in the river Rhone into Dauphine. After breakfast walked to the junction of the river Soane & the Rhone; in the evening went to the Grand Theatre in comp^y with Gen^l P. & his lady. Rec^d dispatches from Gen^l P. to Colⁿ Pickering Sec^y of State.

Thursday, May 24.—At 7 P. M. set out from Lyons for Paris; at 12 passed Villefranche; at 1 passed St. George;

at 5 A. M. arrived and dined at Macon, the road very fine and the country very beautiful; at 2 saw Mont Blanc and at 4 arrived at Chalons.

Friday, May 25.—Passed through [torn], at 5 P. M. arrived at Solieul & supped.

Saturday, May 26.—Passed by Vermenton; at 7 breakfasted at Auxerre; at 12 passed Joigny, passed by 3 or 4000 Troops; at 2 passed through Villeneuve St. George; at 4 A. M. passed Sens; at 6 P. M. arrived & dined Villeneuve du Guyard; passed by Montrose.

Sunday, May 27.—At 7 P. M. arrived at Paris; rec^d several letters from the Consuls, & Capⁿ Geddes, wrote to the latter; in the evening went to the Theatre Vaudeville.

Monday, May 28.—Wrote letters to Capⁿ Geddes & Mr Dugan; rec^d a letter from one of the Consuls; in the evening went to the Theatre Odeon—wrote to the Sec^r of State.

Tuesday, May 29.—Rose early & copied off the letter from Gen^l Pinckney to me; also made a Statement of the conversation that passed between Gen^l P. and myself relative to Mr. Gerry sailing in the Sophia, which was delivered Mr. G.—also wrote Gen^l P. & enclosed him a copy of the same. In the evening went to the Jarden d'Idalie. near the Champs D'Elysee; passed through the Champ, & also place De la Revolution.

Wednesday, May 30.—Rose early & wrote to Capⁿ Geddes; walked as far as the Consuls for letters, & rec^d two from Havre; in the afternoon walked through the Jardin des Thulleries, a very beautiful place.

Thursday, May 31.—Rose early & wrote to Capⁿ Geddes; after breakfast waited on Mr. Skipwith relative to the situation of the Sophia at Havre, and requested his assistance in procuring permission for her to proceed to a place of safety; he informed me Mr Gerry ought to do it. I

replied that Mr. Gerry could not, owing to the publication of the Dispatches. Mr. Skipwith afterward said if I would write him upon the subject, he would attend to it. Went with Mr. Skipwith to the Post Office, there rec^d Mr Dobree acct. from Nantes for monies furnished distressed American Seamen, the same being accompanied with the vouchers amt^{ts} to £280. Examined s^d acct & and found it to agree; also rec^d a letter from Mr Cathalaw, Consul at Marseilles. The above mentioned acct I find includes all the monies advanced by Mr Dobree. In the evening rode as far as the Boulevard with Mr. Middleton; went to the Ice houses.

Friday, June 1.—Rose early and wrote to Mr J. C. Barnett at Brest & to Mr. Dobree at Nantes, also wrote Mr Skipwith respecting the Sophia; called at his office for letters; in the evening went to the Theatre Faydeau.

Saturday, June 2.—Called at Mr. Skipwith's office for letters, received none; went to the Council of five hundred; saw them at business dressed in their habits. Agreed with Mr. Andrews for what money I should want, he to let me have for my Bills on the Secretary of State at Thirty days sight, and at the current exchange;—in the afternoon went as far as the Boulevards.

Sunday, June 3.—Rose early and wrote letters to Havre; rec^d a letter from Capⁿ Geddes; before dinner walked in the Jarden de Luxembourg.

Monday, June 4.—Rose early & wrote letters to Havre; went to the office of the Consul & received a letter; after dinner wrote letters to Havre; in the evening walked as far as the Palais de Egalité, &c.

Tuesday, June 5.—Rose early & walked out. Wrote letters to Havre; walked as far as the Consuls, & a proposition to him respecting a passport for Mr. Dugan. In the evening rode out to Baggetelle in comp^y with Mr. Gerry &

Madame Vilette; this place is very beautiful and a great variety throughout the gardens; formerly the place of D'Artois.

Wednesday, June 6.—Rose early & walked out—went to the office of the Consuls for letters, rec^d none; then went to the Louvre and saw the paintings, that were brought from Italy, also several peices of Statuary;—in the evening went to the Ice Houses.

Thursday, June 7.—Rose early and walked out. It was proposed by Mr Gerry that I should proceed directly to Havre, in consequence of which, set about making preparation; went to Mr. Shipwiths & settled with him & rec^d a certificate from him. The Minister of Foreign Affairs informed Mr. Tazwell that the passport I now have will be sufficient;—making arrangements to set out.

Friday, June 8.—Rose early & packed up my trunks, and went out and hired a Cabriolet for Havre; wrote three Blank bills of Exchange & signed them on the Sec^r of State of the U States and gave them to Mr E. Gerry and he is to make use of them in discharging Capⁿ Geddes bill on me, from Havre. At 1 P. M. set out from Maison D'Elbeuf for Havre; passed through Pontoise Magny, travelled all night.

Saturday, June 9.—Continued on my route, passed through Bacanton, Ifto, & Bolbeck &°; at 11 A. M. arrived at Havre, waited on Mr. Delamotte, had my passport vised at the Municipality; dined at Norris Hotel; at 3 P. M. set out in the passage boat from Havre & at 4 P. M. arrived at Honfleur; walked out on the Hills, lodged on board the Sophia.

Sunday, June 10.—Rose early and wrote letters to Paris; walked about the Town; in the evening went to Theatre; the wind blowing strong from the Eastward.

Monday, June 11.—Rose early; after breakfast walked out with Capⁿ Geddes procuring things for the voyage.

After dinner wrote letters to Mr Gerry and Gen^l Pinckney, and in the afternoon nine Seamen including the mate were rec^d on board, being the crew of the American Ship Eagle, of Phil^{a.}, which was sold at Havre.

Tuesday, June 12.—Rose early and prepared for going to Havre, set out in the passage boat at Havre, went to Mr. Delamotte's office, rec^d a letter from Nantes; went with Capⁿ Geddes to purchase several articles; after dinner walked as far as Ingouville, from thence to the adjacent hills; saw the British squadron, standing close along the shore; the gunboats commenced firing as they passed. This day advanced Mr Pye six guineas, which he is to repay in America.

Wednesday, June 13.—Rose early and walked out; at about 8 A. M. the gun boats attacked the British Squadron that was ranging along shore; went on the hills to see the Action. Went to the prison to the four Americans that were confined; paid off the bills of Josiah Everson, a distressed Sailor that was left here sick; in the evening waited on Mr. Delamotte made some arrangement for paying him; returned home & wrote to Paris.

Thursday, June 14.—Rose early, rec^d sum of money from Cap^t Cartwright & paid it to Cap^t Geddes for to defray the Expenses of the Sophia. At about 7 A. M. set off for Honfleur in the passage boat; employed in copying letters, in the evening walked about the town.

Friday, June 15.—Employed in copying my letters into the Letter Book; walked about the Town, in the evening took a walk.

Saturday, June 16.—Employed in copying my letters, walked out in the afternoon, took lodgings in Rue D'Egalite; wrote to Paris to Mr Gerry—

Monday, June 18.—Wrote letters to Mr Gerry and also received one from him; which is the first; also rec^d one

from Gen^l Pinckney; dined on shore, after dinner walked along the sea shore, and in the evening returned on board.

Tuesday, June 19.—Rose early & packed up some clothes and prepared to set out for Havre; went to the passage boat to take passage for Havre, but was prevented by an order from the Municipality of Paris, which they say is not to suffer any American to cross over; spoke to one of the Municipality, he referred me to the Commissary of Marine; he said, he must have orders from the Municipality to give us permission & requested we would call on the Municipality. At 5 P. M. agreeable to appointment, waited on them, and after showing them my passport, they agreed & after a great deal of trouble and quibbling they said we might go, but that we must have a passport to return, as also a passport for permission to depart in the Sophia for the U. States, when ready.

Wednesday, June 20.—Rose early & wrote letters to Paris to Mr. Gerry and Mr. Shipwith; walked out and at half past two P. M. set out in the passage boat for Havre, the wind ahead blowing strong, & at half past five P. M. arrived at Havre. Went to Mr. Delamottes, found the office shut, lodged at Norris Hotel.

Thursday, June 21.—After breakfast went to Mr Delamotte's office, rec^d a letter from Mr Gerry & Mr Shipwith, & also one from Gen^l Pinckney. Went to the Municipality to get permission to sail in the Sophia for the U. States; they granted it: from thence went to the Commisary of Marine, & after having taken down in writing such proof as they asked for, my passport was then carried to the Commisary; he refused to grant permission for my departure & said he would not permit us to go, told us (Mr Dugan & myself) that our passports must be sent to Paris, and first signed by the Minister of Marine, before we could be allowed to sail from this or any other port. From thence we went to the Municipality & acquainted them, of our

situation; they would not give me a card of hospitality if I sent my passport; but that if any one should arrest me, that they would demand me. In a conference with Mr Delamotte upon the subject of the four Americans that are now confined in this place, he said it would not do for me to write to the officer of Marine upon any acct. & in the evening walked out.

Friday, June 22.—After breakfast wrote letters to Philad. Went to Mr. Delamotte's office, rec^d of Mr Dugan his dft. on Bordeaux for £5476 .. 19 .. 2., which I endorsed over & paid to Capⁿ Hy. Geddes to pay off the Disbursements of the U. S. brig Sophia under his command—for which bill I am to give Mr Dugan my dft^e on the Sec^{ty} of State of the U. States at the rate of 5£ 8 = 30 dollar—in the evening went to the Theatre.

Saturday, June 23.—Wrote several letters; went to the office of Mr. Delamotte & rec^d a letter from Mr. Fenwick, together with his account for the monies advanced to American seamen. Part of Mr Gerry's baggage arrived this day viz. 3 cases, two trunks & 1 bbl.

Sunday, June 24.—Wrote letters to Paris; went to the prison to see Reetman & another American seaman that is there confined; after dinner walked to Ingouville, returned & went to the Theatre.

Monday, June 25.—Wrote to Mr Skipwith; went to the prison to see the American seamen that are confined, and took down in writing the manner in which they came to this country.

Tuesday, June 26.—Wrote letters; walked out; after dinner walked on the Hills; made some arrangement relative to the seaman in prison; in the evening went to the Theatre.

Wednesday, June 27.—After breakfast went to Mr Delamotte rec^d two letters from Paris, also one from Cap^t Geddes,

respecting the seamen on board his vessel, & wrote to Capⁿ Geddes; dined with Mr Homberg, and afterwards walked out to the canal, from thence to Ingouville, and returned home.

Thursday, June 28.—Rec^d several letters, also wrote to Paris; went to a notary with Capⁿ Leech to get his certificate to prove W^m Bootman is an American, but it being Decade day, no business could be done.

Friday, June 29.—Went to the Notary and procured Capⁿ Leech, M^r Collet & Capⁿ Hawse Certificate relative to Bootman; from thence went to the prison and saw James Thomson an American seaman that is there confined. Capⁿ Hawse is also to give me a certificate for him & James Meaden; rec^d a letter from Mr Gerry—walked out.

Saturday, June 30.—Rose early & wrote letters to Paris; rec^d a letter from Capⁿ Geddes; after dinner walked out through Ingouville.

Sunday, July 1.—Rose early and wrote to Capⁿ Geddes; rec^d a letter from Fenwick, our Consul at Bordeaux, in which I found he had drawn on me at Paris, but that the bill was protested & returned. Wrote Mr. Fenwick upon the subject, also wrote Gen^l Pinckney, and agreed with Mr Dugan for his bill on Bordeaux for the am^t of Fenwick's acct. In the evening went to the Theatre.

Monday, July 2.—Wrote to Capⁿ Geddes, also enclosed Gen^l Pinckney Mr Dugans bill on Bordeaux for £2577 .. 15. which is to be paid Fenwick for the advances he has made to American seamen, in virtue of my letter to him of the 13th May last, as ^{per} his acc^t dated Bordeaux 9 June 1798; also sent the 2^d bill for the same sum to Gen^l Pinckney under cover to Mr Bernard. Wrote to Mr Skipwith and enclosed him the certificates relative to W^m Bootman,

James Meaden & John Thomson, being citizens of the United States of America.

Tuesday, July 3.—Rose early & wrote to Capⁿ Geddes rec^d two letters from Paris, also wrote to Mr Tazewell & walked out.

Wednesday, July 4.—Rose early and wrote letters to Paris; had Mr Gerry's baggage sent to Honfleur; waited on the Municipality for leave to go to Honfleur; they informed Mr. Franque, that they would not give me a passport, but that I must go there. and quit Havre, as they said no American must be here, unless their vessel is here also.

Thursday, July 5.—Rose early and prepared for going to Honfleur. At 12 set off in the passage boat for Honfleur; at about half past one A. M. arrived. & dined on board the Sophia.

Friday, July 6.—Wrote letters to Paris & rec^d a letter from Mr Dugan at Havre; in the morning walked into the country.

Saturday, July 7.—Rec^d a letter from Mr Tazewill, which enclosed Mr. Dugans, Capⁿ Frenchies & my passport, signed by the Minister of Marine. & imediately sent Capⁿ Frenchie to Havre. Took lodgings on shore; sent Mr. Dugan my df^t on the Sec^r of State of the United States of America, at 10 days sight Dollars 1491 .. 1708 — —

Sunday, July 8.—After breakfast walked out; wrote to Mr Tazewell and Mr Dugan.

Monday, July 9.—Rose early; after breakfast employed copying my letters in the letter book; rec^d a letter from W. T. Paris & in the evening was enformed that a gen^l Embargo was laid on Americans only.

Tuesday, July 10.—Rose early & wrote letters; advanced Capⁿ Jos Cartwright Twenty-four Crowns. to pay his expences

until the departure of the U. S. brig Sophia, which Item he is to refund; rec^d a letter from Mr Dugan.

Wednesday, July 11.—Rose early, after copying my letters walked out; rec^d a letter from Paris. which mentions, that it is reported at Paris, that Congress have ordered all privateers to be brought in & that all communications with France & her Colonies is to cease after the 1st of July. The above mentioned letter was from Mr. Collet & to Mr. Dugan or myself.

Thursday, July 12.—Rose early—walked out; in the evening rec^d a letter from Mr Dugan.

Friday, July 13.—Rose early & prepared for setting out for Havre. At 9 O. Clock set off in the passage boat and about 12 arrived at Havre. when I was immediately arrested, together with Capⁿ Geddis black boy, by two Soldiers, who marched us off to the Commisary of the police, who directly said that no Americans were allowed to come to Havre, and said that the soldiers must conduct me to the Municipality which they did, and at both these places. I explained to them the nature of my business and after some difficulty I was released, but with orders to compleat my business as quick as possible & to quit Havre. Went to the Post Office and received a letter from I. Gilpin, also rec^d one from W. Tazewell; in the afternoon went to the Prison to see Beetman & Meaden.

Saturday, July 14.—Rose early and set off from Havre in the packet boat at 9 A. M. and arrived at Honfleur; blowing very fresh from S. W. and a very heavy sea. Mr Dugan arrived from Havre.

Sunday, July 15.—Rose early. and wrote to the Sec^y of State. also a copy of my letter to him; wrote to Mr. Gerry; walked out, at 3 P. M. Mr. Dugan sett off for Paris—in the evening went to the Theatre.

Monday, July 16.—Rose early, walked, and in the after-

noon wrote letters to Mr. J. Bernard, of Bordeaux and to Mr Dobree, Nantes.

Tuesday, July 17.—Walked out; wrote a letter to Mess^r Delamotte & Co to send me three hundred crowns.—In the evening went to the Theatre.

Wednesday, July 18.—Walked out, & rec^d a letter from Mr Fenwick, acknowledging the receipt of the bill I sent him; in the afternoon wrote to Mr F— & in the evening went to the Theatre.

Thursday, July 19.—Walked out in the country to a fair; rec^d a letter from Mr. Tazewell, informing me. that Mr Gerry would set off for this in a day or two. In the afternoon rec^d a letter from Gen^l Pinckney, at Bordeaux, with a receipt inclosed from Mr. Fenwick.

Friday, July 20.—Walked out, rec^d a letter from Delamotte & Co also from Gen^l Pinckney & Capⁿ L. Jones; rec^d 900 Livres from Delamotte & Co by the hands of Lallermand & Co.; advanced Nicholas Pye twenty two crowns.

Saturday, July 21.—Rose early, rec^d a letter from Mr. Gardner; drew a sett of Exchange on Mr. John Bernard. of Bordeaux, £ order of J. Dugan, for 1800 livrs. in favor of Delamotte & Co, which I enclosed them in a letter; also rec^d 900 livrs from Delamotte & C^o £ the hands of Lallemand & Co; drew a set of Exchange on Timothy Pickering Sec^r of State in favor of John Bernard for $333\frac{3}{10}$ Dollars, which is to pay my df^t of 1800 Livres that I drew on him. Wrote to Mr. Bernard, & in the evening walked out.

Sunday, July 22.—Sent Delamotte & C^o my df^t on John Bernard of Bordeaux. for 1800 livrs. also sent Mr Bernard of Bordeaux, my sett of Exchange on the Sec^r of State U. S. for Dolls. $333\frac{3}{10}$ £ post. Rec^d a letter from Mr. Tazewell—in the evening walked in the country, returned & went to the Theatre.

Monday, July 23.—Walked out, wrote a letter to Mr Tazewell; in the evening walked into the country.

Tuesday, July 24.—Rose early & walked out; wrote letters to Paris & Bordeaux; in the evening walked out into the country.

Wednesday, July 25.—Rose early & walked out; in the evening rec^d a letter from Mr. Waldo, informing me. that he could go in the Sophia;—took lodgings on shore.

Thursday, July 26.—Rose early & wrote several letters; sent Mr Franque £34 .. 10 .. 0. for the paym't &c of Tazewell's cases of books—Went to the custom house to know whether. if Mr Waldos watches were shipped on board the Sophia it would in any way tend to destroy her security as a gov^t vessel, and if it would subject her to pay tonnage; they answered no. it would not, but that there would be about 20 livres for a permit, which is the only charge that would arise in consequence of their being aboard, accordingly I permitted them to be put aboard.

Friday, July 27.—Rose early; rec^d a letter from M Franque. This day being the anniversary of the downfall of Terror, or the death of Robespierre, it was celebrated in the town.

Saturday, July 28.—Rose early, and walked out; returned & wrote letters to Paris; also enclosed Mr. Shipwith the certificate signed by Capⁿ Henderson & Capⁿ Keer concerning John Clague, an American seaman confined in the prison at Havre.

Sunday, July 29.—Rose early & prepared for setting off for Havre, but found that the Municipality would give me no information; wrote a letter to Mr. Gerry at Havre, rec^d two letters from Paris from W. T.

Monday, July 30.—Rose early & prepared to go to Havre to meet Mr. Gerry, & had my passport signed for that pur-

pose. At 11 set off in the passage boat & about one O'C^k arrived at Havre, when I was immediately arrested by two guards, who conducted me to the Municipality when I was liberated. Met Mr Gerry on the quay; dined with Mr. Delamotte; after dinner Mr. Gerry requested I would copy his letter to the Minister of foreign Relation of the French Republic. Mr Gerry requested I would order the Sophia to come to anchor off Havre, & he would there join us. I told him I thought he had best come to Honfleur & have his name inserted on the Role; he said he did not think there was any occasion for it. The wind favorable & from the Eastward; in the evening copying the above mentioned letter for Mr. Gerry.

Tuesday, July 31.—Rose early & finished the aforementioned letter & carried it, together with Mr Gerry's letter book to him at Ingouville. At 9 A. M. set off for Honfleur & arrived about half past ten O'Clock same morning. Requested Capⁿ Geddes to clear the Sophia for Sea & to sail in the morning, and to come to anchor off Havre, that Mr. Gerry would join us there in a boat. He immediately set about it, but found he could not do it unless Mr Gerry was here to have his name inserted on the role d'Equipage. I then went with him (Capⁿ Geddes) to the office of the Commisary of Marine; we were informed that Mr Gerry must be here, before the vessel could be cleared out for sea; that his name must be inserted on the role; accordingly I directly sent an express to Mr Gerry informing him of the circumstances.

Wednesday, August 1.—Rose early, rec^d a letter from Mr. Gerry & answered it; in the evening went to the Commissioner of Marine & had several seamen entered on the Role d'Equipage—the vessel ready & waiting for Mr Gerry.

Thursday, August 2.—Rose early, rec^d two letters from M^r Gerry, one in French, & immediately went to the Commisary of Marine, Custom house &c, showed them the letter

from Mr Gerry to me; their answer was that they would not clear the vessel for any where else but for the U. States, that they would not give us permission to come to anchor in the roads of Havre. Accordingly I wrote to Mr Gerry of the particulars; also wrote Delamotte & C^o for 1800 livres. In the afternoon employed in writing letters & drawing bills &c, the wind to the W.

Friday, August 3.—Rose early & wrote letters; enclosed F. Shipwith Esq consul of the U. States at Paris my df^t on J. Bernard, of Bordeaux, for Livres 4,200., which he is to make use of relieving distressed American seamen now in prison in France; also enclosed Mr. J. Bernard my df^t on the Sec^{ry} of State for 1110 $\frac{6}{10}$ D^{oll}rs to meet my df^t on him for 6000 Livres. This day rec^d no letter from M. Gerry—wrote letters to Mr Gerry & Mr Delamotte, also to Gen^l Pinckney. This day a Capⁿ Curtis, a distressed American arrived from Rouen to go home in the Sophia.

Saturday, August 4.—Rose early & wrote letters &c; rec^d a letter from Mr Gerry, also waited on the Commissary of Marine; he showed me a letter he had rec^d from the Minister of Marine at Paris, which was to clear the Sophia for Havre, and not in the roads; accordingly wrote Mr Gerry. In the afternoon wrote letters for Philad^a—to go by the Sophia. This day rec^d 1800 Livres from Delamotte & C^o, and paid Capⁿ Geddes 1325 .. 1 . 3. livres.

Sunday, August 5.—Rose early & walked out; getting ready to leave Honfleurs: rec^d no letters this day from Mr Gerry.

Monday, August 6.—Rose early, and walked out; rec^d a letter from Mr Gerry in which he requested me to order the Sophia into Havre, then to take him on board, in consequence for which I requested Capⁿ Geddes to have the Sophia cleared out, which was accordingly done. Wrote Mr Gerry & Capⁿ Trench.

Tuesday, August 7.—Wrote severall letters to Philad^a.

The pilot informed us there was not a sufficient depth of water for the *Sophia*; of course could not go out; wrote to Mr. Gerry and informed what the pilot said.

Wednesday, August 8.—Rose early. At 6 P. M. the Commissary of the Directory visited the *Sophia*, & at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 O'Clock sailed from Honfleur. At about 9 arrived off Havre, but was ordered not to come in with the vessel, nor any person whatever was allowed to go shore: they ordered us to come to anchor in the roads, which we did. Wrote a letter to Mr Gerry; rec^d a letter from Mr Gerry by Mr Collet, in which he requested me to draw a df^t on Bordeaux in favor of Mr. Delamotte & deliver it too Mr. Collet for Livrs 1562 $\frac{19}{100}$ on Mr J. Bernard which I did; also drew on the Sec^r of State for 289 $\frac{19}{100}$ Dollars in favor of Mr. John Bernard. & remitted them to him through the hands of Delamotte & C^o. Mr Collet said he had an order to take what men he wanted, and was taking away two Boys, who he said were his apprentices. Upon examination I found they were not his apprentices, and would not permit him to take them. The two boys wished to remain on board the *Sophia*. Capⁿ Keer left us in the roads with Mr Collet. At half past 6, The Hon^{ble} Mr. Gerry came on board; the *Sophia* was immediately got under way, and sailed for the United States. At 8 P. M. was fired at and brought too by a British Frigate, called the *Niger*, of 36 guns, the Honra^{bl} Thos. Woodhouse, who sent his Comp^{ts} to him if Mr Gerry would permit him to wait on him. Capⁿ Woodhouse came on board, stayed a few minutes & left us—proceeded on our voyage.

Thursday, August 9.—Proceeding on our passage, pleasant weather. At 3, discovered a lugger in chase of us; light breezes from Westward; saw the Isle of Wight; the lugger in chase, bore away to avoid her; she still continued after us, in consequence of which put out our sweeps and rowed away and at 9 A. M. she gave over the chase. The vessel we supposed to be a Frenchman, and therefore agreed to put into Port.

Friday, August 10.—At 6 P. M. arrived and came to anchor in Spithead; went on shore and proceed off to London at Mr Gerry's request. At 10 arrived at London, went to Mr Kings and was informed he was absent; took lodgings at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill.

Saturday, August 11.—Walked out to Mr Kings, delivered a letter to Mr King's Sec^{ry}, procured a passport from Mr. King for the vessel, rec^d 20 guineas from Mr. Shallcross to be paid in Philad^a.

Sunday, August 12.—At 6 A. M. set off for Portsmouth; at 6 P. M. arrived and went on board the Sophia.

Tuesday, August 14.—Rose early, went ashore at Gosport & Portsmouth; waited on Mr Carver; the wind ahead.

Wednesday, August 15.—Rose early and went on shore, purchased several articles for the voyage. This day Mr Gerry dined on shore.

Friday, August 17.—Rose early and getting ready for sea; went to Gosport to settle the ships acc^t with Mr Carver, and gave my df^t for £184.. 11 Sterling at sight for the Sophia disbursements; also gave him my df^t for £37. Sterling for cash advanced for my use, at sight, both on the Sec^{ry} of State. This day lent Mr Gerry £25. Sterling. At 6 P. M. made sail from the Harbour of Portsmouth, a convoy in comp^y bound to America, under convoy of the Cleopatra. The wind S. S. E; proceeding on our passage home, fine weather.

Saturday, August 25.—Proceeding homeward—at 6 A. M. saw two sail to Windward. who bore down on us, and who sent their boats on board; they proved to be two British Frigates, the Revolutionaire of 44 guns. Capⁿ Tindsell, & the Dryard, of 44 guns, Capⁿ Lord Beauclerk, who treated us politely. Lat. 49.20 Long W. 18.30. Proceeding on our passage, had a great deal of bad weather.

Sunday, September 9.—Light breezes from the W. N. W., at 6 A. M. saw a sail ahead, at about 12 she tacked and from her manouvering we supposed her to be a war vessel, and she being to windward, got our guns loaded and the people at their quarters, and all ready for action. About 2 P. M. the said vessel (a brig) showed American colours, upon which we immediately hoisted ours and fired a gun to leeward. The brig then bore down on us and, we found her to be the brig Ruthy, of Boston, from Petersburg and bound to Boston; supplied him with provisions; at 4 P. M. saw a sail to windward.. Lat 42..50 n. Long° 43..30.

September 30.—Early in the morning saw the land, which proved to be Cape Cod; proceeding on our passage toward Boston; several sail in sight

October 1.—Proceeding up Boston Bay; got a Pilot; saw Salem, Cape Ann & Marblehead. At the request of Mr Gerry I landed at Nantasket and proceeded on to Quincy. Waited on the President of the **United States of America**; handed him several letters for the Sect^y of State, as also Mr Gerry's communications. Lodged at Marsh's Tavern.

October 2.—Rose early and agreeable to invitation, breakfasted with the **President**, and immediately to Boston. & from thence to Cambridge & dined with Mr Gerry. Wrote instructions for Capⁿ Geddes to proceed on to New Castle, Delaware, with the Sophia; returned to Quincy.

THE BATTLE OF PRINCETON.

[The following account of the Battle of Princeton is taken from the Journal of Sergeant Thomas Sullivan, of H. M. Forty-ninth Regiment of Foot.]

Princetown is a compact tho' small town, in which is a good College, built of stone, sufficient to hold four hundred students; but our army when we lay there spoiled and plundered a good Library that was in it. There was an organ, and a nice Chapel in the College. It is built in a plentiful but woody country, and seen at a great distance.

Kingstown, which is a small village, lies within two miles of Princetown, in which latter the Light Infantry were stationed.

1777. January 1st.—A Battalion of Grenadiers, a Battalion of Guards, the Hessian Grenadiers, and a company of Chasseurs, with the 42d. Regiment, which last were obliged to quit their station and retreat from Burlington, came to Princetown, where the main body of the Army lay. Colonel Donop, who commanded the Hessians there, was so exasperated against the enemy, especially for the aforesaid Corps, being taken prisoners by them, that he resolved to be revenged; he therefore went thro' the ranks and declared openly to his men, that any of them who would take a Rebel prisoner would receive 50 stripes; signifying to them they were to kill all the Rebels they could without mercy.

In consequence of the advantage gained by the enemy at Trenton, and the necessity of an alteration in the cantonments, Lord Cornwallis deferring his going to England, went to the Jerseys, and reached, Princetown this night; the troops being ordered there by Major General Grant,

upon gaining intelligence that the enemy, on receiving reinforcements from Virginia, Maryland, and y^e Militia of Pennsylvania had repassed the Delaware into Jersey.

January 2d.—Lord Cornwallis, with the 1st. and 2d. Battalions of Light Infantry; 42d. Regiment; and Colonel Donop's Hessian Grenadiers, having received accounts of the Rebel army, being posted at Trenton, advanced thither early in the morning, leaving the 4th. Brigade British under command of Lieut. Colonel Mawhood, in Princeton, and the 2d. Brigade with Brigadier General Leslie remained at Maidenhead, from which place the First party drove the enemy that same day. On the approach of the British troops, the enemy's forward posts were attacked by the Royal Highlanders in front, and the Hessian Grenadiers on their flanks, supported by the Light Infantry, and after some minutes engagement, drove them back upon their army with loss. They were formed in a strong position, behind a creek running through Trenton.

During the night of this day, the enemy quitted this position, and marched by Allentown, and from thence to Princetown.

January 3d.—They fell in on this morning with the 17th. and 55th. Battalions, on their march to join Brigadier General Leslie and our Brigade, at Maidenhead.

Lieut. Colonel Mawhood, not being apprehensive of the enemy's strength, attacked and beat back the troops that first presented themselves to him, which was their advance guard, from whom he took a 6 pounder, which was played upon their main body; but finding them at length very superior to him in numbers, he was obliged to leave this piece of cannon and their own also; and after a sharp and obstinate contest, pushed forward with the 17th., and part of the 55th. Battalion, forcing through the enemy's ranks, and marched towards Maidenhead. The main part of the 55th. regiment retired by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick, and the enemy entered the Town immediately.

The 40th. Regiment formed in the College Yard, and upon their seeing the Rebels advancing on every side, they made the best of their way back to Brunswick, without making much resistance. The bravery and conduct of Lieuten^t Colonel Mawhood, and the behaviour of the regiments under his command, particularly the 17th., was highly commendable and meritorious.

Upon our hearing the firing from Princetown at Maidenhead, Brigadier General Leslie sent an immediate express to Lord Cornwallis, who was with the advance troops; and our Brigade and the Guards got on our march, being followed by the rest of the army under his Lordship's command.

Lord Cornwallis finding the enemy had made this movement, and having also heard the reports of the enemy's cannon, and the firing occasioned by Colonel Mawhood's attacks, returned immediately from before Trenton. When we came to the river that is near Princetown, a party of the Rebels were formed on one side of the bridge, and another party cutting it down. The 5th. Batallion, which marched in front of the Brigade with two 6 pounders, engaged them from the opposite side; and in a few minutes drove them from the bridge, which they had cut down, and retreated into the woods. We crossed the river, wading it up to our waists, and formed upon the hill near Princetown. But the enemy's body being some hours march in front, and keeping this advantage by an immediate departure from the town, retreated by Kingstown, breaking down the bridge at that place behind them, and crossed the Millstone River at a bridge under Rocky Hill, to throw themselves into a strong country. Lieut. Colonel Mawhood taking a lower road to Maidenhead, missed our Brigade and passed by us unobserved in the morning, joined us in the afternoon, after we crossed the river near Princetown.

The loss upon this to His Majesty's Forces was 17 killed and near 200 wounded and missing. It is certain that the enemy had many killed and wounded; among the former General Mercer from Virginia.

Lord Cornwallis seeing it could not answer any purpose to continue his pursuit, returned wth his whole force to Brunswick.

Our Regiment had the army's Baggage guard from Princetown, and marched all night without any molestation from the enemy.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the following Corps of his Majesty's Forces in the Jersey's January 3d. 1777.

17th. Regiment. 1 Captain, 12 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 4 Sergeants, 45 rank and file wounded; 1 Sergeant, 1 Drummer, 33 rank and file missing.

40th Regiment. 1 Lieutenant wounded; 1 Ensign, 3 Sergeants, 1 Drummer, 88 rank and file missing.

55th Regiment. 1 Sergeant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 Ensign, 1 Sergeant, 2 rank and file wounded; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 Sergeant, 2 Drummers, 66 rank and file missing.

COLLECTIONS OF THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The Genealogical Society was organized in 1892, as an auxiliary to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and its founders announced the objects of the Society to be: The promotion of genealogical research; the collection and preservation of registers of births, marriages, and deaths, kept by religious societies or individuals, or making transcripts thereof; as well as transcripts or abstracts of all kinds of official records affording genealogical information.

That the Genealogical Society has produced results worthy of, and justifying its existence, is fully demonstrated by the list of its manuscripts given below. These manuscripts form the most valuable collection of the kind in the country, and they are all housed in the spacious fire-proof rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, where they are daily consulted by genealogical inquirers from near and from far.

While the material already gathered from fast-perishing records is vast in extent, it is only a small fraction of the like material yet to be preserved.

To continue the work of rescuing from oblivion such records,—now constantly subject to the risk of loss by fire, and the tooth of time,—the Genealogical Society asks for the assistance of all of the members of the Historical Society. Membership in the former Society is restricted to those in good standing in the latter Society.

The Genealogical Society has no salaried officers. In carrying forward its work it is chiefly dependent upon its income derived from the dues of its members, who now compose but about one-eighth of the total membership of the Historical Society.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Genealogies.

Harlan Family.
Harlan Genealogy.
Marshall Genealogy.
Stedman Genealogy.
Thorn Genealogy.

Court Records.

Lancaster County (Penna.) Court Papers, 1735-1810.
Lancaster County (Penna.) Marriage License Bonds, 1757-1793.
New Castle (Del.) Court Records, 1676-1681.
Pennsylvania Supreme Court Notes.
Sussex County (Del.) Probate Records, 1683-1695.

Abstract of Wills.

Berks County, Penna., 1752-1825.
Bucks County, Penna., 1685-1825.
Chester County, Penna., 1714-1825.
Cumberland County, Penna., 1750-1825.
Lancaster County, Penna., 1721-1820.
Philadelphia County, Penna., 1682-1825.
York County, Penna., 1749-1820.

Friends Monthly Meeting Records.

Abington, (Penna.) minutes of 1682-1746.
" Abstract of minutes, 1746-1774.
" Marriages, Births and Deaths.
Burlington and Mt. Holly, N. J., 1678-1872.
Darby, Penna., 1682-1891.
English Friends Records—
Berks and Oxon,
Buckingham,
London and Middlesex.

Friends Records, deposited at Sixteenth and Race Streets, Philadelphia, Penna., index to.

Friends Records, Locality list.

Gwynedd, Penna., abstract of minutes, 1714-1801.

Hopewell, Frederick County, Virginia, 1758-1869.

Londongrove, Penna., 1792-1867.

Middletown, Bucks County, Penna., 1683-1800.

Radnor and Merion, Penna., 1706-1812.

Wilmington, Delaware, 1750-1905.

Salem, N. J.—Births, Deaths and Burials, 1686-1886.

Men's Minutes, 1676-1740.

Marriages, 1724-1781.

Church Records—Episcopal.

Chester, Penna., St. Paul's, 1704-1903.

Concord, Penna., St. John's.

Georgetown, Del., St. Paul's, 1840-1905.

Indian River, Sussex County, Del., St. George's Chapel and Church, 1705-1902.

Lancaster, Penna., St. James, 1755-1856.

Marcus Hook, Penna., St. Martin's.

Morgan, Richard W.; Private Parochial Register of.

Morlatton, Berks County, Penna., St. Gabriel's, 1735-1856.

New Jersey, Old Coles, 1766-1830.

Philadelphia, Penna., Christ, 1709-1900.

St. Michael's and Zion, 1745-1771.

St. Paul's, 1759-1855.

St. Stephen's, 1823-1865.

Trinity Oxford, 1713-1855.

Radnor, Delaware County, Penna., 1706-1861.

Swedesboro, N. J., 1713-1814.

Whitemarsh, Montgomery County, Penna., St. Thomas, 1786-1853.

Wilmington, Delaware, Old Swedes, 1697-1773.

Methodist Episcopal Church.

Philadelphia, Penna., St. George's, 1785-1856.

Moravian.

Philadelphia, Penna., First, 1743-1855.

Tombstone Inscriptions.

Ardmore, Penna., St. Paul's Lutheran.

Middletown, Penna., Presbyterian.

Newtown Square, Penna., Radnor Baptist.

Philadelphia, Penna., St. Michael's and Zion.

Strafford, Penna., Baptist Meeting.

Lutheran.

Barren Hill, Montgomery County, Penna., St. Peter's,
1765-1848.

Germantown, Philadelphia, Penna., St. Michael's, 1741-
1841.

Philadelphia, Penna., St. John's, 1806-1856.

Trappe, Penna., Augustus, 1712-1777.

Reformed.

Falknor Swamp, Penna., 1748-1848.

Germantown, Philadelphia, Penna., German Reformed
Congregation, 1753-1856.

Great Swamp, Bucks County, Penna., 1726-1822.

Hunterdon County, N. J., German Reformed, 1763-1802.

Montgomery County, Penna., Wentz, 1763-1858.

Philadelphia, Penna., First Reformed, 1748-1860.

First Reformed Protestant Dutch, 1810-1862.

Third Reformed, 1837-1888.

Smithfield, Monroe County, Penna., Dutch Reformed,
1741-1807.

Trappe, Penna., St. Luke's, 1755-1838.

Walpack Township, Sussex County, N. J., Old Dutch
Reformed, 1741-1810.

Presbyterian.

Lewes, Indian River and Cool Spring, Delaware, United
Presbyterian, 1756-1856.

- Philadelphia, Penna., First Presbyterian, 1701-1865.
 Second Presbyterian, 1745-1833.
 Third Presbyterian, 1800-1837.
 Frankford Presbyterian, 1819-1857.
 Scots Presbyterian, 1822-1856.

Baptist.

- Chester County, Penna., Great Valley, 1711-1896.
 Philadelphia, Penna., Pennypack, 1687-1838.
 Providence, Delaware County, Penna., Seventh Day and
 Brandywine, 1694-1848.
 Southampton, Bucks County, Penna., 1704-1843.

Miscellaneous.

- American Daily and General Advertiser, Marriage and
 Death Notices, 1791-1833.
 Burlington County, N. J., Marriages, 1795-1801.
 Darby Township, Penna., Records, 1682-1805.
 Delaware County, Penna., Deaths, 1784-1880.
 Genealogical Notes.
 Harlan Correspondence.
 Harlan Miscellaneous Notes.
 Marshalton, Penna., Marriages by Moses Marshall, Esq.,
 from his Docket.
 New Jersey, Index of Names in Leaming & Spicer's
 "Grants & Concessions."
 Upper Providence, Delaware County, Penna., Burials in
 Sandy Bank Burial Ground, 1801-1855.

ON THE PRESERVATION OF OLD MANUSCRIPTS.

BY JOSEPH WILLCOX.

A fervent interest in the cause of the truthfulness that should characterize all historical proceedings has induced the writer to prepare this paper for the consideration of librarians and other collectors of old manuscripts.

There is a custom which widely prevails to which the writer desires to declare his protest in the interest of historical propriety and accuracy as above indicated.

This reference is intended to apply particularly to the plan of dealing with old letters that have been worn and torn by rough usage and the vicissitudes of time.

In the opinion of the writer, in the case of such manuscripts, both truthfulness and the spirit of candour demand that they should not be subjected to the process of reconstruction, either in the matter of writing or of paper, for the purpose of misrepresenting their former imperfect condition.

Such old letters should be permitted to survive on their own merits; and their appearance of antiquity should be respected. Moreover they should be preserved from the suspicion of having been tampered with.

The paper, if incomplete, should not be reconstructed to masquerade as a part of a composite production.

The following hypothetical illustration is here given to emphasize this idea.

A man possessing an old and valuable letter presents it to an historical society, presuming that it will be carefully and permanently preserved and be subject to inspection by any interested visitor, without exciting, on his part, any feelings of suspicion.

This letter, having passed through the "regulation process" of rejuvenescence, by various additions, is finally installed among other manuscript relics of times long past.

At a later date the donor requests permission to inspect the old letter.

At first sight he distrusts his eyes; but when assured that the paper before him is the same that he presented, with horror he exclaims: "This hybrid letter, that you state was mine, is not the one that was possessed by me, and which was treasured by my father during the term of many years, with careful precautions from further ravages of time! The writing on my former letter occupied a half sheet of paper only; the other portion having been detached and lost! My letter, dated in 1730, was written on a paper made in Holland, while the outside half sheet, now attached to this, by skilful pasting, is the product of the Whatman Mill, established in England about 1760!

"Also one corner of my letter was torn off, and one edge was time-worn and rough, while this sheet now before me is substantially complete. It cannot be considered the letter that I presented!

"My letter should have been regarded like a broken statue, reclaimed from the buried ruins of an ancient city, whose incompleteness should be viewed with sentiments akin to veneration, and which should evermore be free from the ordeal of reconstruction!

"Or like a mutilated flag after long service in camp and on the march, and rescued from the field of battle; the deplorable condition of which should inspire sentiments of reverence; and any suggestion for a patchwork restoration would be strenuously resented!"

A case somewhat parallel will here be stated. In one of the museums in this country are installed a number of fossil skeletons of mammals and reptiles long since extinct. In some cases, where certain portions of these skeletons were not obtained from the fossil beds, the palæontologist in charge of the museum substituted imitations of such miss-

ing portions which were made with calcined plaster colored like the true fossil bones, so that visitors to the museum could not distinguish the genuine from those that were artificially restored.

An outcry of protest, against what was termed a fraud, by many naturalists, resulted in the abandonment of such a practice, and the restored portions were colored in such a manner that their true character could be recognized.

The following incident occurred within the precinct of the present writer's own experience.

An old and valued friend of mine had, through many years of labor and at great expense, accumulated a large collection of old and valuable autograph letters. Nearly all of them were prepared for preservation and reference either by his own experienced hands or by another person under his supervision.

This collection was installed in many volumes in the most approved manner regardless of expense.

Some time after the death of the former owner I had occasion to examine one of the volumes referred to. When opening it one of the first letters exposed to view contained an ancient date which I observed. Before the letter was read I examined the outside half, on the face of which no writing had been made; in order to note the character of the paper. With a feeling of surprise I stated to the caretaker of the collection: "Some person has deceived the late owner of this letter! It bears upon its back the evidence of fraud! The paper was undoubtedly made more than fifty years later than the date inscribed within it!"

After a further examination, however, I discovered that the back or outside half of the sheet, of a different make of paper, though quite similar in color, had been skilfully attached with paste to the letter, to give it the appearance of completeness.

Though strictly honest in his intentions, and following a custom of frequent use, the former owner of this collection

did not realize what, to my mind, appeared to be the impropriety of attaching a comparatively modern paper to an ancient manuscript and to be regarded as a part thereof.

In the opinion of the writer old manuscripts may legitimately be made even and level by pressing; but not made smoother than their original condition.

It would manifestly be improper to calender an old manuscript dated at a time anterior to the invention of the process of calendering.

All rents in old manuscripts should be reinforced by paper of another color or by silk veiling; but in no case should its integrity be violated by disguise.

PENNSYLVANIA GLEANINGS IN IRELAND.

CONTRIBUTED BY LOTHROP WITHINGTON.

EDWARD GEOGHEGAN, late of the Kingdom of Ireland, but now of the City of Philadelphia, province of Pensilvania, Merchant. Will 15 September 1741; proved 28 January 1741/42. To my wife Katherine Geoghegan two fifths of all worldly estate. To my father Andrew Geoghagan and to my brother Andrew Geoghagan, Junior, and to my sister Mary Gill, the remainder. To Father Graydon, our Parish Priest, £30 to be disposed of as I directed said Gentleman, £10 being for holy uses, so he is to have Mr. Farrel's note for that amount. To Mr. Langley and wife £16 for mourning. Executors in Philadelphia: Robert Wakely, Merchant, and Francis Carrick, my apprentice, in case he dies as he is sick, I appoint in his room Mr. Andrew Farrell. Executors in Dublin: Mr. John Langley and Brother Andrew Geoghagan. Witnesses: George Claypoole, John Tyrrell.

Prerogative Court of Ireland, Register 1740-42, folio 271.

MONTGOMERY v. ROOKES. 1. William Montgomery, City of Dublin, Merchant, affirms that George Rookes of Dublin, Merchant, deceased Intestate, was at his decease indebted to him the said William Montgomery, £110, he was acquainted with said George Rookes, and believes he died a widower, leaving 5 children, viz., George, Amos, Thomas, Abel, and Joanna, spinster, said Joanna lives in Dublin, Abel in Limerick, Thomas in Philadelphia, America. Their Uncle is Mr. John Barkley of Dublin, Merchant, who said that George and Amos left this kingdom several years ago for America. Sworn 20 November 1750.

2. Citation of said children to appear by George, Archbishop of Armagh.

3. Alexander Mucklebay, Literate, making oath that he served Joanna with Citation.

Prerogative Court of Ireland. Cause Papers, 1750.

WILLIAM BREDIN of Creagh, Parish of Anghavea, County Fermanagh. Will 30 July 1768; proved ———. To my sons William and Richard Bredin, one half of my farm. To my son Cristopher Bredin one fourth of my land, and three parks next John Veitch, and Thomas Galbraith Lands. To son George Bredin, one fourth of land in possession of James Gorell. If my son James Bredin yt is now seposed to be in America ever lives to Come home, if he please to live here, I allow him to give my son George £20 for his fourth. To John Bredin £6. To daughter Margaret Bredin £5. To wife Esbel Bredin 2s. 8d. yearly. To daughter Jean Bredin alias Lindsay half Guinea, and her daughter Margaret Lindsay one guinea. Executors: William Bredin and Richard Bredin. Guardians over them: Edward Cook of Criefhil and Thomas Galbraith of Det-henry and Cristopher Bredin of Culbuck. Witnesses: James Veitch, William Veitch, John Veitch.

Clogher Will Book, 1754-1785, folio 21.

JAMES McCLURE of Tassagh, parish of Derrynoose, County Armagh. Will 12 October 1776; proved 2 September 1777. My farm in Knockraven, County Armagh, to Sanders Linsey and Allexander Walker, in trust for my executors and my wife Alice McClure, to pay my sons, William McClure and Alexander McClure, £1.10s. each yearly, and to permit my sons, John, Robert, and Hugh, and daughter Elizabeth to receive the remainder. To my son James who went to America 5s. Executors: John Girvin and Son William. Witnesses: Jon Morson, Mera-dith McCain, James Low.

Armagh Will Book, folio 41.

SAMUEL McCLORE of the City of Londonderry, Innkeeper. Will 20 January 1785; no Probate. To my son Francis McClure, now in America, and to my sons Samuel McClure, Andrew, Richard McClure, and to my daughter McClure, £5 each. To my wife Sarah McClure all my property which I hold under the Irish Society of London, that she may sell it and divide it among my children. Executors: Wife Sarah and Son Samuel. Witnesses: Charles McClure, Ferguson Moore, James McGlassen.

Derry Will Book, 1786-1790, folio 120.

WILLIAM MARSHALL of Crevey, county Londonderry. Will 11 October 1786; no Probate. To my wife Margery Marshall £10. To my daughter Patience McIlheney 1s. To second daughter Margaret Brown 1s. To third daughter Margery 1s. To son Alexander the part of my farm in my own possession. To son James, who is now in America, the part of my farm in possession of John Steel. Executors: Moses Scott, George Marshall, both of Londonderry, merchants, and my son Alexander. Witnesses: John Dougall, Robert Daugheen, John Davitt.

Derry Will Book, 1786-1790, folio 13.

JOHN RUDLE of Lisnagnett [Lisnagrott], parish of Tam-laght a Crilly [Tamlaghtocrilly], county Londonderry. Will 16 December 1787; proved (no date given). My land to be sold. To my wife Martha Rudle £25. To my daughter Nancy Rudle £20. To my son James the acquital of the money he borrowed of me. To son Thomas Rudle £25. To son Jackson Rudle £95. To my son Robert Rudle £75, in case he returns from America in the space of thirteen years after the present date. To son Andrew Rudle £75. Daughter Martha Rudle £75. To my Brother Thomas Rudle one guinea. Witnesses: Samuel Mitchell, John Willson, Pat. Brodley.

Derry Will Book, 1786-1790, folio 129.

SAMUEL ABBOTT of the City of Philadelphia, Merchant. Will 27 January 1785; proved 22 May 1789. To my son William Abbott, my freehold and personal estate for ever. To my daughter Mary Abbott £1000 Irish sterling, when 21 or married. To my natural son William Tyrer £50 when 21. To my servant Andrew Eagan £70 Irish sterling to be paid him in America. If my son William die before 21 without issue, his part to go to my daughter Mary, and her £1000 to be paid to my brothers John, William, and James Abbott, my sister Mary Hayes, wife of William Hayes of Dublin, merchant, and my half sister, Sarah Carroll. Executors: Brother William Abbott and Mr. Thomas Smith of Birr, Merchant. Witnesses: Thomas Banks, William Talbot, Thos Talbot.

Prerogative Court Ireland, Register 1789, folio 3.

WILLIAM NELSON of Ballymoney. Will 24 September 1796; proved 22 October 1796. To my wife Jane £70. To son John £50 to keep him at school and part to keep him at a Trade, or fit him out to America. To daughter Nancy £40. To daughter Mary £60 and half dozen tea spoons marked M. N. To son Abram £70. My watch to John Henry of Dundoans. Executors: Mr. Robt Gamble of Ballymoney, Merchant, Mr. Joseph Reynolds of Dunna-ferry, and Mr. Jno. Henry of Dundoan, Farmers. Witnesses: Neal Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Robt Dougherty.

Connor Will Book, 1796.

PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES, ISSUED BY
GOVERNOR JAMES HAMILTON, 1748-1752.

BY HELEN JORDAN.

[In the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is an interesting old account book,—“The Honourable James Hamilton Esq. his account current with Richard Peters,”—which contains Marriage, Public House, Pedlar, Horse Jockey, Indian Trader, and Insurance Licenses; Passports, and Ship Registers, issued between 1748 and 1752. The Reverends Backhouse, Ross, Currie, Acrelius, and Schlatter appear to have been the favorite clergymen of that day. It is also of record that the Governor paid pew rent at Christ Church £8. annually; that from 1749-1752 he subscribed £50. per annum to the Assembly; and that he made a donation of £50. to the Academy.

The following List of Marriage Licenses is not included in those printed in Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. II.]

- Aaron, Moses, and Elizabeth Buller, 1752, January 3.
Abbot, Mary, and Benjamin Browning, 1751, March 23.
Abevan, Jane, and James Much, 1751, April 20.
Adams, James, and Martha Henry, 1749, June 7.
Adams, James, and Elizabeth Watson, 1751, October 16.
Aldridge, Elizabeth, and George Charm, 1751, May 27.
Agin, Tobias, and Elizabeth Rupertson, 1752, February 29.
Aken, Margaret, and Jacob Ebald, 1749, October.
Alaire, Alexander, and Elizabeth Palmer, 1749, October.
Alberson, Ruloff, and Mary Coates, 1749, April.
Albertson, Jane, and William Egerton, 1749, December.
Albertson, William, and Elizabeth Cambell, 1752, April 1.
Alexander, William, and Marg^t Dunn, 1751, September 4.
Alexander, Hezekiah, and Mary Sample, 1752, June 12.
Allarue, Anna, and Jacob Subers, 1748, January 17.
Allen, Richard, and Elizabeth Boore, 1748, January 3.
Allen, Margery, and Ralph Smith, 1749, April 22.

- Allenby, Mary, and Peter Revell, 1748, November.
 Anderson, Patrick, and Hannah Martin, 1748, November.
 Anderson, Jane, and Isaac Arthur, 1749, January.
 Anderson, John, and Martha McFarland, 1749, May.
 Anderson, Andrew, and Susannah Bellows, 1751, February 2.
 Anderson Isaac, and Edith Shull, 1751, April 16.
 Anderson, Mary, and James Woodside, 1751, October 26.
 Anderson, Ann, and Anthony Martin, 1752, May 26.
 Andover, Joseph, and Mary Reames, 1751, July 1.
 Anmin, Barbara, and Michael Dyade, 1748, November.
 Annis, Samuel, and Sarah Pearson, 1750, August.
 Annis, Susannah, and Robert Lindsay, 1751, December 13.
 Annis, Ann, and Josiah Davenport, 1751, December 13.
 Appowen, Samuel, and Hannah Cocks, 1749, March.
 Armitage, Mary, and Thomas Dunn, 1751, August 24.
 Armstrong, Eleanor, and John Clarke, 1751, November 11.
 Arnold, Mark, and Elizabeth Lawrence, 1750, September.
 Arrell, William, and Elizabeth Norwood, 1749, March 25.
 Arrell, Richard, and Christian Davies, 1749, July.
 Arthur, Isaac, and Jane Anderson, 1749, January.
 Ash, Henry, and Rebecca Leach, 1749, March 25.
 Ashmead, Ann, and Samuel Potts, 1751, October 9.
 Ashton, Richard, and Lydia Bell, 1749, March 31.
 Ashton, Isaac, and Mary Hall, 1749, June 16.
 Asprell, Mary, and Leonard Humphries, 1752, May 4.
 Atkinson, Barbara, and Thomas Davis, 1749, August.
 Atkinson, John, and Jane Jones, 1751, June 6.
 Atwood, William, and Mary Penry, widow, 1751, March 16.
 Ayres, John, and Catharine Humsted, 1750, July.

 Badcock, Hannah, and John Evans, 1751, November 15.
 Bailey, John, and Jane Watkins, 1749, March.
 Bailey, Ann, and Hugh Smith, 1751, June 25.
 Bain, Mary, and Jago Henry, 1748, February 25.
 Bainbridge, Sarah, and Francis Hall, 1748, February 11.
 Baker, Mary, and Isaac Howell, 1751, April 17.

- Baker, Hannah, and Israel Davies, 1751, April 26.
Ball, Abigail, and Peter Gilbert, 1749, June 16.
Ballard, Rebecca, and Joseph Cox, 1749, December.
Bainbridge, Mary, and Thomas Gorden, 1751, October 16.
Bane, Mary, and Richard Jerrard, 1751, May 18.
Banfield, Thomas, and Ruth Mandlin, 1750, May.
Bankson, Deborah, and John Lord, 1751, June 8.
Barkley, James, and Mary Marner, 1749, April 19.
Barnhill, Abraham, and Catharine Kemping, 1749, October.
Barnhill, John, and Sarah Craig, 1750, December.
Barney, Thomas, and Elizabeth Palmer, 1749, July.
Barr, Zachariah, and Martha Camron, 1749, March.
Barr, Jane, and Thomas Ross, 1751, June 20.
Barry, Garret, and Margaret Morris, 1750, August.
Bartholomew, John, and Elizabeth Bostein, 1749, October 30.
Bartholomew, Benjamin, and Ann Davis, 1752, February 15.
Bartholomew, Thomas, and Elizabeth Towne, 1750, December.
Bartholomew, Mary, and Philip Thomas, 1751, December 28.
Bartholt, Melchior, and Mary Slaughter, 1750, June.
Bartleston, Susannah, and Jacob Rittenhouse, 1749, July.
Barton, Thomas, and Susannah Cooke, 1750, November.
Bastick, John, and Elizabeth Fearn, 1752, March 26.
Batho, George, and Mary Wattlebaum, 1752, July 20.
Balter, Aneas, and Ann Mason, 1750, November.
Battin, Samuel, and Rachel Martin, 1749, January.
Beake, Thomas, and Christiana Boss, 1749, May.
Beal, Deborah, and Thomas Rambo, 1748, March 18.
Beatty, Joseph, and Katharine Conolly, 1751, July 11.
Beaver, Dewalt, and Sybylla Steinbruner, 1751, June 15.
Beene, Elizabeth, and James Strowde, 1749, July.
Behme, John, and Elizabeth Carter, 1748, November.
Bele, George, and Katharine Gainer, 1751, July 22.
Bell, James, and Agnes Mathews, 1749, January.
Bell, Lydia, and Richard Ashton, 1749, March 31.

- Bell, Isaiah, and Margaret Jones, 1749, August.
 Bell, Elizabeth, and George Nicholson, 1751, November 1.
 Bell, Joseph, and Margaret Stevens, 1752, July 13.
 Bellows, Susannah, and Andrew Anderson, 1751, February 2.
 Bener, Gertrude, and Adam Smith, 1750, October 1.
 Benne John, and Elizabeth Pites, 1752, January 27.
 Bennet, Abraham, and Mary Harrison, 1749, March.
 Bennet, John, and Christiana Soddem, 1751, September 24.
 Bennet, Daniel, and Mary Felton, 1751, November 18.
 Bennet, Eleanor, and Isaac Bennett, 1752, July 21.
 Bennett, Isaac, and Eleanor Bennet, 1752, July 21.
 Bensall, Charles, and Sarah Ingle, 1748, January 18.
 Bernhart, Hans George, and Susannah Catharine Sichlin,
 1751, October 17.
 Bettson, John, and Mary Connor, 1749, December.
 Biddle, Michael, and Rachel Scull, 1749, March.
 Bissert, Elizabeth, and Adam Shoub, 1752, July 29.
 Black, William, and Ann Wethers, 1749, March.
 Blackfan, Sarah, and Richard Wood, 1751, November 7.
 Blake, Robert, and Hannah Hartley, 1749, April.
 Blake, Hannah, and John Dougherty, 1749, April.
 Blake, Thomas, and Elizabeth Jones, 1749, October.
 Bland, Elias, and Hannah Stamper, 1752, June 22.
 Bloome, John George, and Phoebe Fleeken, 1752, June 1.
 Blythe, Martha, and William Cinneer, 1751, May 17.
 ——— ———, and Malachia Bonham, 1751, July 19.
 Bonham, Malachia, and ——— ———, 1751, July 19.
 Bond, Joseph, and Elizabeth Donaldson, 1748, November.
 Bonsell, Samuel, and Margaret House, 1748, November.
 Boogart, Gisbert, and Elizabeth Vannest, 1749, October.
 Boone, Elizabeth, and John Turner, 1749, March.
 Boore, Elizabeth, and Richard Allen, 1748, January 3.
 Boss Christiana, and Thomas Beake, 1749, May.
 Bostein, Elizabeth, and William Bartholomew, 1749, Octo-
 ber 30.
 Bowen, Hannah, and Evan Evans, 1749, May.
 Bowen, Elizabeth, and Thomas Rodger, 1751, June 27.

- Bowes, Rachel, and John Sayre, 1751, April 6.
Bowes, Sarah, and Thomas Smith, 1752, March 9.
Boyd, Patrick, and Margaret Eaton, 1749, March.
Boyd, Ann, and William Weldon, 1749, April 27.
Boyd, Hannah, and Samuel Spencer, 1751, April 10.
Boyer, Margaret, and Jacob Duremont, 1751, November 20.
Boyse, Sebastian, and Mary Marshtellon, 1748, January 23.
Braddock, Ann, and Thomas Campbell, 1751, May 28.
Brading, Elizabeth, and William McGee, 1749, November.
Bradley, William, and Ann Rigg, 1751, October 29.
Brand, ———, and Dr. John Kearsley, 1748, November.
Brand, Martin, and Mary Gardner, 1751, September 25.
Brandley, Katharine, and Leonard Freily, 1752, May 6.
Brandon, Maria, and John Brant, 1751, July 5.
Branson, Elizabeth, and Lynford Lardner, 1749, October.
Brant, John, and Maria Brandon, 1751, July 5.
Breeding, Robert, and Mary Cammell, 1749, July.
Bredin, Robert, and Eleanor Roan, 1750, August.
Breintnall, Rebecca, and Edward Weyman, 1751, July 4.
Breintnall, Martha, and James Lowther, 1752, May 11.
Brenner, Caspar, and Catharine Easterling, 1751, December 17.
Brian, Cornelius, and Mary Roberts, 1749, May.
Bruch, Thomas, and Elizabeth Brooks, 1752, May 28.
Bringhurst, Sarah, and George Palmer, 1749, January.
Bringhurst, John, and Mary Finney, 1749, March.
Brodricks, Honour, and Bernard McCosker, 1750, June.
Brooks, George, and Margaret Montgomery, 1751, February 9.
Brooks, Elizabeth, and Thomas Bruch, 1752, May 28.
Brown, Jane, and Henry Tisdale, 1749, April 18.
Brown, Thomas, and Elizabeth Draper, 1749, June.
Brown, Gustavus, and Elizabeth Harper, 1751, June 5.
Brown, Andrew, and Jane McFarlin, 1751, April 13.
Brown, Joseph, and Martha Hutchinson, 1751, May 11.
Browne, Jane, and John Crawford, 1750, July.
Browning, Benjamin, and Mary Abbot, 1751, March 23.

Bryley, Catharine, and Thomas Childs, 1751, November 11.
 Buchanan, James, and Mary Dean, 1752, May 5.
 Buckman, Isaac, and Mary Hillborn, 1751, November 18.
 Budd, Levi, and Elizabeth Edge, 1749, December.
 Buffington, Peter, and Hannah White, 1750, July.
 Bull, Elizabeth, and Thomas Rossiter, 1751, April 18.
 Buller, Elizabeth, and Moses Aaron, 1752, January 3.
 Bunting, Joseph, and Esther Powel, 1751, October 28.
 Burk, Alice, and Patrick Farril, 1750, October 1.
 Burkloe, Samuel, and Mary Evans, 1749, March.
 Burley, Alice, and John Simmons, 1749, March.
 Burns, Elizabeth, and Thomas Darling, 1748, November.
 Burton, Joseph, and Patience Burton, 1751, December 13.
 Burton, Patience, and Joseph Burton, 1751, December 13.
 Burton, Anthony, and Mary Hough, 1752, February 12.
 Butler, Benjamin, and Elizabeth James, 1748, February 2.
 Button, Jacob, and Margaret Klein, 1752, January 7.
 Byrn, Elizabeth, and William Woodcock, 1749, March.

Cadge, Margaret, and William Parr, 1750, August.
 Cahn, Hannah, and Charles Hamderson, 1749, December.
 Calwell, David, and Mary Davies, 1749, July.
 Callwell, Marg^t, and William Williamson, 1751, September 3.
 Camron, John, and Mary Castle, 1748, November.
 Camron, Martha, and Zachariah Barr, 1749, March.
 Cameron, Thomas, and Sarah Yao, 1749, August.
 Cameron, Sarah, and George Dor, 1751, December 11.
 Cambell, Elizabeth, and William Albertson, 1752, April 1.
 Cammell, William, and Sarah Perkins, 1749, March.
 Cammell, Mary, and Robert Breeding, 1749, July.
 Cammell, Elizabeth, and Thomas Lacky, 1749, October.
 Campbell, Edward, and Mary Lawrence, 1748, February 2.
 Campbell, James, and Elizabeth Gaw, 1749, July.
 Campbell, Thomas, and Ann Braddock, 1751, May 28.
 Carberry, Mary, and John Cox, 1749, May.
 Carew, George, and Elizabeth Sinclair, 1751, April 11.
 Carey, Mary, and George Hardin, 1749, November.

- Carr, Jonathan, and Deborah Robinson, 1748, February 24.
Carr, Mary, and Thomas Fisher, 1751, April 8.
Carrear, Abraham, and Ann Senington, 1749, May.
Carrell, Rachel, and Robert Stewart, 1752, May 30.
Carry, Thomas, and Margaret McMullar, 1752, January 8.
Carson, John, and Sarah McMurray, 1750, December.
Carter, Elizabeth, and John Behme, 1748, November.
Carter, Joseph, and Ann Mickleheny, 1749, April.
Carter, Mary, and John Preston, 1752, June 1.
Cartmell, Sarah, and Thomas Herbert, 1750, September.
Carvell, Thomas, and Rebecca Harris, 1749, December.
Carty, Patrick, and Jemima Pue, 1749, November.
Cash, Rebecca, and Andrew Doz, 1748, November.
Cassell, Susanna, and Edward Drinker, 1752, July 2.
Castle, Mary, and John Camron, 1748, November.
Castle, Ann, and Nathaniel Donnell, 1749, May.
Cather, Mary, and Andrew Lowry, 1751, January 15.
Catringer, John, and Katharine Kelly, 1749, April.
Canthen, Mary, and Francis Hardin, 1749, April 8.
Chambers, Ann, and Patrick Jones, 1749, January.
Chambers, Mary, and James Claypole, 1750, September.
Chancellor, Eliz., and Alexander Stedman, 1749, May.
Chandler, Susanna, and Thomas Coates, 1752, March 30.
Charlesworth, John, and Mary Wood, 1749, December.
Charlton, William, and Isabella Taylor, 1748, January 21.
Charm, George, and Elizabeth Adridge, 1751, May 27.
Childs, John, and Hannah Gisselin, 1748, March 16.
Childs, Thomas, and Catharine Bryley, 1751, November 11.
Cinneer, William, and Martha Blythe, 1751, May 17.
Clair, Barbara, and Elias Toy, 1751, March 1.
Clarke, Hannah, and Francis Lewis, 1749, January.
Clark, Ann, and William Hayes, 1751, February 13.
Clarke, Robert, and Bridget Savoy, 1751, July 17.
Clarke, John, and Eleanor Armstrong, 1751, November 11.
Clarke, Mary, and William Davis, 1751, November 18.
Clarkson, John Levirnus, and Rachel West, 1749, March.
Clampter, William, and Elizabeth Rees, 1750, May.

- Claud, Robert, and Magdalen Peterson, 1749, November.
 Claud, Jeremiah, and Eedy Hartin, 1750, May.
 Claypole, James, and Mary Chambers, 1750, September.
 Clements, Elizabeth, and John Ogg, 1748, March 17.
 Cliff, George, and Esther Hervey, 1751, April 23.
 Clowser, Peter, and Elizabeth Spedin, 1750, June.
 Coat, Thomas, and Ann Tyson, 1749, December.
 Coats, Thomas, and Hannah Pugh, 1748, February 11.
 Coats, Rebecca, and Thomas Shute, 1748, March 21.
 Coats, Rebecca, and Thomas Shute, 1749, May.
 Coates, Mary, and Ruloff Alberson, 1749, April.
 Coates, Abraham, and Susannah Wallace, 1750, June.
 Coates, Thomas, and Susanna Chandler, 1752, March 30.
 Cobourne, Job, and Sarah Moore, 1750, May.
 Cochran, Samuel, and Elizabeth Newton, 1751, February 28.
 Cocks, Hannah, and Samuel Appowen, 1749, March.
 Cogell, Mary, and James Neale, 1749, April.
 Cole, Mary, and James Hunter, 1751, November 12.
 Coleman, Rebecca, and Thomas Stamper, 1749, May.
 Coleman, Elizabeth, and Samuel Fisher, 1749, June 15.
 Coleman, Joseph, and Mary Johnson, 1752, April 2.
 Colgan, William, and Susannah Heath, 1749, January.
 Collet, Mary, and John Daniel, 1748, November.
 Collins, Susanna, and Andrew Tates, 1748, November.
 Collins, Andrew, and Mary Saunders, 1748, November.
 Comfort, Robert, and Eleanor Tomlinson, 1751, August 22.
 Connor, Mary, and John Bettson, 1749, December.
 Conolly, Katharine, and Joseph Beatty, 1751, July 11.
 Conquergood, William, and Katharine Murray, 1751, November 9.
 Conradin, Margaretta, and Conrad Reaver, 1750, August.
 Cook, Rose, and Dennis Ferrell, 1748, November.
 Cook, Jonathan, and Margaret Miles, 1749, May.
 Cooke, Susannah, and Thomas Barton, 1750, November.
 Coomb, Ann, and Zachariah Vanleewenigh, 1748, February 25.
 Coombe, Mary, and Stephen Harris, 1749, May.

- Cooper, Mary, and Samuel Kirk, 1751, April 3.
Cooper, Hannah, and John Mickle, 1752, July 25.
Coopes, James, and Hannah Hibbs, 1750, September.
Cuppock, James, and Catharine Pugh, 1752, July 8.
Corbet, Ann, and James Freeman, 1749, April.
Coren, Isaac, and Ruth Jones, 1751, July 6.
Cornock, William, and Alice Griffith, 1751, September 14.
Cotman, Hannah, and James Treherne, 1751, April 15.
Couch, Daniel, and Phœbe Pollard, 1750, December.
Cox, William, and Mary Francis, 1749, April.
Cox, Samuel, and Elizabeth Spronce, 1749, May.
Cox, John, and Mary Carberry, 1749, May.
Cox, Joseph, and Rebecca Ballard, 1749, December.
Cox, Jacob, and Martha Rambo, 1750, December.
Cox, Israel, and Christiana Horton, 1751, April 6.
Craig, John, and Isabel Miller, 1749, September.
Craig, Sarah, and John Barnhill, 1750, December.
Craig, Robert, and Ann Gear, 1751, October 16.
Crawford, Ann, and Jacob Souder, 1749, October.
Crawford, John, and Jane Browne, 1750, July.
Crawford, Archibald, and Margaret Wigton, 1750, December.
Creux, Henry, and Margaret Garner, 1749, September.
Crispin, Silas, and Martha Miles, 1749, January.
Crocker, Deborah, and Bowman Hunlohe, 1751, November 26.
Cropp, Christian, and Catharine Suber, 1751, April 16.
Crosier, Elizabeth, and Swan Justice, 1751, November 29.
Crosley, Elizabeth, and William Malin, 1748, February 1.
Cummings, James, and Sarah Logan, 1751, June 3.
Cunningham, William, and Elizabeth West, 1748, February 13.
Cunningham, Redmond, and Martha Ellis, 1749, January.
Cuthbert, Rebecca, and William Noblett, 1752, June 16.
Dalbo, Gabriel, and Mary Emson, 1751, November 18.
Dalby, Richard, and Ann Williams, 1750, August.
Daniel, John, and Mary Collet, 1748, November.

- Darling, Thomas, and Elizabeth Burus, 1748, November.
Darlington, Robert, and Jannet Macky, 1751, January 29.
Davenport, Josiah, and Ann Annis, 1751, December 13.
Davids, John, and Sarah Harper, 1751, February 28.
Davies, Abigal, and Evan Lloyd, 1748, November.
Davies, Christian, and Richard Arrell, 1749, July.
Davies, Israel, and Hannah Baker, 1751, April 25.
Davies, Mary, and John ———, 1752, April 28.
Davies, Mary, and David Calwell, 1749, July.
Davies, Priscella, and George Warral, 1752, April 27.
Davies, Samson, and Sarah Miles, 1752, May 20.
Davies, Steven, and Mary Morgan, 1752, May 18.
Davis, William, and Letitia Price, 1751, April 26.
Davis, Abel, and Sarah Griffith, 1752, January 10.
Davis, Ann, and Benjamin Bartholomew, 1752, February 15.
Davis, Ann, and John Pickle, 1749, March 31.
Davis, Ellis, and Mary Jones, 1749, September.
Davis, Hannah, and Michael Pugh, 1749, September.
Davis, Hannah, and Benjamin Van Horn, 1749, June 8.
Davis, Isaac, and Mary Griffith, 1752, March 18.
Davis, Isabella, and John Scott, 1752, March 7.
Davis, James, and Joan Lloyd, 1752, May 1.
Davis, Jonathan, and Susanna Jenkins, 1748, March 4.
Davis, James, and Mary Spooner, 1751, July 2.
Davis, Jane, and Patrick Fenning, 1751, August 15.
Davis, John, and Mary Prichard, 1749, March 29.
Davis, Katharine, and John Mather, 1751, May 27.
Davis, Margaret, and John Griffith, 1749, December.
Davis, Margaret, and Foster Parks, 1749, September.
Davis, Rachel, and Andrew Flood, 1751, June 24.
Davis, Rees, and Olive Head, 1751, October 19.
Davis, Samuel, and Martha Pricket, 1749, April.
Davis, Samuel, and Margaret Rowen, 1752, January 27.
Davis, Sarah, and William Douglass, 1749, March.
Davis, Thomas, and Barbara Atkinson, 1749, August.
Davis, William, and Mary Clarke, 1751, November 18.
Dawson, Mary, and George Morrison, 1751, August 6.

- Dawson, Mary, and Alexander Ore, 1749, December.
Dawson, Rosamond, and Charles Green, 1752, May 18.
Day, Abigail, and William Thomas, 1751, January 17.
Day, John, and Martha Forest, 1750, November.
Deacon, Thomas, and Jane Ore, 1749, December.
Dean, Mary, and James Buchanan, 1752, May 5.
Dean, Mary, and Joseph Wharton, 1751, April 23.
Deer, Dorothy, and Simon Treisbach, 1752, April 7.
Delbick, Daniel, and Eve Helering, 1751, November 7.
Dennis, Elizabeth, and Joseph Graseberry, 1740, November.
Depue, Ann, and Daniel Shoemaker, 1751, March 14.
Dindsey, Mary, and John Lawdon, 1749, September.
Dixon, Robert, and Frances Killpatrick, 1748, March 17.
Dixon, Thomas, and Rebecca Greenman, 1751, October 19.
Donaldson, Elizabeth, and Joseph Bond, 1748, December.
Donaldson, Hugh, and Mary Dermley, 1751, May 15.
Donaldson, Joseph, and Sarah Wilkinson, 1751, August 1.
Douglass, William, and Sarah Davis, 1749, March.
Donnell, Nathaniel, and Ann Castle, 1749, May.
Doran, Ann, and Patrick Kelly, 1749, January.
Dorvill, Joseph, and Ann Shackleton, 1748, November.
Dougherty, John, and Hannah Blake, 1749, April.
Dowding, Elizabeth, and John Faris, 1749, July.
Dowlin, Paul, and Elizabeth Williams, 1750, October 15.
Downe, John, and Barbara Smith, 1751, August 24.
Doyle, Edward, and Hannah Eaton, 1751, December 11.
Doyle, John, and Sarah Wood, 1751, November 19.
Doyle, Prudence, and James Wilson, 1752, February 1.
Doz, Andrew, and Rebecca Cash, 1748, December.
Drain, John, and Jane Ross, 1750, October 25.
Drapers, Elizabeth, and Thomas Brown, 1749, June.
Drinker, Edward, and Susanna Cassell, 1752, July 2.
Drinker, Edward, and Susanna Williams, 1749, November.
Dubois, Jonathan, and Helena Wynkoop, 1751, November 15.
Duffield, Edward, and Katharine Parry, 1751, June 10.
Dulton, Isaac, and Mary Wright, 1750, October 13.

- Dulton, James, and Hannah Price, 1751, January 5.
 Dunbar, Eleanor, and Patrick Gordon, 1749, March.
 Duncan, Hannah, and Thomas Worthington, 1751, April 20.
 Dungan, Deborah, and Benjamin Stevens, 1751, August 28.
 Dunn, Gartright, and Thomas Greenwood, 1748, November.
 Dunn, Marg^t, and William Alexander, 1751, September 4.
 Dunn, Thomas, and Mary Armitage, 1751, August 24.
 Dunning, Mary, and William Goforth, 1750, December.
 Duremont, Jacob, and Margaret Boyer, 1751, November 20.
 Dyado, Michael, and Barbaro Annien, 1748, November.
 Dyer, Elizabeth, and James Dyer, 1751, February 23.
 Dyer, James, and Elizabeth Dyer, 1751, February 23.
- Eader, Ann, and Samuel Scolly, 1749, January.
 Eastburne, Hannah, and Joseph Hossay, 1752, July 17.
 Easterling, Catharine, and Caspar Brenner, 1751, December 17.
- Eaton, Hannah, and Edward Doyle, 1751, December 11.
 Eaton, Margaret, and Patrick Boyd, 1749, March.
 Ebald, Jacob, and Margaret Aken, 1749, October.
 Eberolt, Jacob, and Susanna Opdegrass, 1751, May 31.
 Eckles, George, and Susannah Holmes, 1750, October 6.
 Edgar, John, and Mary Owen, 1748, December.
 Edge, Elizabeth, and Levi Budd, 1749, December.
 Edgil, Rebecca, and Samuel Mifflin, 1750, August.
 Edinburg, Catharine, and Lawrence Walter, 1749, November.
 Edwards, John, and Mary Newman, 1751, September 25.
 Egerton, William, and Jane Albertson, 1749, December.
 Elizabeth, Mary, and Christopher Schiemel, 1750, December.
 Ellett, Elizabeth, and Robert ———.
- Elliot, Hannah, and William Mann, 1748, January 21.
 Ellis, Martha, and Redmond Cunningham, 1749, January.
 Elton, John, and Mary Hart, 1749, March.
 Emson, Mary, and Gabriel Dalbo, 1751, November 18.
 Evans, Abner, and Sarah Thomas, 1751, March 16.
 Evans, Alice, and Joseph Lunn, 1751, November 26.
 Evans, Eleanor, and Robert Evans, 1751, May 16.

- Evans, Elizabeth, and Samuel Roberts, 1751, April 25.
Evans, Evan, and Hannah Bowen, 1749, May.
Evans, Evan, and Priscilla Waterman, 1750, May.
Evans, Fanny, and Charles Ford, 1751, December 21.
Evans, Hannah, and Jonathan Martin, 1751, March 23.
Evans, Hannah, and Rowland Parry, 1750, July.
Evans, James, and Elizabeth Lloyd, 1750, May.
Evans, John, and Hannah Badcock, 1751, November 15.
Evans, John, and Ann Williams, 1751, November 20.
Evans, Mary, and Samuel Burkloe, 1749, March.
Evans, Morris, and Lettice Morris, 1750, May.
Evans, Robert, and Eleanor Evans, 1751, May 16.
Evans, Sarah, and John Jones, 1749, December.
Evans, Sarah, and Thomas Martin, 1751, December 20.
Evans, Simeon, and Rebecca Gudgeon, widow, 1749, April.
Evans, William, and Martha Huff, 1751, September 11.
Ewing, Andrew, and Elizabeth Tupy, 1749, September.
Ewing, Elizabeth, and Thomas Wills, 1749, September.
Ewing, John, and Sarah Yates, 1749, March.
Eyers, Mary, and Jasper Scull, 1749, January.
- Faber, John, and Rebecca Wells, 1749, August.
Fallet, William, and Dorcas Peisley, 1749, March.
Fannimore, Richard, and Hannah Horner, 1749, July.
Faries, Jane, and Robert Ferguson, 1749, April 13.
Faris, John, and Elizabeth Dowding, 1749, July.
Farril, Patrick, and Alice Burk, 1750, October 1.
Farron, John, and Hannah Tisdell, 1752, July 22.
Fausman, Benjamin, and Margt Troy, 1749, May.
Faust, Anthony, and Elizabeth Fisher, 1749, April 28.
Fearn, Elizabeth, and John Bastick, 1752, March 26.
Felton, Mary, and Daniel Bennet, 1751, November 18.
Fenby, John, and Margaret Longwell, 1749, May.
Fend, Elizabeth, and Christian Lehman, 1751, April 23.
Fenning, Patrick, and Jane Davis, 1751, August 15.
Ferguson, Robert, and Jane Fareis, 1749, April 13.
Ferrell, Dennis, and Rose Cook, 1748, November.

- Field, Robert, and Rachel Mayberry, 1749, March.
 Finney, Mary, and John Bringhurst, 1749, March.
 Fimmimore, Joshua, and Rebecca Pearson, 1749, May.
 Fish, Mary, and John Hamilton, 1750, October 20.
 Fisher, Deborah, and James Williams, 1751, December.
 Fisher, Elizabeth, and Anthony Faust, 1749, April 28.
 Fisher, Margaret, and Robert Fleming, 1752, April 15.
 Fisher, Samuel, and Elizabeth Coleman, 1749, June 15.
 Fishes, Thomas, and Mary Carr, 1751, April 8.
 Fitzsymmonds, William, and Honour Spencer, 1752, January 22.
 Fitz Summons, Mary, and Dennis Sullivan, 1749, September.
 Fitzgerald, Mary, and James Kirke, 1749, March.
 Fitzrandolph, Edward, and Mary Lownes, 1752, April 15.
 Fleming, Robert, and Margaret Fisher, 1752, April 15.
 Flemming, Robert, and Mary Cummell, 1750, August.
 Flood, Andrew, and Rachel Davis, 1751, June 24.
 Floyd, John, and Mary Latham, 1750, June.
 Fontasket, Christian, and Barbara Merg, 1750, November.
 Ford, Ann, and John Sadler, 1749, October.
 Ford, Bridget, and Patrick Gayher, 1750, September.
 Ford, Charles, and Fanny Evans, 1751, December 21.
 Ford, John, and Sarah Ann ———, 1748, January 9.
 ———, Sarah Ann, and John Ford, 1748, January 9.
 Ford, William, and Elizabeth Price, 1748, November.
 Fordham, Elizabeth, and Stephen Shewell, 1750, May.
 Forest, Martha, and John Day, 1750, November.
 Forten, Elizabeth, and Benjamin Wiley, 1749, October.
 Foster, Mary, and John Long, 1750, August.
 Foster, Mary, and Daniel Street, 1752, April 8.
 Foster, Mary, and Isaiah Vansant, 1749, March.
 Foster, Salathiel, and Mercy Kerle, 1749, November.
 Foster, Sarah, and William Tillyer, 1749, April.
 Fox, Elizabeth, and William Henry, 1750, October 13.
 Fox, George, and Mary Woods, 1751, August 3.
 Francis, Elizabeth, and John Lawrence, 1749, April.
 Francis, Margaret, and John Towers, 1749, May.

- Francis, Mary, and William Cox, 1749, April.
Francis, Thomas, and Susannah Turner, 1751, February 25.
Francy, Susanna, and Emanuel Roderick, 1751, March 5.
Frazier, ———, and ——— ———, 1751, June 27.
Freeman, James, and Ann Corbet, 1749, April.
Freid, Philip, and Reginia Pening, 1749, April 10.
Freily, Leonard, and Katharine Brandley, 1752, May 6.
Furnace, Susannah, and Edward Young, 1749, July.
- Gaa, Sarah, and Thomas Cameron, 1749, August.
Gainer, Katharine, and George Bele, 1751, July 22.
Gardiner, Abraham, and Sarah Hollwell, 1749, March.
Gardner, John, and Hannah Howard, 1751, August 13.
Gardner, Mary, and Martin Brand, 1751, September 25.
Gardner, William, and Rebecca Mathews, 1749, March.
Gardner, William, and Elizabeth Tatnall, 1749, April.
Garner, Margaret, and Henry Creux, 1749, September.
Gaunt, Zebulon, and Esther Woolman, 1750, November.
Gaw, Elizabeth, and James Campbell, 1749, July.
Gayher, Patrick, and Bridget Ford, 1750, September.
Gibbins, James, and Mary Miller, 1750, August.
Gilbert, Jane, and Felix Leonard, 1749, May.
Gilbert, Lucretia, and John Thomas, 1752, March 2.
Gilbert, Peter, and Abigail Ball, 1749, June 16.
Gill, John, and Rachel Key, 1749, October.
Gisselin, Hannah, and John Childs, 1748, March 16.
Glasgow, Jane, and Anthony Pritchard, 1751, August 28.
Goforth, William, and Mary Dunning, 1750, December.
Good, Ezekiel, and Jane Monleky, 1748, November.
Gordon, Alexander, and Mary Pender, 1749, June 24.
Gordon, Lewis, and Mary Jenkins, 1749, January.
Gordon, Patrick, and Eleanor Dunbar, 1749, March.
Gordon, Thomas, and Mary Bambridge, 1751, October 16.
Gorsuch, Hannah, and Thomas Jones, 1751, December 21.
Graham, Mary, and William Graham, 1751, March 27.
Graham, William, and Mary Graham, 1751, March 27.
Grandam, Jane, and Simeon Warner, 1749, April.

- Grantham, Charles, and Magdalen Hendrickson, 1749, August.
 Grautum, Margaret, and Thomas Thompson, 1751, March 18.
 Graseberry, Joseph, and Elizabeth Dennis, 1749, November.
 Grasshold, Dorothy, and Michael Holling, 1749, August.
 Graysbury, James, and Mary Norwood, 1750, September.
 Grea, Mathias, and Barbara Taylor, 1752, April 4.
 Grear, Ann, and Robert Craig, 1751, October 16.
 Greathouse, William, and Barbara Statzin, 1749, March.
 Green, Charles, and Rosamond Dawson, 1752, May 18.
 Green, Thomas, and Ann Lewis, 1749, April 5.
 Greenman, Rebecca, and Thomas Dixon, 1751, October 19.
 Greenwood, Thomas, and Cartright Dunn, 1748, December.
 Griffin, Elizabeth, and George Rankin, 1750, December.
 Griffith, Abram, and Catharine Lewellin, 1752, June 20.
 Griffith, Alice, and William Cornock, 1751, September 14.
 Griffith, John, and Margaret Davis, 1749, December.
 Griffith, Mary, and Isaac Davis, 1752, March 18.
 Griffith, Sarah, and Abel Davis, 1752, January 10.
 Grimes, Richard, and Mary Hamilton, 1748, February 14.
 Groff, Jos., and Anna Katherina Hoffing, 1748, March 21.
 Grogan, James, and Hannah Walsh, 1750, August.
 Gudgeon, Rebecca, widow, and Simeon Evans, 1749, April.
 Guilhott, Mary, and James Shirley, 1749, July.
 Guthry, Ann, and Joseph, 1752, March 9.

 Hair, Benjamin, and Elizabeth Simpson, 1751, September 21.
 Haley, Honour, and John Williams, 1748, March 7.
 Hall, Alice, and Richard Parsons, 1749, October.
 Hall, Elizabeth, and John Petty, 1748, February 2.
 Hall, Francis, and Sarah Bainbridge, 1748, February 11.
 Hall, Jane, and Alexander Stuart, 1752, June 16.
 Hall, Mary, and Isaac Ashton, 1749, June 16.
 Hamderson, Charles, and Hannah Calve, 1749, December.
 Hamilton, Charles, and Jane Urbain Voyer, 1749, June 7.
 Hamilton, John, and Mary Fish, 1750, October 20.
 Hamilton, Margaret, and John Leacock, 1749, October.

- Hamilton, Martha, and Henry Roberts, 1751, October 17.
Hamilton, Mary, and Richard Grimes, 1748, February 14.
Hamilton, Thomas, and Margaret Twining, 1749, January.
Hancock, Mary, and Richard Moore, 1748, February 27.
Hannah, and Quako, negroes, 1748, January 27.
Hanns, Mary, and Clotworthy Reed, 1751, July 2.
Hardie, Robert, and Elizabeth Rogers, 1752, May 28.
Hardin, Francis, and Mary Cauthen, 1749, April 8.
Hardin, George, and Mary Carey, 1749, November.
Harding, Elizabeth, and Peter Hodgson, 1749, March.
Harding, Elizabeth, and Henry Knight, 1748, November.
Harding, Marg^t, and Abram Skinner, 1751, November.
——— Captⁿ, and Sarah Hargrave, 1749, October.
Hargrave, Sarah, and Captn. ——, 1749, October.
Harman, Ann, and James McDowell, 1751, August.
Harper, Ann, and Moses Wells, 1749, April 26.
Harper, Elizabeth, and Gustavus Brown, 1751, June 5.
Harper, James, and Ann McKees, 1750, November.
Harper, John, and Sarah Wells, 1750, October 20.
Harper, Rose, and Randal Mitchell, 1751, December 11.
Harper, Sarah, and John Davids, 1751, February 28.
Harriet, Anderson, and Mary Warnick, 1749, October.
Harry, John, and Rachel Saul, 1751, July 27.
Harry, Mary, and James Sparkes, 1751, June 3.
Harry, Sarah, and Amos Roberts, 1750, October 6.
Harris, Joseph, and Margaret Miller, 1751, October 25.
Harris, Rebecca, and Thomas Carvell, 1749, December.
Harris, Rebecca, and George Owen, 1751, May 4.
Harris, Stephen, and Mary Coombe, 1749, May.
Harris, Susanna, and Moses Marshall, 1751, June 18.
Harrison, Mary, and Abraham Bennet, 1749, March.
Harrol, Elizabeth, and John Rambo, 1748, March 21.
Hart, Mary, and John Elton, 1749, March.

(To be Continued.)

“ACCOUNT OF SERVANTS BOUND AND ASSIGNED
BEFORE JAMES HAMILTON, MAYOR OF PHILA-
DELPHIA.”

CONTRIBUTED BY GEORGE W. NEIBLE, CHESTER, PENNA.

(Continued from Volume XXXI, page 473.)

June 25th.

James Shute son of *Jacob Shute* of Philada., cooper with consent of his parents indents himself apprentice to *Robert Adams* of said city, cooper, for five years from June 23rd 1746, to be taught the trade of a cooper, to have two months night schooling in every winter, during the said term, and at the end of his time to have one new suit of apparel besides his old ones, and £10 : in money.

Thomas Shute of Phila. attorney to *Joseph Shute* of Carolina, merchant, binds a negro boy of *Joseph Shute* named *Carolina*, apprentice to *John Garrigues* of Phila. cooper, for five years from June 9th 1746, to be taught the trade of a cooper, but not to be found in clothes by said Garrigues.

James Shirley son of *Mary Buckley* of Gloucester County with consent of his mother indents himself apprentice to *William Crossthwaite* of Phila. peruke maker, for seven years from this date, is to be taught the trade of a peruke maker, to have three months half day schooling to learn to read and write for the first three years and at the end of his time the customary dues.

William Humphreys assigns *Thomas Brady* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to *Robert Jones Jr.* of Phila. county, yeoman, for five years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £13 : customary dues.

William Humphreys assigns *Patrick Kearnan* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to *Robert Jones* of

Chester County, yeoman, for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £14 : 10/ to have customary dues.

William Humphreys assigns *Michael Herbert* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to John Singleton of Phila. lawyer, for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £14 : 10/ customary dues.

June 26th.

George House, Isaac Jones and Peter Robertson, overseers of the poor of the city of Phila., bind *Walter Savage*, an orphan apprentice to William Morris of Lancaster County, fuller, for twelve years from this date, to be taught to read, and have customary dues.

Burton Daxson assigns *Francis Henderson* (a servant from Ireland in the brig. William) to William Gilkinson of Chester County, yeoman, for four years from June 3rd. 1746. Consideration £13 : customary dues.

June 28th.

Samson Davis with consent of his mother Christian Davis binds himself apprentice to John Hall of Phila. County, blacksmith, for five years and eight months from June 27th 1746, to have six months winter nights schooling, and when free the customary dues and £10 : in money.

William McCrea assigns *Philip McLaughlan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Martha) to William Peters of Phila. gentleman, for four years from May 19th 1746. Consideration £17 : 10/ customary dues.

William Humphreys assigns *Edward Neal* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Richard Bevan of Phila. county, yeoman, for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £14 : to have customary dues.

June 30th.

Thomas Claybourn with the consent and approbation of his friends John Searl and Samuel Carson indents himself apprentice to Peter Hatton of Phila. cooper, for five years

from April 1st 1746. to be taught the trade of a cooper and have customary dues.

Elinor Coughlan, in consideration £14: paid Burton Daxson for her passage from Ireland in the brig. William, indents herself servant to Lawrence Little of Phila. county yeoman, for four years from June 3d. 1746, to have customary dues.

Mary Planket widow, binds her daughter *Mary Planket* to Gideon Brasmon and Katherine his wife for ten years and five months from this date and give £8: with her, the said infant to be taught to read, write and sew linen, and at the end of her time to have given to her two complete suits of apparel, one of which is to be new.

Charles Edgar assigns *John Healy* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Nathan Seevie of Chester county yeoman for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

July 1st.

John Roe in consideration of £21: 10/ paid by William Wheldon of Phila. victualler, to Dr. Thomas Greene for his use and at his request indents himself servant to William Wheldon for four years from this date, no freedom dues.

July 2nd.

Joseph Smith assigns *Elizabeth McNalton* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Katherine) to Peacock Bigger of Phila. coppersmith, for four years from May 29th 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

July 3d.

Conyngnam and Gardner assign *Thomas Mullen* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Katherine) to Charles Mullen or West Jersey yeoman, for four years from May 29th 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

William Humphreys assigns *George Vance* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to John Moore of Phila. yeo-

man for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £14: 10/ customary dues.

James Eldridge son of Elizabeth Norton of Cape May with consent of his mother signified by ——— indents himself apprentice to Augustine Allman of Phila. cordwainer, for six years and four months from this date, to be taught the trade of a shoemaker and have customary dues.

July 4th.

William Humphreys assigns *John Egan* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Abraham Coates of Phila. county for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Cornelius McDermott in consideration of £7: paid for his use by Joseph Love of Virginia, trader, indents himself a servant to said Joseph for one year from this date to have one shirt, one pair shoes, one jacket and two pair moccasins all new, as they become necessary.

July 5th.

Benjamin Sashley in consideration of £8: paid for his passage from Ireland by Archibald Thorp of Phila. cordwainer, indents himself a servant to the said Archibald for one year from June 18th 1746, no apparel nor freedom dues.

July 8th.

William Adams assigns *Philip Lenehan* his servant for the remainder of his time to Richard Smith of Phila. porter, for four years from August 29th 1743. Consideration £9: customary dues.

William Davenport in consideration £10: paid Edward Dowers for his passage from Liverpool by Voisall Chubb of Phila. merchant, indents himself servant to said Voisall Chubb for three years from this date, to have customary dues.

July 11th.

Samuel McCall assigns *Joseph Davison* his servant for the remainder of his time to William Arbour of Phila. yeoman

for four years from June 15th 1745. Consideration £19: to have customary dues.

July 12th.

George Guion assigns *John Kennan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *Happy Return*) to George Craughon of Lancaster County, trader, for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

July 14th.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Dougal Boyd* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to Samuel Vernon of Phila. County yeoman, for five years from July 3d. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

July 15th.

James Campbell with consent of his mother Anne Green indents himself apprentice to Stephen Armit of Phila. joiner, for four years and thirteen days from this date, to be taught the trade of a joiner, his master to give him in the first year of his apprenticeship two new pairs of stockings and shoes, and to find him in every kind of apparel during the rest of his time, to have liberty to go to school three months in winter evenings and customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Daniel Brown* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to William Woppler of Lancaster County gentleman, for four years from July 3rd 1746. Consideration £15. customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Margaret Rorty* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to Edward William of Phila. County yeoman, for four years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £13: 10/ customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Margaret Right* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to Edward Goff of Chester County yeoman, for four years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £12: 10/ customary dues

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Thomas Right* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to Edward Goff of Chester

County yeoman, for five years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £12: 10/ customary dues.

Conyngham & Gardner assign *Bridget McHendry* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to Joseph Paxton of Trenton, merchant, for five years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *John Smith* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to Thomas Hootton of Trenton, tavernkeeper, for five years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Sarah Right* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to George Walker of Chester County yeoman, for six years from July 3d. 1746. Consideration £13: customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *George Atchison* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to George Gibson of the Borough of Lancaster for five years from July 3d. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

Burton Daxson assigns *Timothy Scannell* (a servant from Ireland in the brig. *William*) to William Spafford of Phila. City, mariner, for seven years from June 3rd. 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Anne Rorty* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to Hamilton Rogers of Bucks County, yeoman, for four years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £12: 10/ customary dues.

July 16th.

Thomas Deane now of Phila. indents himself apprentice to Michael Caris of Phila. jeweler, for three years from June 1st 1746. to be taught the trade of a jeweler, and when free to have the customary dues.

Edmund Bourk assigns *Matthew McCully* his servant for the remainder of his time three years from October 31st 1745, to John Reardon of Phila., cordwainer. Consideration £14; customary dues.

Charles Dennison in consideration of £13: paid for his passage from Ireland to Walter Goodman by Samuel Flower of Chester County indents himself servant to Samuel Flower for four years from June 3rd. 1746, customary dues.

Patrick Patterson in consideration of £13: paid Walter Goodman for his passage from Ireland by Capt. Samuel Flower of Chester County indents himself servant to Samuel Flower for four years from June 3rd. 1746, to have customary dues.

Burton Daxon assigns *Edward Murphy* (a servant from Ireland in the brig. William) to Samuel Flower of Chester County for four years from June 3rd. 1746. Consideration £13. customary dues.

Burton Daxon assigns *Catherine Carthy* (a servant from Ireland in the brig. William) to Samuel Flower of Chester County for four years from June 3rd. 1746. Consideration £13: customary dues.

Burton Daxon assigns *Owen Sullivan* (a servant from Ireland in the brig. William) to Samuel Flower of Chester County for four years from June 3rd. 1746. Consideration £13: customary dues

Burton Daxon assigns *William Daly* (a servant from Ireland in the brig. William) to Samuel Flower of Chester County for four years from June 3rd. 1746. Consideration £13: customary dues.

Burton Daxon assigns *John Falls* (a servant from Ireland in the brig. William) to Samuel Flower of Chester County for four years from June 3rd. 1746, customary dues.

July 17th.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Thomas Mitchell* (a servant from Ireland in the Belinda) to Benjamin Davis of Phila. County for four years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

✓ *David Lindsay* with consent of his mother Bershaba binds himself apprentice to Jacob Shoemaker of Phila. turner, for six years from this date to be taught the trade of a turner

to have five months evening or half day schooling and when free to have one new suit of apparel besides his old ones.

July 18th.

William Humphreys assigns *Peter Karvin* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Colen Johnston of Phila. taylor, for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £20: customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *John Burr* (a servant from Ireland in the Belinda) to John Towers of Phila. skinner, for seven years from July 3d. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Mary McBride* (a servant from Ireland in the Belinda) to John Hunt of Burlington County yeoman, for four years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £13: 15 customary dues.

July 19th.

John Trainer in consideration of £30: paid to him by Frederick Wambold of Phila. County, yeoman, indents himself servant to said Frederick Wambold for three years from this date, to be found in apparel to have when free three axes, but no freedom dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Christopher McKinney* (a servant from Ireland in the Belinda) to Thomas Morris of Chester County yeoman, for four years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £12: customary dues.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *John O'Donnell* (a servant from Ireland in the Belinda) to Joshua Morris of Phila. county, yeoman, for four years from July 3d. 1746. Consideration £12: 15/ to have customary dues.

July 21st.

John McKoun with consent of his uncle Finley McKoun and in consideration of £8: paid Conyngham and Gardner for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Jonas Osbourn of Phila. lace-weaver, for ten years and a half from

this date to be taught to read, write, and cipher as far as the rule of three and the art or mystery of a lace-weaver, and at the end of his time to have the customary dues.

July 22nd.

John Branigan with consent of his uncle *Finley McKoun* and in consideration £5 : 7/ paid *Conyngham* and *Gardner* for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to *Jonas Osbourn* of Phila. lace-weaver for eleven years and a half from this date to be taught to read, write and cipher as far as the rule of three, and the art or mystery of a lace-weaver, and when free to have the customary dues.

William Gammon with consent of his father *William Gammon* indents himself apprentice to *Edward Windor* of Phila. pavier for six years from this date, to be taught to write and cipher as far as the rule of three, and the trade of a pavier, and when free to have customary dues.

Elizabeth Hamilton with consent of her mother *Rebecca* indents herself apprentice to *Susanna Fassell* for twelve years four months and fifteen days from June 24th 1746, to be taught housewifry and to read and write and when free to have the customary dues.

Conyngham and *Gardner* assign *David Linch* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to *Robert Whartentby* of Phila. County yeoman, for five years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £16., to have customary dues.

July 23rd.

Michael Crapp with consent of his father *Simon Crapp* and in consideration of £2 : paid his said father by *Jacob Maack* of Phila. shopkeeper, indents himself servant to said *Jacob* for seven years and five months from this date, when free to have customary dues and £3 : in money.

Thomas Norrington assigns *Hugh Carbery* his servant for the remainder of his time to *John Justis* of Phila. County yeoman, for six years from May 11th 1745. Consideration

£14: customary dues and the said Hugh releases the covenant whereby he was to be taught the trade of a loaf bread maker.

July 25th.

William Hughs assigns *Mary Catharine Herth* his servant to Peter Vanaken jr. of Bucks County yeoman for the remainder of her time for eight years from March 13th 1741/2. Consideration £11: customary dues.

July 26th.

Edward Layne in consideration of £14: in hand paid indents himself servant to William Peters of Phila. gentleman for one year from this date to have given him one pair of shoes and one hat, but no freedom dues.

Michael Frederick in consideration of £24: in hand paid by Marcus Kuyhl of Phila. baker, indents himself servant to the said Marcus for two years from this date, not to have any freedom dues.

July 28th.

George Rock assigns *James Bradley* his servant for the remainder of his time for four years from April 17th 1746, to John Langdate of Phila. Consideration £15: customary dues.

William Topham with consent of his father Matthias Topham indents himself apprentice to Eden Haydock of Phila. glazier for six years and eleven months from this date, to be taught the trade of a glazier, plumber and painter, and to read, write and cipher as far as the rule of three; freedom dues.

Jacob Pinckney of Phila. hatter, indents himself servant to Abraham Mitchell of Phila. hatter for two years from this date Consideration sundry sums of money paid for his use, to be found in apparel, and when free to have ten pounds in money, but no freedom dues.

July 29th.

Robert Worrell assigns *Shadrick Sord* his servant to John Elliot of Phila. cordwainer, for the remainder of his

time four years from May 19th 1744. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

July 30th.

George House, Isaac Jones and Peter Robertson, overseers of the poor of Phila. bind *Susanna Whitfield* an apprentice to Ruth Adams of Phila. shopkeeper for eight years and ten months from this date, to be taught to read and write and sew plain work and housewifry and when free to have two suits of apparel one whereof to be new.

William Humphreys assigns *Robert Crawford* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Robert Hows of Phila. Surveyor for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £14 : customary dues.

Robert Stevenson assigns *Patrick Kennedy* (a servant from Ireland in the Belinda) to John Jones of Phila. pilot for ten years from July 3rd, 1746. Consideration £13 : customary dues.

July 31st.

Mathew Garrigues jr. son of Mathew Garrigues indents himself apprentice with consent of his father, to John Garrigues of Phila. cooper for fifteen years and nine months from this date, to be taught the trade of a cooper, to read, to write and to have customary dues.

August 1st.

William Blanchfield assigns *Morgan McMahon* his servant to Richard Smith of Phila. butcher, for the remainder of his time, for two years and nine months from January 18th 1745. Consideration £8 : customary dues.

William Thomas in consideration of £20 : paid by George Walker of Chester County, yeoman, to Mathias Larney at his request indents himself a servant to the said George Walker for six years from this date to have customary dues.

August 4th.

Barnaby Egin in consideration of £15 : paid at his request by Thomas Griffith of Phila. hatter, indents himself appren-

tice to Thomas Griffiths for seven years from this date, to be taught the trade or mystery of a hatter, and have customary dues.

August 5th.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Daniel O'Mullan* (a servant from Ireland in the *Belinda*) to John Wells of Gloucester County yeoman, for four years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

August 6th.

John Davis of Phila mariner, indents himself apprentice to Michael Sisk of the said city plasterer, for three years from this date, to have given him three quarters schooling at an evening school, to learn to read and write, and when free the customary dues.

August 7th.

William Geddes assigns *James Carey* (a servant from Ireland in the *snow Chester*) to James Cummins of Bucks County, yeoman, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £14: 15/ customary dues.

William Geddes assigns *Bryan Burks* (a servant from Ireland in the *snow Chester*) to Joseph Obourn of Phila. tallow-chandler, for five years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £16: to have customary dues.

George Hatfield assigns *Catherine Shueman* his servant for the remainder of her time eleven years from October 6th 1740, to Edward Warner of Phila house-carpenter. Consideration £16: customary dues.

William Wheldon assigns *John Roe* his servant for the remainder of his time four years from July 1st 1746 to Thomas Potts of Phila. County, iron master. Consideration half a ton of bar iron, to have customary dues.

Abigail Petro assigns *Mary Magrogan* her servant for the remainder of her time seven years from October 5th 1745,

to John Bell of Chester County. Consideration £11 : 10/
customary dues.

August 8th.

William Geddes assigns *John Reiley* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Oliver Williams of Phila. skinner, for four years from August 3rd 1746. Consideration £17 : customary dues.

August 9th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *George Keate* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Alexander Alexander of Phila. blacksmith, for seven years from August 2d. 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

August 11th.

William Humphreys assigns *Thomas Martin* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Joseph Shippen and Jonathan Robeson for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

William Humphreys assigns *Ferdinando O'Neil* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Joseph Shippen and Jonathan Robeson for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Thomas Stapleton* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to William Sandwith of Phila. tallow-chandler, for four years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £18 : customary dues.

John Reardon assigns *Mathew MCalley* his servant for the remainder of his time three years from October 31st 1745, to Alexander Moore of Phila. peruke-maker. Consideration £14 : customary dues.

✓ *Peter Sponers* late of Maryland indents himself apprentice to John Reardon of Phila. cordwainer, for five years from this date to have three quarters evening schooling to learn to read and write, to be taught the trade of a cordwainer, to have customary dues.

George Blair for Thomas Walker and company assigns *Andrew McKeesan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Arnold Pendar of Chester County yeoman, for four years from August 3rd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Blair and Irvine assign *William Couples* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Alexander Mabane of Lancaster county yeoman, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Luke Sexton* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Robert Dawson of Phila. shop-keeper for four years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

William Humphreys assigns *Francis O'Neill* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Joseph Shippen and Jonathan Robeson for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

William Humphreys assigns *Hugh Goohegan* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Delaware) to Joseph Shippen and Jonathan Robeson for four years from June 5th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

George Patterson assigns *Elizabeth Recey* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Samuel Cheesman of Phila. cordwainer, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

George Wakely assigns *Esther Wakely* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Methusaleth Davis of Chester County yeoman, for four years from Aug. 2d. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

George Wakely assigns *Susannah Sanders* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to John Moland of Phila. county for four years August 2nd 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

George Patterson assigns *Robert Conn* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to John Jones of Germantown, tanner, for four years from August 3rd, 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Charles Smith* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to George Bradley of Phila. shopkeeper for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £18: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *James Hogan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Benjamin Engle of Germantown, tanner, for seven years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

August 12th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Miles Aske* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Jonathan Darell of Phila. potter, for seven years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

George Blair (for Thomas Walker and Co.) assigns *Thomas Mucklegun* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Andrew McClemont of Kent County for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

George Blair for David Cowpland, assigns *Philemy Boylan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to John Dobbins of Phila. blacksmith, for five years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £17: customary dues.

George Wakely assigns *William Fox* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to John Davis of Chester County yeoman, for seven years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Michael Malone* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Thomas Robinson of Phila. blacksmith, for six years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £17; customary dues.

Mary Hamilton in consideration of £10: paid Abram Shelly by James Webb of Lancaster County, mason, indents himself servant to the said James for four years from this date, when free to have customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Dennis Dunn* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Joseph Walton of Phila.

County for four years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £18: customary dues.

August 13th.

James Cleaver in consideration of his passage from Ireland in the snow *Martha* indents himself servant to *James Crawford* for three years from this date, to have customary dues.

John Littledale indents himself servant to *Joseph Kaighin* of Gloucester County yeoman, for two years from this date. Consideration £7: 3: advanced and paid for his use and at his request, no freedom clothes.

Anne Betty assigns *Nicholas Hays* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *Chester*) to *William Scott* of Phila. taylor, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £18: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Bryan Kelly* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *George*) to *John Dougharty* of Chester County, yeoman, for four years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £17: customary dues.

George Patterson assigns *Andrew Neelson* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *Chester*) to *Daniel Craig* of Bucks county yeoman, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £16: 10/ customary dues.

(To be Continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

AN INDIAN DEED, 1679.—

Know All men whome these presents may in anny maner of wayes concerne that I petocoque Indian comonly called Amongst y^e English Cristian having for the value of three machcoats twelwe botells of drink fower dubell Handfulls of shot and fower dubell handfulls or powder Having Allready received in full consideration of Richeard leveick for fower hundred Ackers of land lying and being on the north side of saynt Jones Creek which sayde land I the sayde Christian did sell unto the sayde Richeard levick about y^e month of May in the yeare 1677 from me and my heyres to him & his heyres for Ever After our maner And doth Acknowledge to be contented and payde for the same fower hundred Ackers of land to our content As witness my hand and seall this 6 day of December 1679

CHRISTIAN X
his
mark



In the presents of us

John Gloveare
1679

December 10 : 1679

W^m Watson

Acknowled In open Court by the
said Christian

Test : CORN VERHOOFE C^t C^t
Whorekill

“MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE JOSEPH P. NORRIS AND ELIZ^A H. FOX, FIFTH MONTH 20TH, 1790.” Original in Norris Manuscripts, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—

WHEREAS Joseph Parker Norris, of the City of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Son of Charles Norris late of the said City Deceased, and Mary his Wife, and Elizabeth Hill Fox Daughter of Joseph Fox late of Philadelphia aforesaid Deceased, and Elizabeth his Wife, having declared their Intention of Marriage with each other before several Monthly Meetings of the People called Quakers at Philadelphia aforesaid, according to the good Order used amongst them; and having consent of the surviving Parents their said proposals were allowed of by the said Meeting.

NOW THESE ARE TO CERTIFY whom it may concern that for the full accomplishing their said Intentions, this Twentieth Day of the Fifth Month in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven Hundred and Ninety: They the said Joseph Parker Norris and Elizabeth Hill Fox appeared in a public Meeting of the said People at Philadelphia aforesaid, and the said Joseph Parker Norris taking the said Elizabeth Hill Fox by the Hand, did in a solemn manner openly declare, that he took

her the said Elizabeth Hill Fox to be his Wife, promising through the Lords assistance to be unto her a loving and faithful Husband until Death should separate them; and then in the same Assembly the said Elizabeth Hill Fox did in like manner declare that she took him the said Joseph Parker Norris to be her Husband, promising through the Lords assistance to be unto him a loving and faithful Wife until Death should separate them: *And Moreover*, they the said Joseph Parker Norris and Elizabeth Hill Fox, (She according to the Custom of Marriage assuming the Name of her Husband) as a further confirmation thereof, did then and thereto these presents set their Hands; and we whose Names are here under also subscribed, being present at the solemnization of the said Marriage and Subscription, have as Witnesses thereunto set our Hands, the Day and Year above written.

Margaret Haines	Geo: Logan	Jos. Parker Norris
Mary Cresson	Deborah Logan	Eliza Hill Norris
Margaret Elliott	Sally Norris Dickinson	
Elizabeth Dawson	Ann Pemberton	Elizabeth Fox
Annabella Elliott	Mary Pleasants	Hannah Morris
Rachel Drinker	Ann P. Pleasants	Geo. Fox
Sarah Zane	Hugh Roberts	Mary Fox
Hannah West Roberts	Joseph F. Roberts	Saml W. Fox
Anna Flowers	George Roberts jun ^r .	Sarah Fox
Margaret Rawle Wharton	Anna Clifford Sen ^r .	Geo: Roberts
Anna Clifford, junior	Susannah Jones Powers	Thomazine Roberts
Sarah C. Rawle	Ann Vaux	Hannah Fox
John Pemberton	John Elliott Jun ^r .	J. Bleakley
John Parrish	Fluron Langstroth	Israel Pleasants
David Bacon	John Todd Jun ^r .	Jona ⁿ . Mifflin
Owen Jones	Caleb Carmalt	W: Rawle
James Cresson	Cha Thomson	Tho. Clifford
Caleb Foulke	Sam. Pleasants	John Clifford
Samuel Clark	Rich ^d . Vaux	
Arthur Howell	J. R. Howell	

[On the back of this Certificate are the following genealogical records.]

Joseph Parker Norris second son of Charles & Mary Norris was born in Chesnut Street Philadelphia on the 5th day of May, 1763 at 25 minutes after 4 o'clock in the afternoon—

Elizabeth Hill Fox daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Fox was born in Third Street Philadelphia October 14th 1771, at 40 minutes after 4 o'clock in the morning—

Joseph Parker Norris & Elizabeth Hill Fox were married in Market Street Meeting House Philadelphia May 20th 1790

Mary Parker Norris their eldest Child was born in Chesnut Street Philadelphia on the 19th day of June 1791, at 5 minutes past ten o'clock in the morning.

Charles Norris their second child was born in the same house that his sister was, on the twenty fourth day of february 1793 at forty five minutes past ten o'clock at night—

Joseph Parker Norris their third Child was born in the same house that his sister and brother were, on the twentieth day of October 1794 about 4 o'clock in the morning.—

Samuel Norris their fourth Child was born in the House in Chesnut Street, built by my Father, the same that his Sister & Brothers were, on the first day of April 1796, about half past 8 o'clock in the morning.

Elizabeth Fox Norris their fifth Child was born at Fairhill House on the 9th day of September 1797 at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 o'clock at Night.—

Isaac Norris their sixth Child was born at Fairhill on the 5th day of September 1799 at 20 minutes after 7 o'clock in the morning.

He died on the 7th September about 20 minutes before 4 o'clock in the afternoon & on the 8th was buried in Friends Ground Philada.—aged 2 days.—

Deborah Norris their seventh child was born on the second day of October 1800, at half past 10 o'clock at Night—in the house on Chesnut Street built by my Father—

Isaac Norris their eighth child born in the house in Chesnut Street the twenty first day of February 1802 at a quarter before 4 o'clock in the Morning.—

Thomas Lloyd Norris their ninth Child born in the house in Chesnut Street built by my Father, the second day of September 1803 at a quarter after one o'clock in the Morning—

Hannah Fox Morris their tenth Child, was born at Fairhill House on the fifth day of September 1804 at half past nine o'clock in the Morning.—

A Son born September 8th 1806 about 20 Minutes before 4 o'clock in the Afternoon, and died in about an hour after his birth—9th buried in Friends Ground Philadelphia.—

George Washington Norris their twelfth Child born in the House in Chesnut Street built by my Father the Sixth Day of November 1808 at half past one o'clock in the morning—

Ellen Norris their thirteenth Child born in the House in Chesnut Street, March 4th 1810 at half-past 8 o'clock in the morning.

Henry Norris their fourteenth Child born in the house in Chesnut Street August 6th 1811 at 10 minutes past 4 o'clock in the morning.—

Sarah Norris their fifteenth child born in the house Chesnut Street January 16th 1814 at a quarter past 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

Emily Norris their sixteenth child born in my house Chesnut Street at 40 minutes past One o'clock in the morning of the 17th July 1816.

September 23rd 1817 Ann Caroline Norris their seventeenth child born at Fairhill about 10 minutes before six o'clock in the Evening.—

This our daughter Ann Caroline Norris died on the 8th of April 1818 about 20 minutes before 12 o'clock at night—aged 6 months and 16 days—her disorder Dentition—on the 9th interred in the Burial Ground of Friends in Mulberry Street.

Thomas Lloyd Norris our Ninth Child died on the morning of the 9th of February 1828. Aged 24 years 5 months & 7 days. He was violently seized on the 30th Jan'y with confluent Small Pox or mitempered Varioloid, and after seven days suffering died as above mentioned. Feb'y 10. His Remains were interred in Friends Western Burial Ground.—He had been vaccinated by Dr. Griffiths, Feb'y 1804.

LETTER OF ZEBULON M. PIKE TO MISS MARGARET SPRIGG.—

BARNEYS HOTEL
24 Dec^r 1808

MISS SPRIGG ;

After resisting many of the warmest, most ardent and earnest solicitations of my General, and my friend, I have yielded; and presumed to be the medium through which the enclosed should be transmitted, Being unacquainted with the precise situation in which you stand with Gen'l, W— should the step not meet your approbation, the claims of friendship will at least be a palliation with a candid mind for my error.

I only know that he feels for the object of his adoration the most profound respect; and Love the most sublimated; that can inspire a soul, exalted by sentiment, and refined by an education better calculated for the times of chivalry than the present day.

I have presumed to enclose a scrawl from the G—— to myself which will show the confidence he has honored me with; and which I hope you will not deem me unworthy of.—Believe me to be with more feeling than discretion the friend of your friend and the admirer of your virtues.

Z. M. PIKE

MISS M. SPRIGG

WAS WILLIAM PENN A "HALF DUTCHMAN"?—Some new records have come to light contributing to our somewhat meager knowledge of Sir William Penn's marriage and his son's maternal ancestry. William Penn's mother, his biographers state, was Margaret Jasper, daughter of John Jasper, merchant, of Rotterdam. "A well-looking, fat, short old Dutchwoman," Pepys characterizes her, writing in 1664. The name John Jasper, at least I was so informed by an antiquary when on a visit to the City in 1900, was not to be found in the records of Rotterdam for the first half of the seventeenth century, but it does occur in County Clare, Ireland. John Jasper, according to the Register of Attestations of the Dutch Reformed Church of Austin Friars, London (1643), resided with his wife Marie at Ballycase, County Clare, Ireland, prior to the Great Rebellion of 1641. His daughter Margaret was first married, prior to 1641, to Nicosius Vanderscure, of Kilconry and Parish of Kilrush, County Clare, Ireland, by the form of the Church of England, with the assistance of Andrew Chaplin, pastor of the Congregation of Sixmilebridge, County Clare. As Margaret Van der Schuren, widow,

she was married a second time to Captain William Penn, on June 6, 1643, in St. Martin's Church, Ludgate, London. Their son William Penn, Founder of Pennsylvania, was born October 14th, 1644, and baptized the 23rd instant in All Hallows Church, Barking, London.

John Jasper = Marie
of Ballycase, Co.
Clare, Ireland,
before 1641

Anne = Captain
Jasper William Crispin
married
about 1650
(PA. MAG. XXII: 46)

(2) Captain William = Margaret Jasper = (1.) Nicosius Vanderscure
Penn was married June 6, 1643, in St. Martin's Church, Ludgate, London, to Margaret Van der Schuren, widow
or Van der Schuren
of Kilconry and Parish
of Kilrush, Co. Clare,
Ireland, before 1641 ;

William Penn,
Founder of Pennsylvania,
born October 14th, 1644,
baptized the 23rd in
All Hallows Church, Barking, London.

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

LETTERS AND CERTIFICATES FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY PAPERS OF COL. FRANCIS NICHOLS; in the collection of Mr. Israel W. Morris.—

PHILADELPHIA the 1st Octobr 1776

Whereas a number of Notorious Falsehoods and Scandalous Aspersions has been trown out against Lieutenant Francis Nichols Conduct in the unfortunate attack made on Quebec the 31st December 1775. this is to certify that we were eye Witnesses to the following particulars concerning that Gentlemans Conduct in Said Action. Viz

I Thomas Boyd Sergeant of Cap^t Smiths Company of Riflemen in Coloⁿ Arnolds Detachment, Saw when we were trying to force our Way through a house near the Second Barrier in the lower Town of Quebec: Lieut^{nt} Nichols Standing at a Window where Capⁿ Hendricks was killd and Captⁿ Lamb wounded: and with undaunted Courage firing his Riffe at the Enemy, althoug they had besides small arms 2 Cannon bearing on Sd Window. and I heard the said Lieut' Nichols encouraging the

men, after Captⁿ Hendricks his death, to exert themselves; and he said we will have Revenge for this, and indeed he showed in the whole of his Conduct a man of spirit and Resolution:—

I. William M^cCay of Captⁿ W^m Hendricks Company in S^d Detachment saw the following our Company being in the rear and coming up, where a brisk fire was kept up from the Enemy and some of the men not pushing on Captⁿ Hendricks desired Leave of Major Meigs, who commanded the rear, to advance with his Company, on which they opened to the right and left, and advanced to the first Barrier where we were getting through the port holes, which made some Delay Lieut^t Nichols came up from the rear of the Company and Spiritedly and bravely encouraged the men push on my brave Fellows we will all be well enough the Town will be our own or Words to that purpose and with that he push^d through the Barrier, and we followed him and it appeared to me that he behaved with Ardour Bravery & Resolution becoming a good Officer:—

I Jacob Mason of Captⁿ William Hendricks Company in s^d Detachment agree entirely in the Deposition of Sergeant Boyd & William McCay and furthurmore, contrary to the Scandalous, mean false and low Aspersion propagated, I saw him nobly refuse to give up his arms to a private Soldier,

John Rogers William M^cCay Jacob Mason Tho^s Boyd.

Phil^s SS. Personally appeared before me James Young Esq one of the Justices &c The above subscribers Thomas Boyd, John Rogers, William M^cCay & Jacob Mason and being duly Sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God did Declare & say that the foregoing relation on Justification of Lieut^t Francis Nichols's Charecter is Just & true and further these Deponents sayeth not
Taken & Sworn the first day of Oct 1776
Before me Jas Young one of the Justices &c

This is to certify that Captain (now Major) Francis Nichols of the 9th Regiment of Pennsylvania Col: Nagles has settled his Recruiting account in this Office in which he has given Credit to the United States the sum of Seven hundred dollars from M^r Nesbitt, and the sum of Five hundred dollars received of Colonel Nagel by which there appears a Ballance of Three hundred and forty two dollars and $\frac{2}{3}$ parts, due to said State, for which he has produced Receipts from the Paymaster General for the same, and the same is hereby discharged.—

Auditors Office
October 21 : 1778

JA^s JOHNSTON

} Aud of
acct^s for
the Main
Army

I do hereby certify that the Bearer John McCesney late a private in a Rifle Company Commanded by Capⁿ W^m Hendricks—was wounded at An Attack made on Quebec on the first day of January 1776—through the left leg and was then captured by the Enemy—that upon our arriving in Philadelphia in October following I drew pay for him till the 15th of said month and paid him up till that time I likewise paid him

for his Rifle Gun lost at Quebec—that there was no further pay drawn for him whilst he was a prisoner—that there was two months extra pay allowed for the Troops in Canada that was not drawn for that Company—

PHILADELPHIA
Jany. 22, 1790

FRANCIS NICHOLS

WASHINGTON 9th December 1809

SIR

A man named Abraham Swaggerty resides in the State of Tennessee—He says he was a soldier in a Company Commanded by Captain William Hendricks who fell in the gallant but unsuccessful attempt made, under General Montgomery. to take the City of Quebec about the time of the begining of the late revolutionary war which terminated gloriously for the United States of America. Abraham Swaggerty says he was wounded by a ball in one of his legs in that attack—that he remained several months afterwards at Quebec. that he afterward came on to Philadelphia, where he afterwards (as he says) was informed that he was intitled to a pension and was conducted by a lieutenant of the Company which had been commanded by Capⁿ Hendricks, to some office, he thinks, a war office, where the name of the said Abraham Swaggerty was wrote down, as he thought, this latter transaction was, he says sometime in the latter end of 1776. or begining of 1777. A Swaggerty says he expected to have been entitled to a pension by what had been done—but on examination no entry can be found of his name for that purpose. Abraham Swaggerty is now grown old, an annual allowance by way of pension will do him some service—Having understood that you are the Gentleman who was the only lieutenant of Captⁿ Hendricks Company in the attack on the City of Quebec. and in all probability the only surviving officer of that Company—I have to request you, to on behalf of the said A. Swaggerty, to write to me such information respecting the foregoing you can. If it will appear that Abraham Swaggerty name was entered in the office of the board of War, or in any other office, in consequence of which he is entitled to draw a pension from any past period of time, it will be well for him, if there be no such entry of his name for a pension. then to obtain a pension it will be necessary for him to pursue the mode prescribed by Law.

Making enquiry for testimony on behalf of the said Ab^m Swaggerty in the case alluded to, it is with great pleasure I have learnt that you have survived—and I have no doubt but you will render every assistance in your power to aid said A Swaggerty to obtain his pension if to one entitled in virtue of any entry as above alluded to ; and if not to obtain one as the Law now directs. Your attending to the above will confer a singular benefit on Abraham Swaggerty—please to write what information you can and address your letter to me in the City of Washington

Accept Sir my best wishes
and beleive me to be with

GEN^L FRANCIS NICHOLS

sincere esteem Your Ob^t Servt

JOHN RHEA

DEAR SIR

POTTSGROVE 17th December 1809

In answer to yours of the 9th Inst which I have the Honour to receive—I with pleasure inform you that Abraham Swaggerty was a soldier in Captⁿ William Hendricks Company of Rifle Men—who fell Gallantly

at the Head of his Company—in the unfortunate attack made on the City of Quebec under Gen^l Montgomery—and that I was a Lieut^t in said Company and that Abraham Swaggerty Marched through the Wilderness with us under Arnold and that he was shot through one of his legs by a Musket Ball in making the attack on the City of Quebec on the first of January 1776 where he with a number of brave Soldiers were made Prisoners of War—he was sent to the Hospital and remained there for several months—until Gen^l Carleton sent the American prisoners in Transports by the Gulf of St Lawrence to New York at which time Abraham Swaggerty was with us—he is Justly Entitled to a Pension. as for his name being entered on the pension list I know nothing of it—or do I recollect his ever applying to me on the subject if it is it must be in the War department—soon after our arrival I was one of the first that was exchanged—and joined the Army again so that he could have no opportunity of my assistance in the end of 1776 or 1777—he must recollect if he received any assistance either from the state or the United States if he did it will be easily found—but I suspect he did not—at that time we thought little about Pensions—our main object was to obtain our Independence—and prevent it ending in a rebellion—*which thank God was done*

Permit me sir to return you my sincere thanks for the pleasure you express in my having survived those difficulties—Accept sir my best wishes—and believe me to be with sincere esteem your most obedient and most humble servant—

FRANCIS NICHOLS

The Honorable
JOHN RHEA ESQ

POTTS GROVE the 10th of December 10/11

I do certify that Philip Baker as he appears on the Muster Roll and the name he went by in the army but says he now is called Horn Baker was a soldier in Capⁿ William Hendricks Rifle Company and that he marched through the wilderness in Arnolds detachment and behaved as a good and brave soldier—and that he was wounded in his neck on the morning of the first of January 1776 in making the attack on the City of Quebec, that he received pay to the 16th of October 1776 that I know of no pay drawn for him since or do I believe he received any since I was at that time a Lieutenant in said Company and a Prisoner on Parole shortly after that time I was exchanged and joined the army of Course I know nothing what was done for them after that time—

To all who this
may concern

FRANCIS NICHOLS

THIS Indenture made this Thirtieth day of July in the year of our Lord One thousand seven Hundred and eighty two. Between Mulatto Dan of Frederick County and State of Maryland of the one part and Francis Nicholls of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania of the other part Witnesseth, that the said Dan for and in consideration of the sum of

One Hundred pounds in hand paid unto Wollory Meng he the said Dan doth bind himself a Servant to the said Nicholls his Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and assigns for and during the Term of Eighteen whole years next following the date of these Presents, and, during the said Term the said Dan doth Covenant and and agree to serve and obey the said Francis Nicholls his Heirs Executors Administrators and assigns in all his and all their Lawfull Commands and Business; and the said Francis Nicholls doth agree to Find the said Dan, sufficient Meat, drink, Washing Lodging and Clothing Suitable for Servant.

In Witness whereof the said Dan hath hereunto set his Hand and, affixed his seal the day and year First above Written

Signed Sealed and Delivered in The Presence of GEORGE SCOTT	}	his DAN X mark
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Know all men by these presents that I Wollory Meng of Fredrick County and State of Maryland, For and in consideration of the Sum of One Hundred Pounds to me in hand paid by Francis Nichols of Philadelphia and State of Pennsylvania; the Receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge, and myself therewith fully satisfied have bargained sold and Delivered and by these Presents do bargain, sell and deliver, unto the said Francis Nichols a Mulat-o Boy named Dan a slave, during his natural life, To Have and to Hold the said Dan unto him the said Francis Nichols, his Heirs, executors, Administrators, and assigns forever, and I the said Wollory Meng for myself my heirs Executors & Administrators. the said Mullato Dan unto the said Francis Nichols his Heirs, Executors Administrators and assigns against all persons shall and will warrant and forever defend by these presents, **In Witness Whereof** I have hereunto set my hand and seal This Thirtieth day of July Anno Domino One Thousand seven Hundred and Eighty Two

Signed sealed and Delivered in the presence of GEORGE SCOTT	}	WOLLORY MENG
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Received July 30th 1782 of Francis Nichols the within mentioned sum of One hundred pounds in full for the above named Dan

GEO SCOTT

I say Received by me
WOLLORY MENG

LETTER OF THOMAS WYNNE.—The following letter in the “*Humphreys Papers*,” Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is endorsed “*Tho^s Wynne’s Letter to the Bishop.*”

FRIEND—

BRONVADOG the 8th of ye 12th mo. 1681/2

The way agreed on by thy Self and me last time I was with thee hath much place in my mind, that it is both Reasonable and Just and Most like to end the Controversie between Us I hope that a man of thy Zeal for Religion will not be byassed by Worldly Interest but will Consider that to gain the world and loose thy soul would be but a poor bargain, this is the only Reason that makes me not to bend to anything but what I am thorowly Convinced may conduce to that End, (*viz*) the Salvation of my Soul, thou may Remember I told thee I had near 30 Reasons why

I doe separate from the Church of England as now practised by you y^t are Bishops and the Priests Under You. And I said y^t if thou would prove those your practices to be apostolical I would Separate no longer, but be one of thy proselites and hear thee and conform to thee, And thou said if thou could not prove them Apostolical y^t thou would turn Quaker and hear me ! This indeed was very nobly said and like a Bishop that would be so Condesensive as to yield to so mean a Defendant, if thou could not prove your practices by the Scriptures. Therefore in the name of Almighty God I will put it to the General Issue and give my Reason by way of Query because thou art to be aponent to prove the Church's practices to be Apostolical [torn] in me lies avoid putting thee to over much trouble in writing so much as may be a sufficient Answer to every Query I have sent thee 3 books in which is largely handled the 4 first Reasons (viz) whether tithes be Christian and Apostolical or Antichristian 2^{dly} whether the Other sort of wages Demanded by you be Apostolical or Antichristian 3^{dly} whether Infant Baptisme with its Adittaments be Apostolical or Antichristian 4^{thly} whether the people to pay for bread and wine twice over be Apostolical or Antichristian if thou please but Seariously to read over those 3 Books, touching those above s^d Reasons thou wilt find y^t two of thy bretheren have acted their part very manfully on the behalf of tithes and perhap may help thee to some arguments that thou mayest not have in thy mind I am very willing that thou Should have all ye help y^t possible thou can, as well as I intend to take all I can against those things that at present seem to me to be Repugnant to Holy writ and indeed right Reason if thee in Moderation will read them I doubt not but y^t they will furnish thee with many sound Arguments towards thy Conviction or else they will much Strengthen thee in thy present Opinion.—On my part I am to prove that you are Apostatized from the Holy Martyrs, if not confess my fault to y^t point, thou will find I suppose prooffe Sufficient if not in many other reasons thou may find to make it out. God Almighty Illuminate Our Understanding that for pure Religion we may Conscientiously contend for, and Submit Unto and y^t Solid and sound conviction may be y^e end of our Labours that God over all may be honoured by Us who is God worthy to be praised and Magnified for ever,

I am thy true protestant friend

THO^S WYNNE

The other Reasons herewith }
by way of Query I send thee. }

PENNSYLVANIA TROOPS OF THE REVOLUTION ENTITLED TO BOUNTY LANDS.—

These Certify That the following Donations of land hath been promised by The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the officers & Privates respectively in the Penn^a Line of the late Federal Army who served therein till the end of the war, to those officers thereof who were de-ranked at or after the first of January one thousand seven hundred and eighty one, to those officers thereof and of the State Regiments who were prisoners and exchanged subsequent to the period last mentioned, to those officers serving in the Army till the end of the war who were citizens of Penn^a and attached to the line of no state, to the officers & privates respectively from Penn^a serving till the end of the war in inde-

pendent Corps & the artillery artificers, to the Widows and Children of such officers and privates in the penn^a Line & Penn^a Regiments as died in actual service or in Captivity, to the officers & privates respectively of the five Companies raised and stationed on the frontiers of Penn^a for their defence from the British & the savages & the legal representatives of such of the officers & privates last mentioned as died in actual service, viz^t

to a Major General	two thousand acres
A Brigadier General	one thousand five hundred acres
A Colonel	one thousand acres
A Lieutenant Colonel	seven hundred and fifty acres
A surgeon	six hundred acres
A major	six hundred acres
A Chaplain	six hundred acres
A Captain	five hundred acres
A Lieutenant	four hundred acres
An Ensign	three hundred acres
A surgeons Mate	three hundred acres
A sergeant	two hundred and fifty acres
Each private or other non-commissioned officer	} two hundred acres.

I do further certify that a tract of Country in the said Commonwealth hath been set apart and surveyed to satisfy s^d bounties of land, that I have furnished a list of the name and addition of each person so by law provided for, that public notice hath been given that all interested may apply for s^d Donation and that the office is yet open for confirming and allowing s^d grants.

Given under my hand
and the seal of Office this twenty fifth day of April in the year of our
Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine

JN^O NICHOLSON

LETTER OF ALEXANDER BRACKENRIDGE TO JAMES LAMBERTON,
postmaster at Carlisle, Penna.—

CAMP BUSH HILL near Philadelphia
Sept. 29, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

On leaving Carlisle I promised to write to you, but at that time I had hopes, before long I would have had something new & interesting to relate. But I presume the Enemy has been so well cooled at Baltimore that he will not now attempt Philadelphia, which I am affraid would be at the present time an easy prey to him. This city w^d make but a poor defence against 6 or 8 thousand men, provided they would advance rapidly. Gov. Snyder has been in the city for some weeks, but very few can see what he has been doing, At this encampment we have about 1000 volunteers (17 companies) who drill every day three or four hrs. in companies, and need not be ashamed to vie with regulars; you would be astonished to see how handsomely our Company moves, we have learnt more here in two or three days than could be acquired in as many years at Carlisle. Capt. Creigh's Company has made a rapid improvement & will astonish Landisburgh when they return. It will surprise you to hear that we are the only companies which have arms!

Where the other troops could get them in case the enemy sh'd appear, I do not know, & I question if the Gov^r himself knows. The city of Philadelphia scarcely deserves to be defended. Volunteers who have marched 120 miles are not respected or treated as they ought to be. It is too true that you will only find true patriotism in the country among the honest yeomanry, it is vain to look for it among counting houses, exchange offices & such who only think of amassing wealth, no matter whether it may be at the expence of those who have left their own homes to defend *them*.

I have not an item of news to speak of, In fact the newspapers will give it to you much sooner than we can, I have no doubt but you had Brown's third splendid atchievement before we had it,—It and M^cDonough's glorious victory were welcomed here with 6 cheers—not a single cartridge have we to fire a feu-de-joie—I expected to see an illumination in Philadelphia, but *I saw no kind of public rejoicing*.

Your election is coming on, & I hope Cumberland County will send such men as will not dishonor the suffrages of freemen.

For any more particulars I refer you to Mr. Linton, who has doubtless arrived at Carlisle before this & can satisfy all your questions. Give my friendship to *all* my acquaintances, especially to Rob^t if he has arrived from Buffalo, Inform our family that I am perfectly well & if you choose, shew Mother this letter—perhaps it may be interesting to her,

Yours,

A BRACKENRIDGE.

LETTER OF DR. RD. FOULK TO MR. GRIFFITH, 1759. — [Penn Papers.]—

PHILADELPHIA Feb^y 1^o 1759

SIR,

By your Conversation and the Paper you delivered me concerning your Health I find you have so just an Idea of the Nature of your Indisposition as to render it unnecessary for me to account for the different symptoms that accompany it.

The frequent fruitless Efforts that you have made to recover your Health by the use of Medicine and indeed the Nature of your Disease requiring rather Management than Medicine, should recommend to you a proper Regulation of your Diet and Exercises.

Your Food should be easy of Degestion and dressed plainly, avoiding high seasoned salted smoak-dry'd and fat meats, fat Fish, water Fowls and flatulent viscid Plants; Milk, Cheese, acid spirituous and malt Liquors.—Your Drink at meals should be pure water, and a few Glasses of good old generous wine. However I imagine by frequent Observation you know what Foods agree and what disagree with you, and will eat or avoid them accordingly.

In order to keep up a free Perspiration, which always renders your Disorder milder, I would recommend the frequent use of a Flesh-Brush, ringing a dumb-Bell, pumping or swinging weights in your Hands; a moderate Moisture on your skin should be your Rule to desist. Ride out every Day in your Chair, or when you can on Horseback, but shun a cold moist Air and Night Dews.—Keep your Feet, Belly and Loins warm, but don't so far soften your Body as to render it unable to bear

without Injury the necessary Changes of weather.—Both Exercises and Amusements should be rendered agreeable by a well-timed Variety, and you should beware of a too close Application to Business.—

Seltz and Pyrmont water may be proper to carry off Impurities by Urine, remove obstructions in the Viscera, and strengthen the nervous system. Sweet whey in the spring and summer if it agrees with your Stomach, will be an excellent Remedy.—When the Giddiness or Headach are very troublesome, you may relieve them by bathing your Feet and Legs in Lukewarm soft Water and Bran; or when there are other signs of a foul stomach by a gentle vomit.

You may take two or three of the Stomachick Pills, which I have prescribed for you at Eleven o'clock when you ride out, once or twice a week. They will strengthen your Stomach and gently promote an Expulsion of the Fœces without that Inconvenience that always attends rough purging Medicines.

By an observance of these Rules I hope and wish that you may enjoy a good share of Health, and am

Sir

your most obedient
humble Servant
R^D FOULK

To M^R GRIFFITH

THE "WALKING PURCHASE."—

PHILADA 4th 8th 1737

Recd. of James Steel Ten Pounds to be paid equally to James Yeats and Edward Marshall for walking the day & half on the Indian purchase in Bucks County also an English half Crown for E Marshall for his good performance of the Journey

TIM^O SMITH.

LETTERS OF GEN. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.—

CINCINNATI, 14th July, 1812

DEAR GOVERNOR,

The President has lately sent a message to Congress recommending that he may be authorised to appoint an additional number of general officers, I have received a letter from an officer of the army at Washington in which he says that it was intended to give me one of those appointments and the command in this department, The bill however which was brought in consequence of the Presidents message has been rejected, but as a substitute for it another has been introduced authorising him to appoint the officers of the volunteer corps, Now the object of this letter is to request you to write to the President and state to him (if such in your opinion should be the fact) that the volunteers from your state would serve under me as well as under any other person. I have been vain enough to think that there is no doubt of this fact—it has been declared to me by innumerable letters & by the declarations of almost all the officers whom I met with in passing through your State. However, I have no doubt of your being perfectly acquainted with the inclinations of your warriors & what would or would not please them.—When I passed through Georgetown the citizens who were assembled (& I was told that it was the most respectable meeting that they have ever

held there,) appeared warmly to resent the neglect with which it was said I had been treated by the Govern^t and one of their number Gen^l Henry or Gen^l Payne was requested to speak to me on the subject to know if I could inform them the reason of it.

The officer whom I mentioned to have received a letter from informs me that the Sec'y of War is really friendly to me—I have however reason to doubt this, I had rather if you should think proper to do it that you would write a letter directly to the President,

You see My Dear Sir that I trust you without reserve—use the same freedom with me & if there is anything improper in my request do not hesitate to say so. I shall write to Col^o Allen & Dr. Scott on the subject, If the volunteers were generally to express their sentiments the probability is that they would be successful—I calculate that there will be at least a Division in Ky, Ohio & Ind^a, I shall remain here for several weeks, a letter will of course find me,

Present Mrs. Harrisons best Regards to the ladies as well as those of D^r Sir

Your hum Serv^t

WILL^m H. HARRISON

His Excellency
Gov^r SCOTT,

DEAR SIR

The Enemy have fled & as it is difficult to get provisions in front for the pursuit, you will be so obliging as order Col^o Barber to return immediately to St. Marys with his Regiment as well as Jenkinsons Battalion & the Co^o must have directions to furnish a small escort of from 20 to 30 men with the waggons which may be ready to come out with provisions from St. Marys. With your own Regiment you will continue to open the road on to Fort Defiance & bring on with you the stores &c. of the Milletia which are under the charge of Col^o Jennings—You will be pleased also to dispatch Cap^{tn} Langham immediately with all the Beves excepting about 60 & these sixty you had better send back to Col^o Jennings to keep,

Order Capt. Langham to proceed with the utmost rapidity with the beves & with the pack-horses, which were at Col. Jennings block house. If you did not bring the pack-horses with you Capt. Langham must not wait for them but must come on with the beves & when Col. Jennings sends on the pack horses to you, you will be pleased to dispatch 20 men under a subaltern with them,

Yours respectfully

COL. POAGUE.

WM. H. HARRISON

I have ordered yr tents & baggage to be brought in from St. Marys to you. You had better send back the Quarter-Master to attend to bringing them on,

PORTRAITS OF WILLIAM PENN.—Mr. Charles Henry Hart in illustrating Henry W. Elson's *History of the United States*, published by Macmillans, states, that no authentic portrait of William Penn is known to be in existence. I should be interested to see a critical statement of how he reaches this conclusion.

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

“GOV. FRANKLIN’S LETTER TO JOHN ROSS ESQ. ABOUT THE BURLINGTON (N. J.) CHURCH, 1769.” Original in the collection of Mr. Israel W. Morris.—

My good Sir, here’s a Parson so deeply in debt,
 He begs *me* to beg *you* by no means to forget
 Your old promise, to help both himself and his People
 To keep out of Prison and pay for their Steeple.
 When he hears me commend the Repairs he has made,
 He replies with a wish—that his debts were all paid !
 But, says he, I shall never be left in the lurch,
 For the good *Man of Ross* is a Friend to the Church.
 And then with a zeal, Sir, not over-discreet,
 He goes on to say things I must not repeat :
 But, in short, I collect, from his speechification,
 That you and *some others*, in *his* estimation,
 Are men of integrity, honor and worth,
 Liberality, candor, good-sense and soforth ;
 And while *such* are his Friends, he will care not a fig
 For any dull *Centinel*, *Kicker* or *whig*.

These *mendicant Priests* have their own *winning ways*,
 And with ease can repay a *donation* with *praise*.
 In this kind of commerce, good souls ! I confess
 They are prompt in their payments, perhaps to excess ;
 But—to hold fast your purse—is accounted a crime,
 Of which they’ll be sure to remind you—in rhyme.
 While you live they will haunt you wherever you tread
 And pursue you with Epitaphs after you’re dead.
 But I know that *you* want no such motives as these ;
 And, as he demands no *exorbitant* fees,
 The Bearer, I doubt not, is perfectly right
 In expecting you’ll pay him this Bill upon sight.
 Five pound is, according to his computation,
 The sum you must pay for—a *good reputation*.
 And now, Sir, I’ll venture to lay ten to one
 You think it high time that my letter was done ;
 Then allow me to add, whilst your patience endures,
 That I am, with esteem and fidelity, yours.

WM FRANKLIN

Burlington, Novem^r 20th 1769
 To JOHN ROSS Esq^r

DATA FROM THE WEST FAMILY BIBLE, printed in Edinburgh in 1722, by James Watson, printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty. Cum Privilegio. Now in the possession of Mrs. Cooper Smith, or Philadelphia.

William West the son of Will^m West and Ann Osborn of Urlar, near Sligo in Ireland, born the 1st. June 1724.

Mary Hodge alias West, the Daughter of William Hodge of Philad^a. Born the 7th. Day of Novb^r. 1737, Polly was married to William West 18th. Aug^t. 1757 and had issue :—

Mary West born the 13th. Nov^r. 1758
 William West Jr. born the 1st. Feb^v. 1760. Died 5th Jan^v. 1763.
 Fran^s. West Born the 14th. Sept^r. 1761 at 6 o'clock in the morning.
 John West Born the 26th. Novemb^r. 1762 at 11 o'clock in the morning.
 a son - - - Born the 24th. August 1765. died 10th. Oct^r. 1765.
 William Hodge West Born 24th. Dec^r. 1766 at 5 in the afternoon.
 James West Born the 22nd. Nov^r. 1768 at 4 in the morning.
 Ann West Born the 19th. Nov^r. 1769 at 4 in the morning.
 And^w. West Born the 14th. Feb^v. 1771. Died Aug. 1772.
 Benjⁿ. Fuller West Born the 29th. Aug^t. 1772 at 9 o'clock in the morning.
 Harry West Born the 1st. Aug. 1774 at 10 at Night. Died Feb^v. 7th. 1775 6 in the evening.
 Helen West Born Fryday the 4th. April 1777 at 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Francis West the son of William West of Philadelphia
 Mary Nixon alias West, the Daughter of John Nixon of Philadelphia was married to Francis West January the 10 1793 & had issue:

* Mary West born the 4th. of Nov. 1793 at 9 in the morn^g.
 Elizabeth West born September the 28th. 1795 at 11 A. M.
 William West born March the 16 1797 at 8 P. M.
 John West born October the 24 1798.
 Ann West born July the 12th. 1800.
 James West born May 16th. 1802.
 Helen West born March 25 1804. 6 P. M.
 Caroline West born November 24th. 1805. died
 Francis West born March 5th. 1810. $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 A. M.
 Caroline West January 5 1812

* Mary West died February 13th. (Tuesday) 1838.

AMERICAN PRISONERS OF WAR AT QUEBEC, CANADA, 1776.—

OLD GOAL May 31st 1776

SIR—

I received your lines & agreeable to your Request send you an Account of the state & number of the Company at present,

Listed out among the Emigrants:

Serg ^t Turkentine	Alex Burns
Serg ^t Greer	Joseph Caskey
Berny M:Guire	Tn. Love
Mathew Cuning	Arch: M ^o Farland
Daniel Carlisle	Tho ^o Green
Edw Rodden	W ^m Smith
Peter Burns	Jn ^o Carswell
Tho ^o Witherup	Jo. Wright
Tho ^o Murdock	Daniel Ohara
Fran: Farlow	Philip Maxwell
Edw ^d Morton	John Hardy
Roger Casey	Michael Young

W^m Snell
 James Ireland
 James Greer
 Peter Frainer
 James Hogg
 W^m Burns
 W^m Ohara
 Jno Chambers, made application to
 list out, but was refused.
*Gone out to work having taken the
 Oath of Allegiance—*
 Jn^o Chambers
 Rich^d M^cClure
 W^m Gammel — 3
Here in confinement—
 Tho^o Gibson
 Robert Steel
 Jn^o Henderson
 Jn^o Blair
 Jacob Mason

Jn^o Gardner
 James Fox
 Rich^d Lynch
 George Morrow
 Tho^o Lesley listed out
 the other day, 36.

James Reed
 Henry Crone
 Jn^o Ray
 Jn^o Macklin
 Thomas Anderson
 Daniel Grimes
 Daniel North
 W^m Kirkpaterik
 George Morison
 Jn^o Chesney
 Mathew Taylor
 and myself
 W^m M^cCay

Sick in Hospital
 Abraham Swaggerty (Wounded), Henry M^cGowen.
 Philip Baker.

N. B. We who are here live much better at present than we have done for some time past. we were in general verry ill with the scurvy having no fresh Provisions. but of late we have been supplied with good fresh Beef and loaf Bread which has helped us much. and for which we are all thankful to M^r Prentice Thomas Gibson and the rest of the Company present their Compliments to you, & please to accept the same from your Hum^o Servant

W^m M^cCAY

To Mr FRANCIS NICHOLS
 in
 the Seminary.

OSBORN-RENAUDET-CHEVALIER GENEALOGICAL RECORDS.—The following data are taken from a Bible, printed in the year 1715, presented to Dr. Francis West by Mrs. Chevalier, who with her daughter lived for some time and died at Christ Church Hospital, Philadelphia; now in the possession of Mrs. Cooper Smith, Philadelphia.

George Lucas Osborn married to Jane Renaudet in Philadelphia, Dec. 5th. 1735.

ditto was born in Antigua, March 21st 1713. Jane, his wife born in N. York, April 1st 1710.

My son George was born in Philadelphia, Sept. 20th 1736. died in Antigua March 26th 1738.

My daughter Ann was born in Antigua, January 22nd 1739/40. Baptized by Mr Byam

My daughter Elizabeth Priscilla was born in St Christophers, June 26th 1741 Baptise by Rev John Merac.

My son James was born in St Christophers, Oct. 17. 1742 Died Nov. 26th 1743. by Do.

My son Fraser Mathews born in St Christophers Decem. 17, 1743. by Do

My Son Robert was born in St Christophers February 19. 1744/5. by Do

My Daughter Mary Grace born in Do. March 28. 1746 by Do

My Daughter Jane Frances born in Do. Septem r. 23. 1748 by Do

My Son George Renaudet born in Do. Decem r. 30. 1749 Baptised by the Reverend Mr John Merac.

My Son Peter James born in Philadelphia April 6th 1751. died in St Croix Septem r 25. 1753 Baptised by the Reverend Mr. Jenny Oct. 20 1751

My Daughter Sabella was born in ditto Septem r. 2 1752 OStile Bap-
tised by Mr. Jenny Oct 31 1752.

My Son John Adrian born in St Croix February 14. 1755. Baptised by the Revnd Mr Cichel Good Child.
John A^d Baptised by Domine Beker Dutch Chu',

My Daughter Russel Lillie was born in St Croix Novem^r. 22 1756 Do
My Daughter Ann was Married to Nathaniel Lillie in St Croix June 26th. 1760; and my Grand Daughter, Jane Harriett Lillie the daughter of Nathaniel & Ann Lillie was Born in St Croix on Fryday the 21st Day of August. 1761 and was Baptised the 20th. day of September following By The Rev^d Mr. Goodchild.

George Lucas Osborn Departed this Life the 12th. Day of May 1762 in St Croix in the 49th. Year of his Age.

Ann Lillie Daughter of Geo. & Jane Osborn departed this Life in St Croix the 17th. Day of December 1763 In the 23^d year of her Age

Mary Lillie Daughter of Nath^l & Ann Lillie was born in St Croix on Friday the 3^d Day of Sep^r. 1762 & was Baptised the 4th. Day of October following by the Rev^d. Mr. Goodchild.

My Daughter Elizabeth Priscilla was married to Lucas Benners in St Croix 23 Aug 1767.

Jane Benners Daughter of Lucas & Elizth Priscila Benners was born at St Croix January 24 1768 between 9 and ten o'clock in the Morning & Baptised by the Rev^d Mr. Cichel Good Child February 2 1768/69.

Jane Benners Daughter to Lucas & Elizth Prissilla Benners Died of the Small Pox in St Croix March the 29. 1771: was 2 years & 2 months old.

Mary Lillie Died in Philadelphia Mar^h 26 1773 of the Smallpox Aged Nine Years & Seven Months was interd in Christ Church Buriel ground March 27 1773 Fryday—Buried Saturday.

Mathew Frasure married to Miss Mary Puppen.

Ann Renaudet Chevalier was born in Philadelphia on Monday the 28th. of May 1792, was Baptized by the Reverend Bishop White.

Jane Osborne Departed this Life in Philadelphia, January the 6th.

Aged 88

1803

Ann Renaudet Chevalier daughter of Peter Renaudet Chevalier and Jane Harriet Chevalier was born in Front Street between Sassafras & Vine Streets in Philadelphia on Monday the 20th. of May in the year of our Lord Anno Domini 1792, and Baptized by the Reverend William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania.

On a separate sheet of paper found in the same Bible is the following:—

Departed this life, Saturday, August 14th. 1847, Mrs. Jane Harriet Chevalier, in the 87th year of her age. She was born in the Island of St Croix, Friday August 21st, 1761.

She was the first grandchild of George Lucas, and Jane Osborn.

“ Let me die the death of the righteous and let my last end be like his.”

SOME OLD BILLS; originals in the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—

		John Penn Esq, to the Estate of And ^r Bradford Dec ^d	Dr.
1735	Apr 23	To Postage of a Pacquet by the } way of Boston — — — }	£1 2 6
		To 1 Double Shp from D ^o	6 2
		To 1 Letter from N York	1 3
	May 28 th	To 1 Ditto from Boston	2 11
	Sep ^r 24	To 1 Double Letter from Do.	6 8
	8 ber 8 th	To 1 Ship Letter from Ditto	4 1
		To $\frac{3}{4}$ Years Newspapers from No. 777 to No 821	7 6
			£2 11 1

[Reverse side]

Rec^d this 23^d Novem^r 1743 from M^r Lyn Ford Lardner the Sum of Two pounds Eleven shillings & One penny in full of the within Acco^u in behalf of Cornelia Bradford Executrix of Andrew Bradford Dec^d

£2^r 11^r 1

THO^s JACKMAN

FRIEND SAMUEL DEPUE

The Indians who borrowed thy Cannoe to come to Philadelphia have had the misfortune to loose it, so that it cannot at present be met with for those Indians to return home, and if it cannot be found in some resonable time, our Proprietor has given orders to pay the value of the Cannoe to thyself or anybody thou shalt appoint to call on me for the money who am

Thy ffriend

JAMES STEEL

PHILADA 26th 6^{mo}. 1737

Rec'd of James Steel four pounds for the above mentioned Canoe

SAMUEL DUPUY

1743	The Honble Prop ^{rs} To W ^m Dunwick	Dr.
	by order of the Governor	
Octo ^r 4 th	To Entertainm ^t of an Indian } call'd Capt ⁿ Green 5 days	£ 0 " 4 " 6
8 th	To mending a Gun and some } other Things for s ^d Indian	
		0 " 10 " —
		<hr/> £ 0 " 14 " 6
24 th	Receiv'd of M ^r Lardner the above sum of fourteen shillings & six pence	

WILLIAM DUNWICK

The Proprietaries of Pennsylvania to Robert Levers D^r
For Sundries sent up by a waggon to Easton for the
use of the Governor and his company vizt

1762	1 Quarter Cask Madeira Wine	16 : 5 : 0
June 14 th	10 Gallons Jamaica Spirit @ 7/6	3 : 15 : 0
	a cagg	0 : 3 : 9
	1 ^b Hyson Tea — — —	1 : 10 : 0
	a cannister	0 : 1 : 2
	4 Loaves doub: refind Sugar ^{lb oz} 27·15	
	@ 1/8	2 : 6 : 8
	4 ^{lb} Ground Coffee	0 : 8 : 0
	1 Box Lemons	4 : 0 : 0
		<hr/> £ 28 " 9 " 7
To 15850 Grains of Wampum @ 30/—	23 " 15 " 6	
7000 do do @ 40/—	14 " 0 " 0	
		<hr/> 37 " 15 " 6
		<hr/> £ 66 " 5 " 1

1762 July 7th Received of Richard Peters Esquire the above
Sixty Six Pounds Five Shillings & one Penny in full—
ROBERT LEVERS—

To MR. JOHN HAYS

You are to give the Indians who are coming to the Treaty, Provisions, untill they set off for Easton, & if any of them are very tyr'd or sick, give them a Gill of rum ᵇ Day, as no Syder or Beer is to be got, and you must keep a true acct. of Provisions, & rum, which acct. you must produce to the Governor & Commissioners either at Easton or Philad^a & you must be carefull not to exceed the quantity of rum lest the Indians shou'd be Drunk & perhaps commit some Mischief. You must not entertain the Indians longer than Monday morning, or till the last of them comes this length.

12th June 1762

GEO: ARMSTRONG

[On back]

11, June 1762,

The Expenses of Teedyuseong & his party on their arrival here is
£0 : 14 : 9.

Jno. Hay's House

G: ARMSTRONG

Brot from the small Paper
Brought Down

£ 5 " 2 " 9
14 " 9
£ 5 " 17 " 6

Rec^d the above sum of George Armstrong
EASTON 18th June, 1762

JOHN HAYS

Rec^d of Mr Hopkeson the sum of Five Pounds seventeen shillings & six pence in full of the above bill

28th June 1762 } £ 5 " 17 " 6,
EASTON }

GEO: ARMSTRONG

1762. John Hays accompt against the Government for vitualing of Teedeuscon and Company coming to treaty

	£	S.	D.
June 12 to 14 to breakfast	0	9	4
to 19 half Jills rum at 1 ^s — 6 ^d $\frac{3}{4}$ qrt	0	1	4
to 15 half Jills rum	0	1	5
to 7 half Jills rum	0	0	10
to 2 half Jills rum	0	0	3
to Denner 43	1	8	8
13 to breakfast 43	1	8	8
to rum 39 half Jills	0	3	8
to a horse to easton on my own cost	0	5	0
15 to 5 breakfast	0	2	8
to 5 supper one half Jill rum	0	3	5
16 to 3 breakfast	0	2	0
to 5 Dinner	0	3	4
to 10 half Jills rum	0	1	0
to 11 Eating	0	7	4
to 5 Eating	0	3	4
to 5 half Jills rum	0	0	6
	£ 5.	2.	9.

Queries.

BUCKMAN.—“There is in the possession of the Buckman Family a small manuscript volume containing an account of goods put up for Pennsylvania in the 5th mo. 1682, in which are described the goods of the widow Buckman, of William Buckman, of Thomas, of Edward and of Ruth Buckman * * * of which I have taken a copy,” wrote Edwin D. Buckman to William J. Buck, in a letter dated Bristol, Penna., November 18, 1854. Who now has this manuscript or a transcript?

ALBERT COOK MYERS.

MOYLAN, PENNA.

RESIDENCE OF HON. WILLIAM BINGHAM, IN BATH, ENGLAND.—In the ancient abbey at Bath, England, is interred the remains of the Hon. William Bingham, formerly of Philadelphia and a Senator of the United States from Pennsylvania. He died in Bath, February 7, 1804, and a monument by Flaxman was erected. The city corporation now

propose to erect a tablet on the house in which he resided. The Bath newspapers mention the name of the street, but the number of the house is unknown. Who can furnish this datum? J.

DENNY.—William Denny, only surviving son of the Rev^d Hill Denny of Hertfordshire, and of Spaldwick, Huntingdonshire, England, entered Oriel College, Oxford, 24th May, 1726, aged 17. B. A. 1729/30. A Cornet in the Duke of Montague's Regiment of Horse about 1740.

Died, apparently without issue, in 1765–66.

His will is dated 25th May, 1765, and proved 16th Jan. 1766. In it he mentions messuages, &c., in the Province of Pennsylvania, belonging to him.

From Burke's "Landed Gentry of England," 1849, p. 1540. Family of Waye. Note: "William Hill had one daughter Mary, who married "*William Denny*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Pennsylvania*, but had no "issue."

Is this last named William Denny the same person as William, son of Rev. Hill Denny, described in the first note?

(Rev^d) H. L. L. DENNY, M.A.,
6 Wilton Terrace,
Fitz William Place,
Dublin, Ireland.

Book Notices.

THE WRITINGS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Edited by Albert H. Smyth. Published by The Macmillan Company, New York. Ten volumes, cloth binding, gilt tops; illustrated. \$15.00 net.

The late Professor Albert H. Smyth, the editor of this remarkable work, was well fitted for the task. During his researches in Europe he gathered a great quantity of new letters, essays, and other original memoranda, which enrich the present volumes, and which had escaped the attention of previous editors. The same faithfulness of search and reproduction was followed in this country, and he has been able to add 385 letters and 40 articles that have never before been published. All of the material, however derived, has been reproduced without change or alteration, and a surprising number of errors in other editions have been corrected, by which new and valuable light upon both Franklin's acts and character is shed. On the other hand, several documents, hitherto wrongly attributed to Franklin, have been disclosed and omitted. Another valuable feature is, that in every case the place where the original document may be found is fully noted.

Franklin's life and writings exhibit the noblest patriotism; he was recognized as the leader of thought in the struggle of the Colonies against oppression; his learning was remarkable in his day; he was always a man of letters and his literary style has been the admiration of all critics. For years he represented Pennsylvania in London, to the great advantage of the other Colonies as well as his own, and he was sent again to Europe to represent the new Republic and secure recognition and help. His diplomatic achievements in Paris were remarkable, and he was continually stimulating the government and people at home to make more and more effective their defence. The arrangement of the materials

is strictly chronological, and the following brief abstracts from the contents of each volume will give a fair idea of the scope.

Volume I contains a critical introduction to the writings of Franklin, and the Autobiography.

Volume II contains the "Dogood Papers," also his contributions to the "Pennsylvania Gazette"; prefaces to "Poor Richard," and a recently discovered MS. concerning "The State of the British Plantations in America," written in 1731-2 and containing remarkable predictions of the future of the Colonies.

Volume III contains correspondence relating to Franklin's experiments in electricity; and correspondence, never before printed, with Peter Collinson relating to the quarrel between the Pennsylvania Assembly and the Proprietary Government. These letters reveal more completely than any others the private character of Franklin.

Volumes IV and V contain correspondence in England (1765-1776) and ten articles by Franklin from English journals and elsewhere relating to the Stamp Act, never before published; also Franklin's report of Pitt's speech on the Stamp Act.

Volumes VI and VII contain correspondence, 1776-1783; the "Bagatelles," printed in both French and English from previously unknown copies; and correspondence with Madame Brillon.

Volume VIII contains correspondence, 1783-1786, chiefly of a political and scientific character, with extracts from a journal.

Volume IX, 1786-1789, contains correspondence relating to the Constitution and the affairs of Pennsylvania.

Volume X, 1789-90, contains a Terminal essay on The Life and Character of Franklin, and a very full Index to the whole series.

No better memorial to Franklin could be found than this new and definite edition of his writings. Every library should number it among its treasures, if for no better reason, than because he was the first exponent of the library idea, and founder of the oldest public library in America; and no man set a higher value upon books or the proper use and care of them.

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AT PRINCETON. By Varnum Lansing Collins. Princeton, 1908. 8vo. Pp. 295. Illustrated. Price \$3.00 net.

This volume, published by the Princeton Historical Association, treats of an episode in American history which has received but little attention. The narrative has two aims in view: first, a fuller knowledge of the Congressional history of the summer and autumn of 1783; and secondly, an account of Congressional life on its informal side when Princeton was the national capital. For the first, the heated debates in Nassau Hall, the audience given to General Washington, at which he was officially thanked for his services during the Revolution, the reception of the Dutch Minister Von Berckel, the efforts made by the various states to influence the great debate in October on the location of a permanent capital, the author has added considerably to the record as contained in the published Journal of Congress.

For the second, the welcome accorded to Congress, the addresses of loyalty received from various parts of the State, the efforts made to render the stay of Congress pleasant and even permanent, the offer of Nassau

Hall, the cost of living, General Washington's stay at Rocky Hill; this material has been drawn largely from unpublished sources.

The volume is liberally illustrated with reproductions of rare portraits, and in the text chiefly documentary. It is well printed on good paper, deckle edges, gilt top, and bound in olive cloth.

A HISTORY OF OLD TIOGA POINT AND EARLY ATHENS. By Louise Welles Murray. Pp. 700. Illustrated. Cloth, \$5; full morocco, \$10.

Te-a-o-ga or Diahoga was a strategic point near the New York line, in the present Bradford County, where the Indian trails from Eastern Pennsylvania and Central New York met; where Fort Sullivan was erected in August of 1779; where lived and died Col. John Franklin; and where the Connecticut claimants made their last stand. The work comprises the history of Te-a-o-ga from the visits of the first white men in 1614 to the close of the Sullivan expedition, including the various Indian treaties from 1783 to 1795; also the account of the settlement by both Connecticut and Pennsylvania claimants. It also embraces many letters throwing light on the problems of the Connecticut controversy and on the Hartley and Sullivan expeditions. The illustrations, numbering about 150, consist of maps, documents, views, buildings and portraits.

Sold only by the author, Athens, Penna.

LAW: ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH AND FUNCTION. Being a course of Lectures prepared for delivery before the Law School of Harvard University. By James Coolidge Carter, LL.D. New York, 1907. 8vo. Pp. 355. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

These thirteen lectures were prepared by Dr. Carter for delivery before the Law School of Harvard, but his death prevented the fulfilment of that purpose. They are not a technical treatise upon any branch of the Law, of interest only to the professional reader, but a comprehensive study of its origin and development as a science and of its influence and function as a powerful force in the civilization of mankind. The importance of distinguishing between the nature of written and unwritten law, and ascertaining the proper and legitimate province of each, were subjects which possessed for Dr. Carter an absorbing interest, and to which he devoted much attention, study and reflection. The volume is typographically attractive, and a good index will assist the reader.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By the Right Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan. Part III. 8vo. Pp. xii-492. New York, 1907. Longmans, Green & Co. Price, \$2.50.

The third part of Sir George Trevelyan's history of "The American Revolution," covers the critical period of 1777-1778, the turning point in the war—Burgoyne's invasion from Canada and his enforced surrender at Saratoga; the defence of the Delaware, Howe's victories at Brandywine and Germantown, and his occupation of the Capital of the Republic; the sufferings of the army at Valley Forge and the intrigues against Washington by Gates, Conway and others; the evacuation of Philadelphia and the successful retreat of the Royal army through the Jerseys, despite the efforts of the Americans, and the final abandonment

by the King of any serious attempt to recover the northern and central States. The last two chapters deal with affairs in Europe, and present a picture of French social and political life; give an account of Franklin at Paris and the treaty of alliance of 1778, by which our autonomy was secured. As much of the historical details of this admirable volume centre in Philadelphia and its adjacents, local readers in particular will be attracted by the accuracy of the author, based on his broad knowledge of contemporary documents and writings, and the brilliant scholarship which enhances the narrative.

FRENCH COLONISTS AND EXILES IN THE UNITED STATES. By J. G. Rosengarten. Philadelphia, 1907. Pp. 234. J. B. Lippincott Co.

The French settlers in the United States have not received the attention that they deserve, and the author's interesting and helpful book is therefore most welcome. Philadelphia, when it was the political and social capital of the country, and also in later years, attracted many of the exiles at the time of the French Revolution, the fall of Napoleon, and the trouble in San Domingo, and it is the data connected with them that will particularly interest local readers. Noailles, Tilley, Volney, Talleyrand, officers of the army and navy, and scientists, were familiar figures on the streets and welcome guests at the houses of prominent citizens, and descendants of some of them still make the city their home. Asylum, in Luzerne County, planned by the brother-in-law of La Fayette, is the best known of the settlements, but it was not a success. Descendants of some of the settlers are scattered throughout Pennsylvania.

ANNUAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION, 1907-1908. Compiled by Ethan Allen Weaver, Secretary. 8vo. Pp. 100. Illustrated.

This attractive annual, in addition to the list of officers, contains the report of the Board of Managers, and the address of Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker at the dedication of the monument at Phoenixville, Penna., and the sermon of the Rt. Rev. James Henry Darlington. The Necrological Roll is a valuable contribution to general biography and genealogy.

A PORTER PEDIGREE, being an account of the ancestry and descendants of Samuel and Martha (Perley) Porter, of Chester, N. H., who were descendants of John Porter, of Salem, Mass., and of Allan Perley, of Ipswich, Mass. By Miss Juliet Porter. Worcester, Mass., 1907. 8vo. Pp. 161. Cloth, \$1.75.

The scope of this work is indicated in its title page, but in addition it contains pedigrees of the allied families of Andrews, Barney, Dane, Dodge, Dresser, Foster, Grover, Herrick, Howe, Peabody, Perley, Smith, Thorley, and Trumbull. All of the pedigrees contain much data drawn from original sources. A good index is appended.



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THE DRAMATIC FEATURES OF PENNSYLVANIA'S
HISTORY.

BY HON. HAMPTON L. CARSON.

[An Address Delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

I intend to talk in a simple and familiar way about matters which ought to be of interest to all citizens of this great State. I recall that some years ago I performed a most interesting official duty—the supervision of the contract between the Capitol Commissioners and the famous artist, Edwin A. Abbey, whom we are proud to claim as a son of Pennsylvania, who had just completed the coronation portrait of King Edward VII—a contract which has required Mr. Abbey to devote the greater part of four years to the painting of pictures for the decoration and adornment of our new State Capitol. It occurs to me that I might put into words some of the subjects familiar to most students of Pennsylvania's history, which Mr. Abbey will probably select, assisted, as he has been, by the suggestions of that able and most learned of Pennsylvania's scholars, Governor Pennypacker. Hence I have entitled my subject, "The Dramatic Features of Pennsylvania's History." Strange to say, we are too loath to take up seriously the study of the

history of our own Commonwealth, yet we turn much of our attention to the history of other States and other parts of the world and pass over with indifference and with censurable inattention those events which make this a Commonwealth of which all can be justly and honestly proud.

I have asked that a map of Pennsylvania should be hung up here so that I might indicate, in a general way, some of the features upon which it is my purpose to dwell. The State is very happily situated geographically; it is washed by the waters of the Delaware on the eastern side, terminating in a great bay which gives it access to the ocean; it reaches on the northwestern corner to Lake Erie, and is provided with an outlet, so far as our western commerce is concerned, by the great rivers of the Allegheny and Monongahela, which united make the Ohio and give us communication with the Valley of the Mississippi; it is bisected in the north and centre by the branches of the Susquehanna and these uniting flow through the heart of the Commonwealth into Chesapeake Bay. Nature provided waters which constituted for many years natural highways upon which military and commercial movements took place of the utmost significance to the State and to the Nation, and this accounts for much in our history.

Few of us realize what a hard struggle there was to maintain the territorial integrity of the Commonwealth, but before coming to that I must deal with introductory scenes, and the first picture which deserves to be thrown upon the historic canvas relates to the explorations instituted by the Dutch East India Trading Company in search of a northwest passage, and to the commission given to Henry Hudson to discover, if he could, a northwest passage to China. The Dutch had, in the latter part of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth century, entered into keen competition with the Portuguese and Spaniards, which at that time were the two leading exploring and colonizing nations of the world, and in their efforts to find a more direct and expeditious passage to China, the Dutch Company sent out

this adventurous Englishman, Henry Hudson, whose life in itself is full of romance, in order to discover, if he could, some direct route by which the ocean voyage to the Orient might be considerably shortened. He entered the mouth of Delaware Bay in a little ship called *The Half Moon*, and although he did not penetrate very far on account of the sand bars, he afterwards entered the North River, as it was then called,—the Delaware, in contrast, being for many years called the South River,—yet the fact that he had discovered a new and noble bay was borne in remembrance, and led other enterprising explorers—notably Captain Mey, whose name is now inseparably attached, though with a difference in the spelling, to the southern cape of our sister State of New Jersey. The interesting log kept by Hudson and published both in Amsterdam and London caused subsequent explorations to be made somewhat in the same direction, and led to the sad discovery that the last and closing scene in Henry Hudson's life was on the wintry and desolate shores of the great body of water far to the North always to be known by his name—Hudson's Bay. In a series of historical pictures, a front place should be given to some one of these incidents as a proper introduction to the history of Pennsylvania.

A later effort in the way of exploration, resulting in actual settlement, was undertaken by Queen Christina, successor to the throne of the great Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus, and her Chancellor Oxenstierna was the most enlightened statesman of his day. The settlements of the Swedes were confined to the lower part of Delaware, in the neighborhood of Lewes, then known by the picturesque name of the "Valley of the Swans," and New Castle and Christiana, now known as Wilmington. A colony was planted where the principles of civil and religious liberty were encouraged. A little later than this Dutch settlers established themselves on the eastern bank of the Delaware at old Fort Nassau in the neighborhood of the present town of Gloucester below the city of Camden. For more

than forty years the sovereignty was divided and a bloodless warfare ensued, the Dutch capturing Christiana from the Swedes, the Swedes recapturing it, the Dutch resuming possession, and still later Dutch and Swedish power came under English sovereignty under the Duke of York, whose vice-governor was then established at New Amsterdam, now known as the City of New York.

The second series of historical pictures would properly relate to the period of struggle between the Swedes, the Dutch and the English, resulting in the final and peaceful establishment of English rule upon both banks of the Delaware.

The third great series of pictures will properly relate to the coming of William Penn. I venture to suggest that Mr. Abbey might well place upon canvas a conference between William Penn, John Milton, Algernon Sidney and John Locke, engaged in the consideration of a proper frame of government for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. I have nowhere seen the fact stated in print that such a conference took place, yet I have not the slightest doubt that it happened. It is well known that William Penn was a student at Oxford and there met John Locke. It is well known also that he often talked with John Milton, the author of the *Areopagitica*, or the essay upon unlicensed printing; that he discussed with Pym and Hampden; that he frequently exchanged views with Algernon Sidney, and the probability of the four men conferring together is enforced by the fact that, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, there is deposited the original chart of the framework of Government for Penn's colony in the handwriting of William Penn, with interlineations in the handwriting of both Sidney and Locke, thus furnishing authentic documentary evidence quite as reliable as the original draft of the Declaration of Independence in the handwriting of Jefferson with interlineations in the handwriting of Franklin and John Adams.

I may remark in passing that although John Locke—one of the profoundest intellects of his day, the author of

Civil Liberty, and, in a certain sense, the master mind of his day—drafted a constitution for the colony of South Carolina, yet it proved a dismal failure, while Penn's draft of a constitution for Pennsylvania has proved to be an immortal success. Hence it is proper to class Penn among the builders and founders of empires, a man who may fitly rank with those whom Lord Bacon called the "*conditores imperiorum.*" It is the fashion to talk of Bradford, of Winthrop, of Miles Standish, of Carver, of Roger Williams, of Stuyvesant, of Fenwick, of Byllynge, of Cecil Calvert, of Captain John Smith, of Sir Walter Raleigh and of James Oglethorpe, but we can fairly challenge the admirers of any of those founders of other States, whether in New England or in the South, to point to any chart or draft of government comparable to the government written by Penn—whether from the standpoint of political philosophy or of practical statesmanship.

The preparation of Penn for his grand work was certainly peculiar and complete. Besides being a student at Oxford and at Saumur, he had studied law at Lincoln's Inn, and had made himself familiar with Magna Charta and the most famous statutes which constituted the basis of British liberty, as well as with the principles of the common law. The son of an admiral who had successfully contested with Van Tromp and De Reuter the supremacy of the seas, a soldier as well as a courtier, Penn was one of the most sagacious men of the age in which he lived, a learned scholar, speaking several languages and trained in the court as well as in assemblies of the people, and was fitted to consider the various rights and claims of the different classes of society to freedom of conscience as well as to freedom of action. Political literature contains no more concise definition of popular government than Penn expressed in a single sentence. "Any government is free to the people under it, whatever may be the frame, where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy or confusion." Again he said, "Govern-

ments, like clocks, go from the motion that men give to them, and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them are they ruined; wherefore, governments rather depend upon men than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad, for if it be ill they will cure it; but if men be bad and government be good, they will warp and spoil it to their turn."

When Penn landed at Chester there was already a Swedish settlement on the banks of the Delaware in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Schuylkill. It was but a small portion of his vast province which came originally under his control, and to understand the history of what followed we must picture to our minds the character and topography of the province, which extended 315 miles from the banks of the Delaware in a westerly direction and 158 miles north and south. The southeastern portion of Pennsylvania embraces at the present time the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Montgomery, Delaware, Bucks and a small portion of Northampton, as well as Philadelphia county—embracing, as you will observe by looking at the map, but a tiny fraction, perhaps not more than one-fifteenth, of the entire domain of the State. It represents a rolling country, not very much above the sea level, watered by the great river Delaware and its main tributaries, the Lehigh and the Schuylkill, and in the lower portion traversed by the large streams known as the Brandywine and Christiana, both of them emptying into the Delaware. You will observe that to the north and the west of the territory thus described, the mountains of New York State spring from the base of the Adirondacks, and entering the State at the northeast corner, in the immediate neighborhood of the Delaware Water Gap, hemmed in by their ranges, running in a southwesterly direction, the whole of the portion of the State which was easily accessible to the early settlers under Penn. It is important to observe this, because much of the history of the State is due to the lack of topographical homogeneity, a feature existing at the present day, accounting in part for the diffi-

culty of securing from all parts of the State that unity of spirit, of enterprise and of purpose which results frequently in divided councils and distracted energy. The range of mountains to which I have alluded is not a high one, to be sure, in comparison with other mountain ranges, but it constitutes the first decided physical break in the integrity of Pennsylvania's territory.

To guard the portion of the province in the possession of Penn and his settlers from the incursions of Indians, it was necessary to post at all the mountain gaps certain forts, and of these a long line extended from the Kittanning Mountains in the northeast to Fort Bradford in the neighborhood of the present town of Huntingdon, with the intervening forts at the forks of the Susquehanna along the line of the river in the neighborhood of Harrisburg, down the Cumberland Valley and into the State of Maryland. Thus were the western boundaries of Penn's settlement guarded at the gateways by structures which, while lacking the dignity of feudal castles in the ancient times, played a no less important part in securing to the Quaker and German inhabitants peace and quiet while developing the agricultural interests of the fertile valleys under their control.

The forts were afterwards extended up the valleys of the various branches of the Susquehanna north and west, and the great Valley of the Wyoming, afterwards the scene of the Indian massacre, was as little known to the settlers upon the shores of the Delaware as Alaska was prior to its purchase from the Russians. Beyond the first range of the mountains which I have described, known as the Blue Ridge, and extending over one-third of the State, was a series of fertile valleys and table-lands, cut, it is true, by a series of hills and traversed by many rivers, but which constitute one of the fairest portions of the Commonwealth, and the most fertile region of the globe. Beyond these valleys we have the uplift of the Alleghenies, rising to a height of from 2,000 to 2,500 feet, and then we descend the western slopes by way of the valley of the Conemaugh and

reach the foothills of an average height of one thousand feet on the banks of the Allegheny and Monongahela.

A glance at the map will show you that the northern branch of the Susquehanna rises in the State of New York; that the Allegheny itself rises in the southwestern part of New York, and you see at once the natural highways which, at that time, were controlled by the French and the Indians who were under French dominion, and you have but little difficulty in perceiving why it is that the French and Indian wars were so largely fought upon Pennsylvania's soil.

Turning now from the mere geographical or topographical view of the matter to what may be called the legal aspect of the question, as it was embraced within the limits of Penn's charter, we are now ready to consider the struggle for the territorial integrity of Pennsylvania, to which I alluded at the outset. There was a famous controversy between Penn and Lord Baltimore, which Penn was obliged to take before the High Court of Chancery in England, a circumstance which accounts for his long absence from the province. The line now known as the Mason and Dixon line divides Maryland from Pennsylvania. Had the line been drawn as far north as Cecil Calvert contended, the city of Philadelphia would have been well within the boundary lines of the State of Maryland, and you can easily see, by looking at the map and projecting a line north of Philadelphia—starting, say, in the neighborhood of Bristol and running out to the extreme western part of the State—how large a portion of the fertile counties of the southern tier we would have been obliged to part with; not Philadelphia alone, but Chester and historic Gettysburg, as well as Chambersburg, and the famous historic soil in Fayette county would have been irretrievably lost to us.

The second claim which Penn disputed was that of Virginia claiming that her land extended upon the west as far north as the top of the "Pan Handle" and so far east as to embrace what is now the city of Pittsburg, with her sister-

city of Allegheny. Had this claim prevailed we would have lost, beyond the hope of recovery, an outlet to the Mississippi and been robbed of the most productive manufacturing centre on the face of the earth.

The third claim which Penn was obliged to dispute was that put forward by the colony of Connecticut, and had Connecticut succeeded in maintaining her claim she would have taken the whole of that portion of the State immediately north of the forks of the Susquehanna, and the cities of Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Pittston, Franklin and the rich oil-producing counties would have been lost to us. Had New York prevailed in her claim to the northwestern section of the State, where the city of Erie is now situated, and which constitutes a little projection known as the "smokestack," we would have been deprived of an outlet to the Great Lakes. Thus Pennsylvania would have been reduced to a narrow strip of land in which Harrisburg, Reading, Lancaster and Johnstown would have been the only important towns.

There can be nothing more dramatic, when considering what might have been the fate of this Commonwealth, viewed as a possible anticipation of the future, than the attitude of Penn standing really on the defensive, but forced by the aggressive action of his neighbors into the attitude of a plaintiff, in order to hold the territory awarded to him under his charter as a recognition of the admirable services which his father, Admiral Penn, had performed for the Commonwealth of England in the days of Cromwell. It is strange that Penn though a peaceful man in principle and practice was forced by circumstances to contend as a litigant in the High Court of Chancery for the recognition of his title, and it is but a slight stretch of metaphor to point to his well-known portrait in a suit of armor to fitly indicate one of the conspicuous features of his restless, and, in a certain sense, stormy career.

We talk of Penn's treaty with the Indians, and we are prone to imagine that because of the good faith with which

that famous compact was kept on both sides—a compact of which Voltaire said that it was the only treaty in the history of the world never written and never broken—that the soil of Pennsylvania was free from Indian ravages. On the contrary, the soil of Pennsylvania was the scene of as many bloody strifes as any of the States of the Union; the scalping knife and the torch were more familiar to the early settlers of Pennsylvania than to any of the southern colonies and but little exceeded by the experiences of the New England colonies. In truth, the critical battles of the French and Indian wars were fought on Pennsylvania's soil, and from what I said a few moments ago about the topography of the State you can perceive the reason. Superimpose upon this map of Pennsylvania a map of the United States: I call your attention to the fact that on the right hand upper corner appears the Gulf of St. Lawrence with the long stretch of the St. Lawrence River running in a northeasterly direction, connecting with the great chain of lakes beginning with Ontario and ending with Superior—Lake Erie located at the front of the territory on the north west being one of the most important links. Following the lines of the St. Lawrence and the shores of the Lakes, a magnificent body of water extending for more than twelve hundred miles, we find the whole in the possession of the French, with forts extending from Quebec to Montreal and from Montreal to Detroit. These forts were not along the northern shores of the Great Lakes alone, but extended along the southern shores of Ontario and of Erie, and at Presque Isle, in the immediate neighborhood of the present city of Erie, there was a fort. The French, with a talent for engineering quite remarkable, extended their line of forts down the valley of the Allegheny River to the immediate site of the present city of Pittsburg, the fort being known as Fort Duquesne. Thus you will observe that Penn's territory on the north and west were in the hands of foes. The French, with their allies the Indians, were able to glide down the valley of the Allegheny and

throw their forces through the mountain passes upon the peaceful settlements made in the southwestern corner of the State, and many were the outrages perpetrated by excited Indians under the leadership of the great Indian chief Pontiac. The contests were frightful and sanguinary when viewed from the standpoint of that day. But it was Colonel Bouquet at the battle of Bushy Run who wrested the western portion of the State from Indian depredations.

Observe now that you come to the consideration of a fact of supreme importance—the fact that two great nations, the English and the French, are facing each other on Pennsylvania's soil in the contest for supremacy upon this continent, the centre of the line of battle being on our western border. Turn again to the map of the United States and extending your vision from New England to Georgia you observe that the English line of settlement is confined almost to the sea-coast—in point of fact it did not extend much farther into the wilderness than 200 miles; it ran from what is now the State of Maine to Georgia, but it was by no means a continuous line. Communication was cut up and broken by the natural and serious physical obstructions which bays and rivers and swamps interposed. New England had no easy communication with New York, because, although the Hudson River might, from one point of view, constitute an easy line of communication, yet the approaches to the descent from the New England side were broken by the Green Mountains. New England was not in easy communication with Pennsylvania, even if you consider that Long Island Sound and the Delaware River might, under modern circumstances, constitute accessible highways, for I am speaking of days when roads did not exist; when railways and steamboats were unknown; when travel was by horseback, and attended by danger. Communication between Pennsylvania and Virginia was also difficult, because of numerous rivers and the broad arm of the Chesapeake Bay, and still further to the south commu-

nication was interrupted by that desolate tract of swamp known as the Dismal Swamp extending through so large a portion of North Carolina.

It is hard to overestimate the difficulties under which the English grasp upon this continent was to be maintained. The colonies were separated from the mother country by three thousand miles of water on the east untraversed by steam, and upon the west a trackless wilderness of a thousand miles spread itself out, and that wilderness was under the control of the French, because gliding from the Great Lakes, down the valley of the Allegheny, thence down the Ohio to the Mississippi and down the Mississippi to the Gulf, you perceive a point of vantage in the possession of the French, and you cannot wonder at the dream of Louis XIV of making a vast empire upon this continent, opposed only by sturdy Anglo-Saxon ideas planted on a narrow strip of the sea-coast, surrounded by savages and forests; but thank God Anglo-Saxon ideas prevailed, and on the plains of Abraham through the victory of Wolfe over Montcalm this continent was saved for the Anglo-Saxon race.

At the very time of the critical period of the French and Indian wars Benjamin Franklin, then a well-seasoned man of forty-three, was engaged at Albany with his plan for the union of the colonies in opposition to the French and Indians, and at the same time George Washington, a young Virginian, had three times penetrated our western wilderness, first as a mere lad of sixteen years of age as the agent of Lord Fairfax, next as the representative of Governor Dinwiddie to warn back the invading soldiers of France, and the third time as a colonel of Virginia militia under the command of Braddock; so that here again we see that on Pennsylvania's soil was being worked out the problem as to whether this continent should be English or French, and Washington showed, by his military conduct, that French and Indians could be better fought by American soldiery than by British Grenadiers; that American rifle-

men could be better relied upon in the hour of peril than regulars who had fought under Clive in India.

And so it was that the soil of Pennsylvania, owing to its geographical and intermediate position, became the real battle-ground on which contending forces fought for mastery, a conflict terminating only by the death of Montcalm and the triumph of Wolfe, and then it was that there forever passed away the dangerous ascendancy of the French.

By this time Pennsylvania had assumed a position of sufficient strength and integrity to enable her to guard the rivers upon her western border, and there was finally placed at Fort Pitt a structure of sufficient strength to hold in check all the movements which threatened our western boundary.

We now come to the period of the American Revolution, and we do not content ourselves with the question: Where were the most important battles of the Revolution fought? but, Where was the critical struggle and on what soil did it take place? It is no idle boast that it was upon the soil of Pennsylvania. It is true that the hostilities of the Revolution broke out first in the city of Boston and its vicinity, but the capture of Boston by the British after the battle of Bunker Hill meant little or nothing in the way of a permanent British occupation, and when Washington taking possession of Dorchester Heights drove the British from Boston, the question was not settled, for Sir William Howe showed fight and captured the city of New York after the disastrous battle of Long Island. He had not been there very long, however, before he perceived that his occupation of New York was by no means of sufficient importance to enable him to suppress the so-called Rebellion. He was able to separate New England from Pennsylvania, but so long as Pennsylvania was able to resist by force of arms he could not subjugate Virginia, and to vanquish Pennsylvania he was obliged to strike at the very heart of the territory; and hence the critical struggle during the Revolution looked to the permanent possession of the Delaware. The first effort of Sir William Howe was to approach Philadelphia directly

across the State of New Jersey, and here he was met by Washington with a display of tactical skill which has at no time been fully recognized. Washington, after the battle of Long Island, was compelled to retire, but instead of falling back upon the hills and thus expose the whole of the colonies to the south to British capture, he saw with military sagacity the importance of throwing himself on the line which separated Philadelphia from New York. His men were much demoralized by the defeat at Long Island, and in the retreat across the Jerseys, company after company dropped from the ranks, while Cornwallis led the pursuit, and, flushed with victory, was pressing rapidly on. By a masterly movement Washington threw his forces to the west bank of the Delaware and halted. The British instead of proceeding to the south on the eastern shore wavered and became uncertain in their movements, and Washington reinforced by fifteen hundred troops from Pennsylvania was able to recross the Delaware, making his celebrated attack in December upon the Hessians, and then instead of continuing his retreat fought the battle of Princeton, forcing the British back in the direction of New York, and then falling back upon the hills surrounding Morristown was able to shut up the British during the ensuing winter in the city of New York and baffled all their movements. Thus did the attempt on the part of the British to secure Philadelphia meet with complete frustration. Sir William Howe then decided to reach Philadelphia by way of the Chesapeake, a thought suggested to him it is said, upon creditable evidence, by Charles Lee, who had been made a prisoner by the British while he idled away his time and refused to come to the defence of Washington prior to the battle of Trenton. The British landed about the edge of the Elk River and approached Philadelphia; a battle seemed imminent at Pipe Clay Creek, but was subsequently fought at Brandywine. This action, while resulting in a defeat for Washington, did not prove a disaster, and although the British subsequently occupied Philadelphia, as the result of

the movements in the great Chester Valley in the neighborhood of Paoli and Malvern and the crossing of the Schuylkill at Swedes Ford, yet Washington undaunted in spirit planned with uncommon skill the attack upon Germantown, and nothing but unforeseen circumstances and a too strict adherence to military rule prevented him from defeating Lord Howe. When Washington withdrew to Valley Forge he was able, during the whole of that winter of starvation and distress, to play the part of a sentinel of liberty upon the Holy Hills, and time and again his troopers harried the region round about, cutting off the British supplies and making the occupation of Philadelphia so difficult that it was finally determined to withdraw from Philadelphia and march back across New Jersey to New York. Thus was Washington by his masterly tactics, by his watchfulness and sagacity, by his indomitable perseverance able to baffle the best laid plans of Howe and Cornwallis to maintain possession of the Delaware, and did time permit I might go into that series of brilliant engagements which took place upon the shores of the Delaware at Fort Mifflin and at Red Bank, which make so much of history for our State as well as for New Jersey.

But not alone in the field of battle was Pennsylvania conspicuous. The chief events in the political, Congressional and Constitutional life of the infant nation were enacted upon our soil; it was at the State House in Philadelphia that the Declaration of Independence was framed; this was the city of the Continental Congress, and only during the brief period the British occupied it was that body absent from that sacred hall, and then, in the interim, the sessions of Congress were held at Lancaster and at York. Again, it was at the State House that the Constitution of the United States was framed, and Philadelphia for ten years was the national capital under the Constitution then recently adopted. Both of Washington's administrations and that of John Adams are associated with Philadelphia's history. Passing from scenes of violence and of political struggles

to the dreams of philosophers, we find the poets Lovelace, Shelley and Southey attempting to create a pantisocracy upon the shores of the Susquehanna, just as Harrington in days on the eve of the Commonwealth had dreamed of an Oceana; just as Sir Thomas More had dreamed of an Utopia and Lord Bacon of the New Atlantis. The friends of Shelley had sung to men of a spot where liberty could be realized amidst the charms of nature and turned their thoughts to the beautiful valleys and the wooded hills which surrounded the waters of our noblest river.

In the meantime a struggle of much interest and of no little importance took place in the northern part of our State. I have spoken of the claim made by Connecticut overleaping the States of New York and New Jersey, and seeking to fasten itself upon some of the fairest portions of our Commonwealth. Penn had resisted, as far as possible, the Connecticut claim, but for thirty years actual warfare took place between Pennsylvania's settlers coming from points west and north of Sunbury and Yankees entering the Wyoming Valley from the Colony of Connecticut, and this struggle was entirely separate and apart from the struggle between Great Britain and the colonies—it was in the nature of internecine strife. You all recall Thomas Campbell's beautiful poem of "Gertrude of Wyoming," where, with a strange ignorance of geography and ornithology, Campbell speaks of palmetto trees in the latitude of Pennsylvania, and of bright winged flamingoes illuminating the swamps. The Indian massacre which took place in the Wyoming Valley must not be confused with the struggles which took place during the Pennamite wars. No more interesting chapter in the history of the State is to be found than that recorded in Miner's *History of Wyoming*, and it is easy for any visitor to the city of Wilkes-Barre at the present day to find old men and old women who recall listening in their childhood to the tales of grandsires who had participated in the Pennamite wars. The trouble was finally settled by referring it to a committee appointed by the Continental Congress to

adjust disputed boundary lines between contending States. There were several of these, notably between New York and New Hampshire, Vermont at that time not claiming separate sovereignty. There was also a struggle between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, but the Connecticut claim, as it was called, excited more interest because of the persistent warfare which had actually been waged even during the dangerous times of the Revolution. The claim was heard by a committee sitting at Trenton, presided over by William Ellery, and the case was argued in behalf of Pennsylvania by no less a man than James Wilson, a Scotch lad who came in his early years to Pennsylvania, and who afterwards became conspicuous as one of the most famous members of the Philadelphia Bar, selected by Washington as the law preceptor of his nephew, Bushrod Washington; a man whose name appears as one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, to the Constitution of the United States, and who was afterwards appointed an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States over the signature of Washington as President, and who was the first law professor in the Law Department of the University of Pennsylvania. Wilson's argument defeated the Connecticut claim.

Passing now from struggles for the integrity of our State—struggles against foes without and from foes within—Pennsylvania presents a greater variety and diversity of human activities than any other Commonwealth in the Union. We have in many parts purely agricultural interests; in others those of coal and iron; not long ago there were vast timber tracts and the lumber interests were of magnitude; we have oil fields and gas fields; in the valley of the Lehigh we have slate and marble; in the neighborhood of Allentown deposits of cement, with a capital invested in that industry of more than \$50,000,000; great kaolin beds, and railway interests of vast importance, so that it is no exaggeration to say that within a small compass the State presents a battle-ground for contending industrial

forces. Again, it is a matter of surprise to those outside of our borders that Pennsylvanians do not appear to be governed by unanimity of sentiment. Massachusetts men are largely united, Virginians are united, and Ohio men are united. The explanation, as has already been indicated, is that owing to the topography of the State many portions of the Commonwealth are not in close contact with each other. Take, for instance, the city of Erie; it is in close contact with Buffalo on the east and Cleveland on the west; in closer contact with both of these than with Philadelphia or with Pittsburg; the reason being that it is easy to glide along the level shores of Lake Erie in either direction, while it is difficult to climb to the height of a thousand feet in order to overcome the elevation which cuts off the north-western portion of the State from that lying to the south and southeast. Besides this, Pennsylvania was not settled by people of one blood or of one religion. New England was settled by people of one blood, and whether they called themselves Pilgrims or Puritans, they were practically of one creed and of one church, and these circumstances account largely for the superb spirit of self-reliance so characteristic of all New England. I am often astonished at the audacity of New England, for she has gone great lengths in adopting and claiming as her own things done by Pennsylvania, the most notable incident being the Massachusetts appropriation of the resolutions known as the "Tea Tax Resolutions." The resolutions are frequently quoted and talked about, but no word is ever spoken of the preamble. The fact is that thirty days before the adoption of the resolutions relating to tea in Boston, the citizens of Philadelphia had forbade the landing of tea in Philadelphia, and had passed a series of resolutions, copies of which were distributed and sent north and south, and the preamble which the New Englanders overlook is couched in these words: "*Whereas*, the sense of the town of Boston can not be better expressed than in the following worthy and judicious resolves of our fellow-countrymen of Philadelphia: *There-*

fore be it resolved," and then they adopted our resolutions word for word, line for line, and punctuation-mark for punctuation-mark without any other ascription of their authorship. The spirit of New England is best exemplified by a characteristic resolution adopted in their early days, when men finding that they had to clear the land, cut down trees and build houses, and were without leisure for a meeting of the Legislature or a town meeting, came together in an open glade and passed this characteristic resolution: "*Resolved*, That we will be governed by the laws of God until we have time to make something better." I do not know anything which better illustrates the spirit of New England or her history.

I must not be understood, however, as desiring to underrate anything that New England has accomplished. At critical times New England has stood shoulder to shoulder with Pennsylvania, and I cannot forget that when, in the hour of deadly peril to the nation, the great effort of the Confederacy was made upon the field of Gettysburg in Pickett's charge, rising like a billow with a crimson crest and dashing itself against the rock-ribbed Cemetery Ridge, that while it was a Pennsylvanian who commanded the Army of the Potomac in that hour of dread, and while it was a Pennsylvanian who commanded on the Ridge, and while it was a Philadelphia brigade which stood in the Bloody Angle; yet Massachusetts stood by Pennsylvania upon the right, so that it may be safely said that, ignoring local distinctions and rising simply to the supreme thought of the nation's danger, New England and Pennsylvania have been as one in maintaining the cause of the integrity of the nation and the supremacy of the law.

Pennsylvania has been the home of many of the most renowned exiles from foreign lands. Priestly was one of the most philosophical men of his day and he made his home in the valley of the Susquehanna. The exiles from Ireland fleeing from British tyranny found a home in our midst, and many of Napoleon's defeated officers at Water-

loo, not forgetting the great Moreau who came earlier—a little earlier—became settlers in our midst. In works of science and invention Pennsylvania has always been pre-eminent. Acquaintance with the work accomplished by the American Philosophical Society sufficiently indicates what has been done by citizens of our Commonwealth in subduing nature and in emancipating the human mind. It is here, too, that the first printing establishment was set up in all the colonies; it was here that the Bible was first printed in German and in English; it was here that the first copy of the Magna Charta and of Blackstone's Commentaries appeared; it was here that the transit of Venus was first observed by an astronomer in any part of the world; it was here that Bartram, the foremost of American botanists, lived; it was here that the first life insurance company was established; it was here that the first manufactory of printer's type was founded; it was here that the first charter was granted for an Academy of the Fine Arts; it was here that the first fire insurance company was established; it was here that the first experiments in the way of navigating waters by steamboats were attempted; it was here that the first expedition was fitted out for Arctic exploration, and it was here that the sextant and the oxygen-hydrogen blow-pipe were invented. Our great men have walked upon the high places of the earth. Their daring penetrated to the remotest bounds of science and their activities cultivated every field of energy. We should study the history of our State, not in a spirit of boastfulness, but with the earnest desire to sustain the truth that Penn's great Commonwealth has, at all times, been worthy of her founder; and if our sons and daughters will only properly appreciate the accomplishments of their sires and yield themselves willingly to the realization of the hopes, aspirations, and the ambition of the founder, they will leave to their children and to their children's children a State whose name will always sparkle with inextinguishable glory in the commonwealth of nations and in the galaxy of republics.

SELECTIONS FROM THE MILITARY PAPERS OF
GENERAL JOHN CADWALADER.

[By the munificent gift of Mrs. Charles Evert Cadwalader, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired the military and family papers of General John Cadwalader. In addition to the military papers, which relate to important epochs in the war for independence, from which the following selections have been copied, there is also the notable correspondence between General Cadwalader and Joseph Reed.]

(General Washington to Colonel J. Cadwalader.)

SIR,

As your Troops (from Philadelphia) can be better accommodated in this place than at Princeton, where Quarters are scarce, I would have you remain here till the whole of your Brigade comes up—In the meanwhile, keep me regularly advised of their arrival, that I may endeavour to time other matters thereby.—

If they are not already properly arranged no time should be lost in doing of it—not in compleating them with ammunition—keep them regularly supplied with three days Provisions ready Cooked—that they may be ready to march at a moments warning.—

The Marines—Sailors &^t from Philadelphia you will take under your care till a further disposition of them can be made, if necessary, letting me know in the meanwhile if they came out resolved to act upon Land or meant to confine their services to the Water only.

Delay no time in advising me of your Strength—with sincere esteem and regard

I am D^r Sir

y^r most ob^t

G^o. WASHINGTON

TRENTON } 1776
7th Dec

(General Washington to Colonel J. Cadwalader.)

HEAD QUARTERS FALLS OF DELAWARE
11th Decem. 1776

SIR

From the Movement of the Enemy downwards I think it highly necessary that the Post at Dunks's Ferry should be guarded. I therefore desire that one of the Battalions of your Brigade may immediately march, and take post at that place. If it is agreeable to you I would chuse the 3^d Battalion under the Command of L^t Colonel Nixon. The other two Battalions should be under Orders to march at a Moments Warning— I expect the pleasure of your Company at dinner, but if you cannot come, as soon after as is convenient—

I am Sir
y^r most ob^t Serv^t

COL. CADWALLADER

G^o. WASHINGTON

The Battalion that goes down should be provided with two Field peicis, with Artillery Men & Ammunition in proportion

[Endorsed.]

To
Col. John Cadwallader
Commandant of
Pennsylvania Militia

(General Washington to Col. J. Cadwalader.)

HEAD QUARTERS—TRENTON FALLS Decemb 12 1776
Orders for Col. Cadwallader

You are to post your Brigade at and near Bristol—Col Nixons Regiment to continue where it is at Dunkes ferry—but if you find from Reconnoitering the ground or from any movement of the Enemy that any other disposition is necessary you'l make it accordingly without waiting to hear from me, but to acquaint me of the alteration and the reasons for it as soon as possible. You'l establish the Necessary

Guards and throw up some little Redoubts at Dunkes ferry and the different passes in the Mishanome—Pay particular attention to Dunkes ferry as its not improbable something may be attempted there. Spare no pains or expense to get intelligence of the Enemies motions and intentions—Any promises made or sums advanced shall be fully complied with & discharg'd—keep proper Patrols going from Guard to Guard—Every piece of intelligence you obtain worth notice send it forward by express—If the Enemy Attempt a landing on this side, you'l give them all the opposition in your power—Should they land between Trenton falls and Bordentown ferry—or any where above Bristol and you find your force quite unequal to their force give them what Opposition you can at Meshannemoy ferry & fords—In a word you are to give them all the Opposition you can without hazzarding the loss of your Brigade. Keep a good Guard over such Boats as are not Scuttled or renderd unfit for use—Keep a good lookout for Spies—endeavor to magnify your Numbers as much as possible.

Let the troops always have three days provisions cookt before hand—Indeavor to keep your Troops as much together as possible Night & Day, that they may be ever in readiness to March upon the shortest Notice—You'l consult with the Comodore of the Galley and endeavor to form such an arrangement as will most effectually Guard the River—To your discretion and prudence I submit any further regulations and recommend the greatest degree of Vigilance.

If you should find yourself unable to defend the passes on the Meshanome or the Enemy should rout you from your Post, you are to repair to the strong ground near Germaintown unless you have orders from me or some other General officer to the contrary

Be particularly attentive to the Boats & Vessels and suffer no person to pass over to the Jerseys without a permit.—

Given at Head Quarters Trenton Falls—the 12 day of December 1776

(General Washington to Colonel J. Cadwalader.)

SIR,

Fix with Col^o. Griffin on your Points of attack—In this as circumstances must govern, I shall not interfere; but let the hour of attack be 26th, and one hour before day (of that morning.)—

I have wrote to Col^o. Hitchcock to join his Brigade to yours, and co-operate there with.—If you should be successful (of which I have the highest hopes) move forward if possible, so as to form a junction with me, if the like good fortune should attend our Enterprize, either at Trenton or Princeton.

Let your Men be provided with Blankets and three days Provisions ready Cooked.—

Most ardently wishing you success I am

Y^r Most Obed^{tt}

G^o. WASHINGTON

Head Quarters }
24th December } 1776

(General Washington to Colonel J. Cadwalader.)

HEAD QUARTERS Dec^r 25th 1776

SIR

I have yours of Yesterday & have no doubts of your doing every thing in your power to promote the Enterprize which I wish you may do as far as you see consistent with propriety

If nothing more is adviseable a Diversion may facilitate the attempt above—The Dover Militia you may keep to assist you—Gen^l. Putnam will have Instructions how to Dispose of the rest, I wish Col^o. Reed may see Col^o. Griffin before his men are Dispers'd—should any Occurrence of Moment happen, you'll please advise me of it immediately.

I am Sir

Y^r very Hble Serv^t

G^o. WASHINGTON

(General Washington to Colonel J. Cadwalader.)

MC. KENKEYS FERRY 25th Decem. 1776

Six O'Clock P. M.

DEAR SIR

Notwithstanding the discouraging Accounts I have received from Col^o. Reed of what might be expected from the Operations below, I am determin'd, as the Night is favourable, to cross the River and make the Attack upon Trenton in the Morning. If you can do nothing real, at least create as great a diversion as possible—

I am Sir

y^r most ob^t Serv^t

G^o. WASHINGTON

COL. CADWALLADER

(Joseph Reed to Col. J. Cadwalader.)

DEAR SIR

I found Col. Griffin here but very sick abed.—He left the Militia about 400 at Haddonfield—he thinks they have not separated—The Virginians have returned to this City—the Field Pieces brought back to Coopers Ferry & the Artillery Company came over to this Town.—Gen. Putnam has determin'd to cross the River with as many Men as he can collect which he says will be about 500—he is now mustering them & endeavoring to get Proctors Company of Artill^y. to go with them I wait to know what Success he will meet with & the Progress he makes—but at all Events I shall be with you this Afternoon.—The Time is so short that there will not be the least Probability of the Generals reaching Mt. Holly in Time to act in Concert—if the Enterprize could be postponed one Day, he would be able to reach it—but if we proceed as proposed his Movement will only have the Effect to alarm them keep their Attention fixed & of Course divide their Force. I have wrote to Gen. Washington & stated this Particular Col. Griffin is very sure their Force

is divided between the Black Horse & Mt. Holly & thinks we may safely strike a Strike at either Place—

I have desired the General to send to Bristol if he alters his Plan or has any Thing to communicate as there will be no Person here to receive any Orders—

Griffin advises by all Means that you carry over as many Field Peices as you can

I shall be with you immediately

Yours

PHILAD. 11 °.Clock

J REED

Dec. 25, 1776.

(General Washington to Colonel J. Cadwalader.)

HEAD QRS TRENTON

Dec^r 27: 1776

DEAR SIR

I was just now favoured with your two letters of the 25th and 26th Instant and regret much the cause that prevented your passing the River. had it not been for this accident, I am persuaded our plans would have been accomplished to our utmost wishes. The second Obstacle hindered Gen^l. Ewin from giving his aid and cooperating in the attack on Trenton. could we have had his force to have secured the pass over the Bridge, The whole of the Enemy must have fallen into our hands: But availing themselves of this circumstance all that could, retreated with the greatest precipitation without making the least opposition. Those that remained drew up but in such confusion & disorder that they were incapable of making a successful resistance. You have the number of officers &c. below the Damages we sustained was very inconsiderable, not more than a private or two killed, one or two wounded & Captⁿ Washington of the third Virginia Regiment. I should have most certainly pursued those that retreated had it not been for the distressed situation of my Troops (about Three or four & twenty hundred in number, who had experienced the greatest fatigue) in breaking a passage thro the ice and all the Severities of rain &

Storm. This with the apprehension that we could receive no Succours, and that the difficulty of passing & repassing the River might become greater, led us to conclude our return eligible. The officers & Men who were engaged in the Enterprize behaved with great firmness, perservance & bravery and such as did them the highest honour.

I shall be extremely ready, and it is my most earnest wish, to pursue every means that shall seem probable to destroy the Enemy and to promise success on our part. If we could happily beat up the rest of their Quarters bordering on & near the River, it would be attended with the most valuable consequences. I have called a meeting of the General officers to consult of what measures shall be most pursued & would recommend that you & Gen^l. Putnam should defer your intended operations till you hear from me. Perhaps it may be judged prudent for us to pass here with the force we have, if it is practicable &c. or if it is not, that I may come down to you & afford every assistance in my power. We will try to conceal a plan & upon such principles as shall appear to promise success. Please to give me frequent information of the State of the River & whether it is to be passed in Boats or whether the Ice will admit of a passage.

I am in haste D^r Sir

with much esteem

Y^r Most Obed Servt

G^o. WASHINGTON

Prisoners	Prisoners
1 Col.	92 Sergeants
2 Lieut Cols.	20 Drummers
3 Majors	9 Musicians
4 Captains	25 Servants
8 Lieut.	740 Rank & file
12 Ensigns	
2 Surgeons Mates	

Total 919. about 25 or 30 killed—6 pieces of Brass Artilly. from 900 to 1000 hand Arms &c.

(Col. Tench Tilghman to General Mifflin.)

HEAD QUARTERS, NEWTOWN 29th Decem,
1776

DEAR GENERAL

Yours to his Excellency came to hand a few Minutes ago, we wrote him to give you an answer which he desires may be as follows—He will not undertake to give you any particular Orders, but leaves it to your Judgment, either to join General Cadwallader or proceed up towards Trenton as, from Circumstances, you may think most proper. He would cross over with the Continental Troops to-morrow, if there was any provision made for them in Jersey, but as there is not, neither is there enough here to enable them to draw four days $\frac{1}{2}$ man, he does not think it prudent to do it till some Magazines are established. He begs you will have all the provision you can get or hear of forwarded on towards Trenton and procure as many Waggons as possible. Flour is particularly wanted, please to make Enquiry what Quantity is at the Mills of Bordentown, Allen Town and Crosing. Get every Intelligence in your Power and communicate it to the General.

Caution Cadwallader not to suffer the Enemy to turn too quick upon his young Troops, he may play the devil by waiting properly upon Flank and Rear. I am led from my own feelings on the Occasion to suppose what yours are, that is, if there is a possibility of overtaking them to be at them yourself. You see you have full Powers and I am sure you will use them to the best Effect.

I am with every Wish for your Success

Dear Sir

Y^r most ob^t. Serv^t.

TENCH TILGHMAN

I am surprised at what
I have wrote upon
reading it over, but I
am hardly awake so
excuse it—

(General J. Reed to Colonel J. Cadwalader.)

D^R SIR

The Bearer will deliver you 80 hard Dollars to be employed by you in such Services as Paper will not answer—

Your favor of 11 °.Clock last Night is received—It is not possible to ascertain whether those Hessians which landed at South Amboy have proceeded or not—If they have the nearer you could move towards Brunswick the better provided it did not discover the real Design—our ostensible Object must be Prince Town—The carrying off Gen. Lee is publickly talk'd of here & I fear will be soon conveyed to the Enemy.—It should be undertaken only by Men of the most unquestionable Spirit—But his Excell^y, thinks that this Object will be included in the other & with more Success—his Wish therefore is at least to postpone it for some Time—in the mean Time keep the Horses add to them & mount them if possible—but let the Riders know they will suffer Death if they desert with the Horses—if it be possible to throw them into a Corps with proper officers they will be of the greatest Service.

We have not learned to day what a great Fire—& a great firing at or about Princeton last Night was the General does not incline to make any Movements till he has farther Intelligence—tho' he would have you move to the dividing Point between Princeton & Brunswick if the Hessians are not at Cranbury or Brunswick—& also provided the Change of Quarters will not be too disagreeable to the Militia—

Let us hear from you by the Return of this Messenger

Yours

J REED

Adj Gen

Jan 1. 1776 [1777.]

(Lambert Cadwalader to Mrs. Meredith.)

MY DEAR PEGGY

I had the Pleasure of yours yesterday Evening without a Date and am glad to hear you are all well—I had a Letter last Night by Phil from Maryland—they are all in good

Health at Shrewsbury—Phil has been there twice within these ten Days having paid a Visit to his Brothers who is in Kent County—

Our little victorious Army under G: Washington after having performed that signal Service at Trenton wh you have heard of ret^d to this Side of the River but having rec: Intelligence of Johnnys crossing near Bristol the Genl. ret again to Trenton & was there join'd by Johnnys & Mifflins Brigades at that Place—G: Washington having rec. Intelligence that the Enemy were marching towards him from Trenton sent off about 700 Men to meet them & endeavour to drive them back—but the Enemy proving too numerous our Division retired to Trenton and over the Bridge to the Mill-Hill where the Genl. in the mean Time had posted our Troops—The Enemy took Possesion of Trenton and the Genl. keeping up his Fires decamp'd suddenly in the Night & taking his Rout by a back Road got into the Princeton Road & pursued his March towards that Place—on his Way thither he met with a Body of British Troops which soon gave Way—he then advanced to Princeton & took a considerable Number of Prisoners—Our loss is Genl Mercer wounded Col. Haslet killed & a Capt of Marines with a few Privates—The Genl. then march'd off for Somerset Court House wh. is 8 miles out of the Road to Brunswick in order to join Genl. Heath's Army from N England & there is a Report that this has been affected & that our Army is gone forward to Bruns^k. Genl. Howe cannot raise a large force anywhere to make Head against us—so that we expect very great Events in our Town—Our Army in the Jerseys all together must amount to near 12,000—I forgot to tell you we have taken 5 P^a. brass Cannon more in the last affairs—I'm in great Hope the Jerseys will be cleared of the Enemy entirely—

A Son of Warwick Coates is come to Town who saw Johnny, Meredith & Nixon well at Princeton after the action.

I went to see Mrs. Nixon yesterday afternoon and such an Object of Distress I scarcely ever beheld—her Fears have made a perfect Conquest over her Reason & she trembles

like an aspen Leaf whenever a Person enters her House— I think it is one of the greatest Misfortunes that can befall any Person to indulge imaginary Fears & apprehensions & like the self-Tormentor in Terence be evermore raising up unnecessary Terrors to make oneself miserable & unhappy—Whoever expects to find this World a fairy Land of Pleasure & Peace of Mind must be very unkn[ow]ing in the Science of human Nature & the affairs of human Life—Fortitude of Mind must be exer[torn] in Order to procure a tolerable Share of Happiness & I sincerely pity the Weak [torn] of those who do not so far make Use of their Reasons as not to be totally subdued by their Fears & apprehensions—You will hear a thousand Rumors & Reports wh if you give the least Credit to you will be laying up a constant Store of Uneaseness & Disquiet—Depend upon it if any thing extraordinary happens I [torn] be the Messenger—credit no [torn] News of any Kind—it [torn] Lying had become the Re[torn] the World & I am sure the [torn] are very minutely perform'd

Adieu

in Haste

Yours af[torn]

L [CADWALADER]

PHILAD 7 Jan'y 1777

Phils Love to you

(General Cadwalader's Address to the Council of Safety.)

MORRIS TOWN January 15th. 1777

SIR,

The Militia of the City of Philadelphia and of the State of Pennsylvania have enabled General Washington to strike a blow which has greatly changed the face of our Affairs, and if they can be induced to continue a few Weeks longer there is the strongest probability that the enemy will be compelled to quit New Jersey entirely—But it is extremely unlucky that the time which they have engaged to serve is now expiring and we dread the consequences which may follow from their persisting in a resolution to return home—

The example of the City will probably greatly influence the whole Militia of the State—It is therefore of the highest consequence to prevail on them, if possible, to Continue in the Service until they can be relieved by those who have not yet appeared in the Field—If they refuse, and their example should be followed by the rest of the Pennsylvanians, it is but too probable that General Washington, after the glorious Success which has attended his Measures, may be obliged to repass the Delaware and retreat to the City of Philadelphia—The fatal consequences of such a step we need not paint to you, who have so lately seen the dreadful effects produced by the approach of a formidable rapacious enemy—It is our duty to inform you that the Militia have undergone the greatest hardships with cheerfulness and have, in every instance, shewn the utmost readiness to comply with the orders which have been given them—and as all Contracts Made by public bodies ought especially to be held sacred, we are of opinion they are entitled to an honorable discharge—Yet as the Situation of our affairs appear to require their further Service they have Virtuously determined to wait Ten days longer in expectation of the Council of Safety taking effectual Measures within that time to supply their places with another set of Men who yet remain behind—beyond the time we have not the least expectation of their stay—for they justly observe that it is very unreasonable to expect them to continue in the Field while a great number of Men, equally able to bear Arms, are Suffered to remain at home with their families enjoying peace, at a distance from the Enemy, all the benefits arising from the Virtuous effects of those who have ventured their lives in the defence of liberty and their Country—they say that every person able to bear Arms (except those who are conscientiously Scrupulous of bearing arms in any case), ought to give their personal Service—and that some Test ought to be required of *every Man*—That our Friends may be distinguished from our Enemies—It is observed that a number of persons have procured appointments, of little Consequence, which they

plead in excuse from serving in the Field—it certainly concerns the honor of those who Make appointments to attend to this complaint which is frequently repeated—The importance of quieting the Minds of the Associators your honorable body will perceive—and we have no doubt will claim your immediate attention as it cannot be doubted but that public Measures ought to be regulated by the opinions, temper and disposition of the people—They have long seen public Measures taken without decision and unsupported—They have been amused with promises of effectual regulations and have been disappointed in every instance—In short they find Cowards, disaffected Men, and open Enemies to the liberties of America are suffered to go abroad owing sedition and dispersing their poison in every department without punishment or notice—If these evils are not remedied, instantly, we tremble for the consequences to the State of Pennsylvania and to all America—These states have declared themselves independant, and Pennsylvania depends on your Board to support her Honor in this point—We are contending for all that is dear and valuable to Men, and it requires the assistance of every individual to defend them from a cruel and powerful Enemy—We wish to see the Civil authority regulate and direct all our public Measures, and should greatly lament the Necessity which may compel the Military power to take the direction into their hands in order to save this Country from absolute ruin—but you may depend that the Military will exert its authority whenever the weakness, languor, or timidity of your Councils shall render it their duty so to do, and all the World will justify them in it—The necessity of this we conceive you may prevent by issuing a proclamation requiring the Militia of the City of Philadelphia and the Counties of Philadelphia, Chester & Bucks who have not complied with the requisition of Congress by entering into Service, immediately to join General Washingtons Army, or to be banish'd the Country and their Estates forfeited—And that a reasonable proportion of the Militia of the other Counties be immedi-

ately embodied to relieve those of their respective Counties now in the Army when their time of service may expire—Those who cannot be equipped at Philadelphia may receive Arms and Accoutrements of the Men whom they relieve—And we have no doubt but those who are now in Service will in due time, relieve such as shall take their present posts—by this regulation every Man will give that assistance which the necessity of the times require, the honor & Credit of the State will be supported and the liberty's of America Preserved—Every Man in civil society is equally entitled to the enjoyment of Liberty & Safety and is therefore bound to yield an equal personal service in support of it—And we earnestly recommend that the Council of Safety will take such other effectual and spirited measures as will make every person capable of bearing Arms give his personal service—And we can assure you, That the Militia will be ready at all times to give their support to every Resolution of the Representative and executive body which may tend to promote the honor, happiness and freedom of the State of Pennsylvania—

The Militia now here have been inform'd of the contents of this Letter and have, from a firm belief of its having a good effect, agreed to stay Ten days longer—We therefore earnestly request that you will inform the Commanding officer here as soon as possible what is likely to be done herein—that we may take our Measures accordingly.

(Col. Timothy Matlack to General Cadwalader.)

RARITON—January 21, 1777

SIR,

Agreeable to your orders I pushed forward on Friday as far as to Mc. Gattrees (16 miles) there I learned that there were Several Scouting parties out toward the city of Brunswick and as I learnt that Col°. Coxe ha[d] taken Measures to obtain intelligence—I turned off from Bound-brook and waited on him at Millstone where I found Col. White who was wounded in an attempt to take the Piquet guard—I learnt from them that a Spy was then in Brunswick who was

expected to return on Sunday—Col. White recommended an attempt on the South Side of Brunswick and I intended to have gone forward on Sunday Night—but the Spy did not come in til late on Sunday Night which rendered it inconvenient to send the necessary orders that evening—Next morning the alarm of the foraging party drew the attention of every body here—the event of that attempt of the enemy you are fully informed of—I think my Men did their Duty on that occasion—But as soon as the affair was over they determined to return home as they learnt that our Baggage was gone to Philadelphia—and they complained of a prize of Cyder which they had seized being taken from them by some of the Independant Companies, which, produced a dangerous Quarrel—however no great Mischief ensued—They complained that their Baggage had been neglected—that their shirts being worn out their backs and hips were galled very sorely—and what mortified them beyond everything they were getting lousy and *therefore would go home*—I found it impossible to get any further service out of them and therefore gave them a discharge—upon the alarm today, *five only* agreed to Stay—It appears to me unnecessary to go forward to your Quarters as Col. Cox will give you every information respecting the Situation of affairs here—More Men and a number of Field pieces are certainly necessary here—as this Quarter can furnish a vast quantity of forage which the enemy are in great need of (as appears by their Horses) and which the Troops now here cannot possibly prevent their obtaining—

I beg you will [do] me the justice to believe I have [done] all that has been in my power for the public service & lament that I could not do more—And that I am with great Respect

Your very humble Servant
T MATLACK Col. R B

Brigadier Gen. Dickinson has gained universal applause by his spirited and at the same time prudent conduct: to which is justly attributed yesterdays great success

T. M.

(General Washington to General Cadwalader.)

SIR,

March your Brigade from hence to Chatham or the Posts below that—Consult with Gen^l. Sullivan and Stephen upon the Propriety of an attempt upon any of the Enemy's Posts.— or giving them a formidable alarm—and, if you sh^d. find a willingness in your officers and Men to the undertaking of any practicable Scheme, do not omit, in conjunction with the Troops at the Posts of Chatham &c°. to prosecute it.— Gen^l. Sullivan is already wrote to on this head.—

From thence you are at liberty to March your Brigade to Philadelphia, and when they are dismissed, communicate to them my Sense (contain'd in an address to yourself) of the Important Services they have rendered their Country at this severe, & inclement Season—

Given at head Quarters

Morris Town this 23^d day of Jan^r,

1777.

G°. WASHINGTON

(General Orders to Genl. Cadwalader's Brigade on their discharge in 1776.)

The additional time for which General Cadwaladers Brigade engaged, having expired this day, they are discharged for the present.

The General returns his Thanks to the Officers and Men of this Brigade, who nobly step'd forth at the most inclement Season of the Year, and by their Example, infused a Spirit into many of their Brethren of the province of Pennsylvania, the Effects of which the Enemy have already felt, and if properly kept up and supported must end in their total Ruin.

The General therefore hopes, that both the Officers and Men, will, upon their Return home, endeavour to rouse those, who have not yet lent a hand to save their Country; they have a right to do more, they have a right to insist upon it. But should every Man, except those, who have already

fought and conquered under him, refuse to turn out upon a future Occasion, the General assures himself that *they* will never let him call for their Assistance in vain.

(Col. Clement Biddle to Hon. James Wilson.)

CAMP CORYELLS FERRY

July 29, 1777

DEAR SIR

I take the Liberty to refer you to a Certificate w^{ch}. the Bearer the Reverend Mr. Rob^t. MacMurdie will shew you from His Excellency General Washington & one that I have given from a sense of Gratitude to the Memory of my late worthy Friend General Mercer who I have often heard express a warm Approbation of & Friendship for the Character & Conduct of M^r. M^{ac}. Murdie—

He has I verily believe by his constant Attendance to his Duty paid little Attention to soliciting a more lucrative Appointment than Chaplain to a Regiment, but a large Claim from a numerous Family stimulates him to ask the appointment to a Brigade if that Arrangement should take place and favours conferrd are the strongest Inducement to ask as Interest for further Indulgencies—

I arrived on the Pennsylvania side of Coryells ferry last Evening—One Brigade (Muhlenbergs) of Gen^l. Greene's Division came over the River—the other Gen^l. Weedons are at the landing on the opposite side—Gen^l. Lincolns Division are on the Jersey side of Howell's Ferry, (four miles above here) Gen^l. Stephens a few miles behind them & we seem to halt for further Intelligence of the Enemys motions (as we have no news of the fleet since seen off Egg Harbour) in fine spirit after great fatigue—I expect Lord Sterlings Division are at Brunswick & that this night Gen^l. Sullivans will reach Morris Town.

Should Philadelphia be the Object of the Enemy I think we have a most glorious Chance of successful Opposition, but should the Troops be Ordered beyond the North River in Consequence of any Change in the Enemies Operations it

would not only fatigue but in some measure dispirit them
wth. induces me to wish that it may not become necessary

I scarcely know how to excuse my Omission in writing,
but I Cannot have a better than to plead my hurrying De-
partment—

I cannot forbear enclosing a Letter I received from Gen^l
St. Clair who I fear has been very very unjustly traduced—
please take Care of it as it is the Original & believe me

Y^r very Obliged & Obed. Serv

CLEMENT BIDDLE

[Addressed]

To

The Honorable

JAMES WILLSON

Fav^d by

Member of Congress

Rev^d. MR. MACMURDIE

Philadelphia

(General Washington to General Cadwalader.)

WILMINGTON Augt 28th: 1777.

D^r SIR

General Howe has advanced part of his force about Two
miles this side the Head of Elk, and from the information of
Deserters and prisoners, soon will be towards Philadelphia.
If that is his object, and of which there can be but little
doubt, I think many important advantages would be derived
from the Militias hanging on his Rear or Right Flank, after
he leaves Elk, while he is opposed by this Army in Front
or in such other way as shall seem most advisable from
circumstances. But then, I am wholly at a loss to whom to
address myself respecting the Militia on the Eastern shore,
not knowing their officers or where they are assembling.
The Congress thought proper to point out Gen^l. Smalwood
and Col^o Gist to arrange & conduct 'em, who, owing I sup-
pose to a miscarriage of the dispatches that were sent them,
have not yet reached this place, nor have I heard anything
of them. Matters being thus circumstanced, and as the aid
of the Militia is very material and no time is to be lost in

obtaining It, I must request your Good offices and interest in assisting to assemble—spirit up and forward them in the best manner things will a [torn] towards the Head of the Bay, that they may be in a situation to annoy the Enemy should they make a push against Philadelphia, giving such advice and direction to the Officers as shall appear to you necessary and proper. I know well, that your situation in this instance will be delicate and not a little embarrassing. I feel myself in that predicament: Yet, I trust the exigency of our Affairs will not only furnish an apology but will fully justifye your interesting yourself upon this Subject. For the requisition I have made, I shall offer no excuse. It is the result of necessity and founded in the most implicit confidence that you are, and will be ready upon all occasions to afford every aid in your power to advance the true interest and happiness of your Country: influenced by those considerations I have made It, and have only to add that I am

with great regard & esteem

D^r Sir

yr most obed Sevt

P. S.

G^o: WASHINGTON

Several deserters have come in to day and our parties made between thirty & forty prisoners.

[Addressed]

GEN^L. CADWALADER

WILMINGTON

12 o Clock at Night

(Colonel Tench Tilghman to General Cadwalader.)

HEAD QUARTERS VALLEY FORGE, 18th January

78

DEAR GENERAL

This oppertunity, by Col. Hollingsworth, is the first that has presented itself since you left us, or you should have

heard from me before. By the same conveyance I send you several letters that have been sent here at different times.

Our Men have all got comfortably covered in their Huts and better quarters are not in the World, I mean as to warmth and I believe will turn out so as to health. But the event will shew it. It has at least this good effect that the Country is compleatly defended, The Enemy have never been out but once since you left us, they then came in full force, took away a quantity of Hay from Tinicum and the other Islands, but by keeping light parties extended along their line they were hindered from doing the least damage to the inhabitants. A state of inactivity puts a stop to all news in the Military line. In the underhand political there is a deal of jugling. But I trust the Storm will break upon the Heads of those who attempt to raise it. Great pains are taking to swell the Character of the Northern Horse and to depreciate that of our worthy General. Who is at the bottom of this you I dare say will easily guess. But that you may not be in doubt, it is a Gentleman who resigned important offices at a critical time. Several letters under the signature of a foreigner have already made their appearance in the papers all tending to extol G—— as the first soldier in the World, giving him the Credit of all the Northern successes and not saying a syllable of the Merits of Lincoln or Arnold. The letters are well wrote, but the Cloven foot is too plain, not to be discerned by the most common Eye.

This damned faction founded solely upon the Ambition of one Man, for G—— is but a puppet, is so fraught with every mischief, that every honest Man ought upon the first discovery to give the Alarm, as he would upon the discovery of a fire which if suffered to get head, would destroy one of our most valuable Arsenals. Many of our best officers have already taken the Alarm and will speak in very plain terms if matters require it. I cannot say that I am in the least uneasy. I am so conscious that every action of the Gener-

al's will bear the light, (from the commencement of the War to this day,) that I wish they may be called to view. I am certain that their splendor will confound all those who like Moses work in the dark, and would wish to undermine the Men that they dare not attack by day. I know you so well, and know the regard you have for the General so well also, that I need not ask you to speak when there is occasion, and to paint matters in their true lights. This is the way to stop the poison that they are attempting to instill into the minds of the people thro' the Channel of a Newspaper—Conway is made Superintendant General with the Rank of Major General. He has come down full of his own importance and wrote the General a letter for which he deserved to be kicked. He treated it with the contempt it deserved, and sent a Copy of it to Congress, who I think must clip his Wings or affront the General direct. The Major's and Brigadier's General have all remonstrated against his extraordinary promotion from youngest Brigadier to Major General. Conway is of the Junto and M H——'s right hand Man. If matters are pushed much farther, a scene will open that few people know any thing about. Arnold will speak and shew who oblige'd Burgoine to strike. I will give you a part of the secret History. Upon the 7th. October, Arnold seeing an advantage, sent to Morgan to begin the engagement and pawned his honor to support him. Morgan attacked accordingly, and Arnold advanced his Way. Gates sent Arnold word to halt, he returned for answer, he had promised Morgan to support him and support him he would by G—d.—Victory crowned the Work, and the surrender was the Consequence of it. There are other matters also of a like nature, which would never have been known had not one man have attempted to have robbed all the rest of their share of the Glory.

Ingratitude, I hope my friend will never triumph over its Benefactor. I have no doubt but every honest Man and lover of his Country will take fire at an attempt to calumniate a Character, solely actuated by patriotism, and who by

his steady perseverance and upon the Basis of that Confidence which the whole Continent reposed in him, supported the drooping Cause, and by a kind of Magic raised that very Army which humbled the proud Burgoyne. I have said enough to set you on fire, but be moderate—

Adieu my good Friend and believe me

Yrs. sincerely

TENCH TILGHMAN

Make free with my Sentiments and with my Name if you have occasion.—As Arnold said to Morgan—I will support you—

(Hon. Henry Laurens to General Cadwalader.)

PHILADELPHIA

12th. Sept 1778.

SIR.

His Excellency General Washington having recommended to Congress the appointment of a General of Horse, the House took that subject under consideration the 10th. Inst. when you were unanimously elected Brigadier & Commander of the Cavalry in the service of the United States.

From the general voice above mentioned you will perceive Sir, the earnest desire of the House that you will accept a Commission & enter as early as your convenience will admit of upon the duties of the Office & I flatter myself with hopes of congratulating you in a few days upon this occasion.

I have the honor to be
with particular Esteem & Regard

Sir Your obedient &

Most humble Servant

HENRY LAURENS

President

of Congress.

The Honorable
BRIGADIER GENERAL CADWALADER

(Draft of Col. Cadwalader's Letter to Washington.)

MARYLAND 19th Sept: 1778

SIR

I have the highest Sense of the Honor conferred upon me by Congress in appointing me a Brigadier in the Continental Service, with the Command of the Cavalry: more particularly, as the voice of Congress was unanimous—

I cannot consent to enter into the Service, at this time, as the War, appears, to me, to be near the close—But should any Misfortunes give an unhappy turn to our affairs I shall immediately apply to Congress for a Command in the army.

I have the honor to be with the greatest regard & esteem
Your Excellency's, etc, etc.

(General Washington to General Cadwalader.)

HEAD QRS. TAPPAN Oct. 5th 80

DEAR SIR,

I have to acknowledge an [d] thank you for your obliging & friendly letter of the 20th. Ult^o—It came to this place in my absence from the army, and during my necessary detention at West Point on a very interesting but disgraceful incident in our Military occurrences.—

Altho' I have but little leizure for the gratification of private corrispondencies, I beg you to be assured, that from a warmth of friendship, any letters of yours will be gratefully accepted.—and it is with much pleasure I receive fresh assurances of your regard & attachment to me.—

We are now drawing an inactive Campaign to a close.—The beginning of which appeared pregnant with events of a favourable complexion.—I hoped, but hoped in vain—that a pro[s]pect was displaying which would enable me to fix a period to my Military pursuits, and restore me to domestic life.—

The favourable disposition of Spain—The promised succour from France—The combined force in the West Indies—The declaration of Russia (acceded to by other powers of

Europe—humiliating to the naval pride & power of Great Britain)—The superiority of France & Spain by Sea in Europe—The Irish claims—and British disturbances, formed in the aggregate an opinion in my breast—which is not very susceptible of peaceful dreams—that the hour of deliverance was not far distant, for that however unwilling Great Britain might be to yield the point, it would not be in her power to continue the contest.—But alas! these prospects, flattering as they were, have proved delusory, and I see nothing before us but accumulating distress.—We have been half our time without provision & are like to continue so.—We have no Magazines, nor Money to form them.—And in a little time we shall have no Men, if we had Money to pay them.—We have lived upon expedients till we can live no longer—In a word, the history of the War is a history of false hopes and temporary devices, instead of system & economy.

It is in vain however to look back—Nor is it our business to do so—Our case is not desperate if virtue exists in the people, and there is wisdom among our Rulers; but to suppose that this great resolution can be accomplished by a temporary Army—that this Army will be subsisted by State supplies—and that taxation alone is adequate to our wants, is, in My opinion absurd, and as unreasonable as to expect an Invasion in the order of Nature to accomodate things to our views.

If it was necessary, it could easily be proved to any person of a Moderate share of understanding, that an annual Army—or an Army raised on the spur of the occasion—besides being unqualified for the end designed, is, in various ways which could be enumerated, ten times more expensive than a permanent body of Men under good organization and Military discipline, which never was, nor never will be the case of new Troops—A thousand arguments resulting from experience & the nature of things might also be adduced to prove, that the Army, if it is to depend upon State supplies, must disband or starve—and that taxation alone (especially

at this late hour) cannot furnish the means to carry on the War—Is it not time then to retract from error, and benefit by experience? or do we want further proof of the ruinous system we have pertinaciously adhered to.

You seem to regret not havi[ng] accepted the appointment of Congress to a command in the Army—It is a circumstance that ever was sincerely regretted by me—and it is the more to be lamented as we find an officer high in Rank and Military reputation, capable of turning apostate and attempting to sell his Country:—Men of independent spirit and firmness of Mind, must step forth to rescue our affairs from the embarrassment they have fallen into, or they will suffer in the general wreck—I do not mean to apply this more to the Military than civil life—We want the best and ablest men in both.—

To tell you, if any event sh^d ever bring you to the Army, and you have no command in it equal to your Merit, nor place more agreeable than being a member of my family, that I should be happy in seeing you there—would only be repeating what I have often said before, and you want no proof of.—

My best respects attend M^{rs}. Cadwalader, and compliments of congratulation await you both on the Increase of your family.—With sentiments of the most sincere regard & affection,

I am—D^r Sir

Y^r. Most Obed^t. Serv^t.

G^o: WASHINGTON

GENERAL CADWALADER.

(Mrs. R. Biddle to Mrs. General Greene.)

I acknowledge the negligence which you charge me with my D^r Friend, & own myself indebted, but have never received more than two of your agreeable Letters—writing you know was never a favorite amusement with me, & the domestick Life I have been confin'd to for several months past has not furnish'd me with anything Entertaining to

communicate tho' I could not Lett Major Burnett Leave us without assuring you of the unremitting regard I Ever have, & shall feel for you—My D^r Little George I saw Frequently while he was att Colonel Pettits & since he has been att Princetown he has improved to your utmost wish—Tom Longs to see him & begs Mama to give his Love to Mrs Green. We indulge ourselves often with recollecting the pleaseing hours that passed while you were here & the Prospect of peace gives me a hope of the speedy renewal of them—You cannot conceive how happy the certainty of the evacuation of Charlestown made us indeed it was Little short of the pleasure Experienced by the Carolinaans themselves. Mr. Biddle is much indisposed with a bad cold but desires his Compliments to the Gen: & yourself whene you will please to make mine also & believe me

Dr Madam Ever Most
affectionately Your Friend

R. BIDDLE

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOSEPH FOX, ESQ.,
OF PHILADELPHIA.

BY ANNE H. CRESSON.

Six years after Charles the Second had, under the Great Seal of England, given by his Letters Patent to William Penn the "Province of Pennsylvania with divers great powers and Jurisdiction for the well Government thereof," and four years after the "Welcome" had brought Penn on his first visit to his infant colony, the ship "Desire" from Plymouth, England, cast anchor in the river Delaware bringing to the rapidly growing town of Philadelphia a company of emigrants known as the Plymouth Friends. Among them were Francis Rawle and his son of the same name, with six servants, Nicholas Pearce with two servants, James Fox with his family and eight servants, and John Shellson with his wife and four servants.

Of those here classed as servants to the other passengers were John, Richard, and Justinian Fox. According to the custom of the day, these had no doubt bound themselves to serve for a period of time of sufficient length to pay for the passage money advanced for them, by those in better circumstances than themselves. Many emigrants not rich in this world's goods brought relatives with them in this way.

On March 13, 1685/6, before leaving England, Fox and Rawle had, for themselves and their associates, purchased five thousand acres of land of William Penn.

It was the purpose of these emigrants to make their settlement an industrial one. James Claypoole and Robert Turner, Penn's commissioners, wrote to Thomas Holme, the surveyor general:

At the request of James Fox, Francis Rawle, Nicholas Pearce and Richard Grove, in behalf of themselves and other Friends of Plymouth, joynt purchasers with them of five thousand acres of land, that we would

grant the said five thousand acres together, for a township, in the most convenient place for water for the encouragement of the woolen manufacture, intended to be set up by them; these we therefore, in the Proprietary's name, do will and require thee forthwith to survey . . . and make return thereof to the Secretary's office at Philadelphia, the 5th of 5mo., 1686.

At a meeting of the commissioners, 4 month 7, 1690, "James Fox and Fran. Rawle Requests they may have a Patent for the 5,000 acres they Purchased now called the Plymouth Town, and that the Six Hundred Acres which was formerly Intended for a Town be Returned as part of the 5,000 acres. Ordered that a Warr't be made for the Returning the 5,000 acres of land in Manner aforesaid.

"Ordered that Fran: Cook have the other half of the vacant lott next to the Plymouth Friends Lott in the High Street."¹

The five thousand acres were laid out in what is now known as Plymouth Township, Montgomery County, but at that time was part of Philadelphia County. With their associates, Fox and Rawle took up their residence upon the land. A Friends' Meeting was at once established at the house of James Fox, which has continued to the present day and is known as Plymouth Meeting. The country was too young for such an industry as this company had planned and the scheme was abandoned. Neither Fox nor Rawle remained long in the new settlement. It is said that their wives found it too lonely.

The parents of James Fox were Francis Fox and his wife Dorothy Kekewich, members of the Society of Friends, living at St. Germans, Cornwall. James Fox married Elizabeth Record and settled at Plymouth, Devonshire, England, where he engaged in the manufacture of cloth. He appears to have been the leader, (with Rawle as his associate), of the emigrant company of Plymouth Friends. Of the two, Fox is usually first mentioned on the records.

¹ *Pennsylvania Archives*, second series, vol. xix, p. 35.

After abandoning their settlement in Plymouth, Pennsylvania, James Fox removed with his family to Philadelphia, where he became interested in public affairs. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1688 and again from 1693 to 1699. He died in Philadelphia, September 19, 1699.

Justinian Fox came to Philadelphia with the Plymouth Friends in 1686, and married there Elizabeth, only daughter of Joseph and Mary Yard.

The relationship between Justinian and James Fox, previously mentioned, has never been ascertained. That there was some such tie is presumed from the fact that they came in the same vessel; that Justinian Fox was present at the marriage of James's son George in 1686, and witnessed the will of the latter in 1699, as well as deeds previously made by members of the family.

Nothing on record confirms the tradition that Justinian Fox was educated as a physician. At this late day but few items can be gathered regarding him. In June, 1707, with Anthony Taylor and Isaiah Appleton he witnessed the will of Samuel Shepperd. The following January, the will of Robert Turnham was witnessed by Joseph and William Yard and Justinian Fox, while in March of the same year Anthony Taylor made his will and signed it in the presence of Joseph Yard and Justinian Fox. The witnesses signing the will of Jeremiah Gray, in 1715, were Justinian Fox, George Emlen, and Charles Brockden.

It is said that Justinian Fox was a Friend and his wife joined the Society after their marriage. He died leaving but a small property, and letters of administration on his estate were granted to his widow Elizabeth, on January 16, 1718/19.

The seven children of Justinian and Elizabeth (Yard) Fox were, Mary Fox, married Benjamin Rhoads, and had one son; Elizabeth Fox, died young; Elizabeth Fox (2d), married Joseph Rakestraw and left issue; Sarah Fox, married William Martin, and left issue; Joseph Fox, the

subject of this sketch; Susannah Fox, married Daniel Elmer; James Fox, married Mary Wade, and left issue.

Joseph Fox, son of Justinian and Elizabeth (Yard) Fox, born in Philadelphia, died December 10, 1779, aged seventy years; married at Philadelphia Meeting, September 25, 1746, Elizabeth Mickle, born 1729; died January 1, 1805; daughter of Samuel and Thomazine (Marshall) Mickle.

Samuel Mickle, a merchant of good standing in the city and a member of the Common Council from 1732 until his death in 1765, was son of Archibald Mickle, who came to Philadelphia in 1683, bringing a certificate from Friends near Lisburn, County Antrim, Ireland.

Joseph Fox was apprenticed by his widowed mother to James Portues, a prominent and wealthy carpenter of Philadelphia. Possessed of more than ordinary intellectual ability, industrious, energetic, and devoted to the interest of his employer, he secured and held the warm attachment of Mr. Portues, who died unmarried, on January 19, 1737, leaving the bulk of his estate to be equally divided between his two executors, Edward Warner, who had also been one of his apprentices, and Joseph Fox.

James Portues had been among the founders of the Carpenters' Company, one of the earliest associations of Pennsylvania, and perhaps the oldest now existing. Both Joseph Fox and Edward Warner became members of the same Company. In 1763 Joseph Fox was chosen Master of the Company, and continued to hold the position until his death. In 1768, the lot on Chestnut Street on which Carpenters Hall now stands, was purchased. Joseph Fox was chairman of the committee to secure the lot and was a generous subscriber to the building fund.

His share of the Portues bequest brought to Mr. Fox much valuable real estate in and around the city. To him came the lot on the west side of Third Street, below Arch. After purchasing an adjoining property he either built the large house thereon or added to one already standing, and there resided for the remainder of his days. The

house, the home of succeeding generations, stood until about the year 1890.

The name of Joseph Fox appears on the records of Philadelphia and Bucks Counties as the holder of mortgages to a very considerable amount. His business undertakings prospered and he accumulated a goodly estate, becoming one of Philadelphia's prominent property-holders. He was frequently called upon to act as executor, guardian, and trustee of large estates. As such his name appears in connection with Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Galloway, James and Israel Pemberton, and others.

Joseph Fox's first public office was that of city commissioner, to which he was elected in October, 1745. In 1748 he was chosen one of the city assessors.

In 1750 he began a long and active career as a member of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania. On October 15th of that year he and his colleague, William Clymer, took their seats as the two burgesses or representatives for the city of Philadelphia. Clymer died before the expiration of his year of service, his place being filled by Benjamin Franklin, who up to that time had only acted as clerk of the House, with no voice in its deliberations. That Mr. Fox was at once named for various important committees is evidence of the assured place he already held in the public confidence. In most of the business transacted during the sittings of this Assembly he appears to have taken an active part. Noticeable among the matters presented for consideration at this time was the establishment of the Pennsylvania Hospital, which was favorably received, carefully considered, and finally acted upon. Mr. Fox was one of the earliest contributors for its foundation and gave it active support in later years.

Of the next election, in 1752, John Smith, James Logan's son-in-law, writes in his journal:

“*Eighth month 1st.* We got home [from Burlington] in the Dark of the Evening. Found the people in a foam of Politicks. . . .

“2d. Obtained a list of the votes for Officers yesterday. Those for Assemblymen were as follows viz:

Edward Warner	1473
Isaac Norris	1468
Evan Morgan	1457
Joseph Trotter	1454
Hugh Evans	1448
John Smith.	1006
Joshua Morris	935
Henry Pauling.	930
Isr ^l . Pemberton jr.	543
Joseph Fox.	330
Ben. Franklin	40”

Pemberton, Fox and Franklin were defeated on this ticket.

Mr. Smith continues: “I am told some people met & agreed to put Jos: Fox in the County. . . . There was some strife about the choice of Burgesses. The tickets on counting them stood thus:

Benjamin Franklin,	495
Hugh Roberts	473
Joseph Fox	391
William Plumsted	303”

As but two burgesses, or members for the city, were to be elected, Joseph Fox was again on the losing side, although receiving more votes, counting those given him for a County member, than did Franklin, whose supporters were not so divided.

In 1753 Joseph Fox again took his seat, this time and each succeeding year thereafter until October, 1772, representing Philadelphia County.

Immediately after the opening of the Assembly in 1750 he was appointed a member of the “Committee of Accounts.” Again in 1753 and in each succeeding year of his long service he thus was chosen, for many years holding the

position of chairman of this most responsible committee. The single exception to his appointment was the year in which he was chosen Speaker at the opening session of the House. His associates on this committee were the most capable and influential members of the Assembly. It devolved upon them to audit and settle the accounts of the General Loan Office, and other public accounts, to sink and destroy the Bills of Credit received in exchange; to count all the moneys, and report, together with the said accounts, the sum they should actually find in the hands of the trustees, with power to send for persons, papers and records. In 1763 he, with others appointed by the House, examined Franklin's accounts for the time the latter acted as agent for the colony in Great Britain, and certified to their correctness.

Mr. Fox was frequently one of the commissioners for the disbursement of the large sums voted by the House for the defense of the province or for the use of the government. Even after his connection with the Assembly was at an end, he acted in this capacity. One of the items in the account of September, 1774, is the sum paid Joseph Fox, Esq., for his services as a commissioner of the Province.

Another committee on which Mr. Fox served uninterruptedly for many years was that known as the Committee of Grievances (or Aggrievances), which listened to the complaints brought to the Assembly for settlement. These were investigated (and probably some of them adjusted) before being formally presented to the House. For eight of the twelve successive years in which Mr. Fox served on this committee he acted as its chairman. As long as Franklin remained he served as one of its members, being succeeded by Galloway, whose legal knowledge made him especially valuable for the position.

It is an evidence of his acknowledged tact that Mr. Fox was so frequently selected as one of those to wait upon the governor with messages from the Assembly. Owing to the strained conditions which almost invariably existed between the two, this could not have been an agreeable task. On

one occasion the governor vented on the messengers, of whom Mr. Fox was one, such an uncalled-for tirade that his remarks were noted on the minutes, where they may be seen to this day.

In 1763, when Isaac Norris fell ill, Benjamin Franklin was chosen to fill his place as Speaker, and while in office aroused so much opposition that he was not elected to the Assembly the next year.

In October, 1764, Isaac Norris, although far from well, was prevailed upon to again accept the position which he had so ably filled for many years, but before the end of the month he was again obliged to send in his resignation. Writing to Robert Charles, Mr. Norris says:

Our last Elections were carried on by the Parties Concern^d with great warmth and eagerness but you will perceive that many of the members of the late Assembly, especially in Chester, Bucks and Lancaster Counties, have been re Elected on their meeting they unanimously made Choice of me for their Speaker, but after a Week's Trial I found that the Conduct they were bent upon, and the long Sittings their very warm Debates occasioned, were too great a Burden to my Body & Mind under the present precarious State of my Health, Tho I am much recovered from the extreme Weakness I laboured under ye greatest Part of the last year and therefore I resigned the Chair which has since been filled by Joseph Fox Esq a member returned for Philadelphia County.¹

Mr. Norris had been asked to reconsider his resignation, but finding him firm in his determination, it is noted on the minutes that Joseph Fox, Esq., was "unanimously chosen" to fill his place. Although the choice of a speaker was in the end unanimous, there was much disturbance and excitement before that condition was arrived at. The following letter, dated October 24, 1764, written to Isaac Norris by John Dickinson, gives an insight into the manner in which Mr. Norris's resignation was received:

The Members met yesterday at 4 o'Clock and your answer being reported by ye Com^{oo} Mr Hughes instantly rose & saying he was sorry

¹Norris Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

you could not attend and that it w^d be inconvenient to defer the pub^l Business he tho^t it proper that a New Speaker should be chosen and then mentioning Mr Ashbridge, called on his Partizans immediately to shew their approbation by standing up. About one Half the Members started up. I rose with them to speak & entreated the Members if we were so unhappy as to have forgot a Mutual Respect for each Other; that we should not forget our Duty to the Publick. The unprecedented precipitancy of this Conduct, its indecency, its inconsistency with the Message sent to you, the Obligatⁿ we were under of waiting a little while for your Assistance in matters of such vast Importance as w^d come under our Consideration were insisted on by several Members. *Uproar, Rage and Confusion* filled the Room. Mr Fox said the House was not to be deceived by such tricks and that you had told some members you could be of more service to y^m on the Floor.

Several of the County Members seemed to be unwilling to proceed so tumultuously & wth some difficulty we Psuaded ye Memb^s to adjourn to Four this Afternoon.¹

The first important business transacted after Mr. Fox took the chair was the appointment of Benjamin Franklin as agent to England.

At the opening of the new Assembly in 1765 Joseph Fox was again "unanimously chosen Speaker." In 1766 he was succeeded by Joseph Galloway, chosen by "a majority of votes." In May, 1769, Galloway in his turn fell ill and again Joseph Fox was chosen Speaker for the remainder of the term.

While Mr. Fox held this office, in 1764, delegates were chosen for what has since been known as the Stamp Act Congress, when "Mr Speaker, Mr Dickinson, Mr Bryan and Mr Morton were appointed to that service." The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 26, 1765, notes: "The Gentlemen appointed by the Assembly to assist at the General Congress at New York, we hear set out this Day for that place."

Ford² says that, although appointed, Joseph Fox did not attend the Congress. Coming at the end of the session and directly before the election (shortly after which the new

¹ Norris Papers in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

² Stille's *Life of Dickinson*, vol. ii, p. 182.

Assembly were to take their seats), it was probably necessary for the speaker to remain in Philadelphia.

In 1765, it was "ordered that the Committee of Correspondence do acquaint Mr Jackson and Mr Franklin, the Agents in London, the House request that all their letters and public affairs, may be addressed to the present Speaker, Joseph Fox Esq. or to a majority of the said Committee, in order that the same be regularly laid before the House." One of the letters sent according to these instructions still exists, being addressed by Benjamin Franklin to Joseph Fox, Esq., and is dated London, March 1, 1766, notifying him that the Stamp Act is about to be repealed, and making mention of another letter sent shortly before.

This was doubtless one of many such communications, now lost.

The Committee of Correspondence was another of those on which Mr. Fox invariably served, except when holding the position of Speaker. It was at first composed of but three members, of whom Franklin, while still in the Province, was one. Franklin was also Mr. Fox's associate on the committee to revise the minutes of the Assembly and prepare them for printing. This committee, a standing one, was at first composed of Joseph Fox and Benjamin Franklin alone. In 1757 Franklin was succeeded by Galloway, and the Speaker was added to the number, from which time no change in the members was made until 1763, when we find it composed of Fox, Dickinson, and the Speaker. Ability in the same line caused Mr. Fox to be frequently called upon to assist in framing of laws, draughting of bills, preparing messages to the governor, or answers to those sent by him to the Assembly, all requiring the greatest wisdom and prudence.

Mr. Fox attended, by appointment of the Assembly, the Indian conferences at Easton and Lancaster in 1756 and 1757, but declined to act as one of the commissioners at Fort Pitt in 1768.

He was for many years trustee of Province Island. This was a low island of three hundred and forty-two acres

on the southwest side of the Schuylkill, near its mouth, purchased in 1741 by the province, held as a quarantine station, and on which was established a "pest-house." Besides the buildings used for hospital purposes there were others, leased to tenants.

On January 22, 1757, Joseph Fox was appointed one of the superintendents of the State House, in place of Edward Warner, deceased. In 1762 it was deemed advisable to entrust both the State House and grounds to trustees, and accordingly Isaac Norris, Thomas Leech, Joseph Fox, Samuel Rhoads, Joseph Galloway, John Baynton, and Edward Penington were appointed.

Watson tells us that the State House square was walled in with a high brick wall, and at the centre of the Walnut Street wall was a ponderous high gate and massive brick structure over the top of it, placed there by Joseph Fox.

Samuel Foulke, an active and useful member of the Assembly from Bucks County, 1761-68, in his journal under date of January 2, 1763/4, gives an account of one of the many long debates which engaged in the House, in regard to the method to be used in raising the money for the government of the colony, debates as warm as those of the present day, although their noise and bitterness have long since passed away. In this case the controversy kept the House chiefly employed for about four weeks.

John Penn, the new governor, had but lately arrived, under great restrictions as to any liberties he might feel inclined to grant to the colonists. Money must be raised. Franklin and his followers were for adopting a new method, which they contended would enable the colonists to avoid dispute with the proprietaries; while the conservatives were in favor of the old fashion of acceding to the dictates of the higher authorities. According to the journal: "There Arose Very Serious & Arduous debates, in which B. Franklin & John Dickenson Greatly distinguished themselves, ye first as a polition, the other as an Orator . . . The Chief Speakers on ye other side [*i. e.*, in favor of the Proprie-

tors] were, Jos. Galloway, Jos. Fox, G. Ashbridge, & tho' ye first Named had to my appre[hen]sion much ye advantage of ye latter in reason & argument, yet to my great surprise, when the Question was put, it was Carried in favour of ye propriet's."¹ On several occasions Joseph Fox was among those appointed to sign paper money.

This summary does not begin to enumerate all of Mr. Fox's activities as a Representative. The minutes show him taking part in a large majority of the measures which came before the House. Small matters as well as great received attention. He was on committees to regulate the size of loaves of bread, to regulate the nightly watch of the city, to consider the petition against the firing of guns on New Year's Eve, etc., etc.

But the long years in the Assembly came to an end at last. The election returns in October, 1772, do not show the name of Joseph Fox. Benjamin Franklin, writing from London to Abel James under the date of December 2, 1772, says:

I do not at this Distance understand the Politics of your last Election why so many of the Members Declin'd Service, and why yourself and Mr Fox were omitted (which I much regret) while Goddard was voted for by so great a number. Another Year I hope will set all right. The People seldom continue long in the wrong, when it is nobody's Interest to mislead them . . . And tho' it may be inconvenient to your private Affairs to attend Publick Business, I hope neither you nor Mr Fox will thro' Resentment of the present Slight decline the Service when again called upon by your Country.

When it became necessary to erect barracks in Philadelphia, for housing the soldiery, the House resolved, on May 3, 1758, "that Joseph Fox be made Barrack Master, with full power to do and perform every matter and thing which may be requisite for the comfortable accommodation of his Majesty's troops within the Barracks lately erected in the city." This position he held until the time of the Revolution. On November 1, 1775, the Assembly directed

¹ PENNA. MAGAZINE OF HIST. AND BIOG., vol. v, p. 68.

that Mr. Miles and Mr. Dougherty should deliver to Joseph Fox, the barrack-master, the order that required him hereafter to comply with such orders as the Committee of Safety should issue, as to providing necessaries and quartering the troops. "These directions mark the period when, from the occupancy of the regular British troops, the barracks passed into the tenancy of the soldiers who were opposed to them." Mr. Fox replied that the barracks would be ready for the troops in about ten days. His salary as barrack-master was paid to February, 1776. Major Lewis Nicola succeeded to the position as early as the middle of March of that year. Until the delivery of the orders as above Mr. Fox appears to have had unlimited authority in this position. From time to time there were sums spent for disbursements of clothing, firewood, candles, vinegar, small beer, bedding, and the like; for quarters put up and furnished for the officers; but more frequently the amounts expended were given without detail. In testimony of the manner in which the duties of the barrack-master were performed is the following: "July 23, 1774. Mr Speaker laid before the House a letter from Major *Hamilton*, Commanding Officer at the Barracks of this city, which was read by order, and is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, July 21, 1774.

SIR :

I take the liberty to inform you that his Majesty's troops under my command stand much in need of the aid of the Legislature of this Province; their bedding, utensils and apartments require inspection and repairs. I have had the pleasure of knowing this Barrack these seven years, and shall always be happy in declaring that no troops have been better supplied, nor any applications from commanding officers more politely attended to than here; from which I am encouraged to hope, that the House of Assembly will, during this sitting, order the necessary inspection, and afford such a supply as their generosity and judgment shall dictate. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your most obedient humble servant,

ISAAC HAMILTON.

When barracks were established at Lancaster, Mr. Fox was the first barrack-master appointed.

Of the active part he took in the preparation for the struggle of the Revolution there is ample evidence. When other members of the Society of Friends in 1756, refused reëlection or resigned from the Assembly, Joseph Fox followed his conviction, that taking up arms was in some cases a necessity, and continued in the public service for many years thereafter, although the Friends note him as "having violated our testimony against war," and in consequence had disowned him from their Society on 4 mo. 30, 1756.

His name stands third on the list of signers of the Non-Importation Agreement in 1765. In this connection may be mentioned a meeting at the State House on September 27, 1770, called in response to an advertisement which was published in the papers and distributed in hand-bills around the city and suburbs. The call was as follows: "Many respectable Freeholders and Inhabitants of this city and county, justly alarmed at the Resolution formed by a number of the Dry Goods Importers, on Thursday last at Davenport's Tavern, which reflect dishonour on this city and province, earnestly request the Freemen of this city and county to meet in the State-house This Afternoon, at Three O'clock, to consider and determine what is proper to be done to vindicate the Honour of this City, and to avert the danger that threatens their Country."

The result of this notice was that "A large Body of respectable Inhabitants assembled at the Time and Place appointed, and having unanimously chosen Joseph Fox, Esq., Chairman" they passed nine resolutions, the first of which was, "That the claim of Parliament to tax the Colonies, and particularly the Act imposing Duties on Tea, &c., for the Purpose of raising a Revenue in America, is subversive of the constitutional Rights of the Colonies. Everything was conducted with the greatest order and decorum. Business being over the thanks of the company were voted to the Chairman for his services."

In Hiltzheimer's diary, which will be referred to later, on the date of the meeting, is this entry: "This afternoon went to Town meeting at the State House, where it was agreed that further non-importation was necessary, a few articles only excepted. Joseph Fox, who was chairman, requested Charles Thomson to speak for him." This request was certainly not because of any lack on his own part, but in recognition of Charles Thomson's remarkable ability.

When Paul Revere after his famous ride from Boston reached Philadelphia on May 20, 1774, a meeting was called at the City Tavern, when a committee was appointed to act as a general Committee of Correspondence, and also particularly to write to the people of Boston assuring them of sympathy, commending their firmness, declaring their cause to be that of all the Colonies, and promising to stand fast for the right. This Committee consisted of John Dickinson, William Smith, Edward Pennington, Joseph Fox, John Nixon, John Maxwell Nesbit, Samuel Howell, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Reed, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Benjamin Marshall, Joseph Moulder, Thomas Barclay, George Clymer, Charles Thomson, Jeremiah Warder Jr., John Cox, John Gibson, and Thomas Penrose. The next day they again met (Mr. Fox being among those then absent, as was Dickinson, who probably wrote the answer) and delivered a letter to Mr. Revere to take back to Boston.

On August 18, 1775, in the minutes of the Committee of Safety it is recorded that "Joseph Fox, one of the Commissioners for this County, waited on this Board acquainting them that it was found impossible to get completed in any reasonable time the firelocks for this County, unless it be permitted that they make use of such locks as they can procure." On October 7, 1775, it is reported that a copy of yesterday's minute of the Board relative to the making of the arms ordered by the Assembly was presented to Joseph Fox, who assured them that he would communicate it to the Board of Commissioners and Assessors, and that he

would use his best endeavors to promote that necessary business. On the 23rd of the same month Mr. Fox reported that he was ready and desirous to employ persons to make the number of firelocks required by the note of the Assembly, but could not get workmen to undertake to make them. He afterward made application for five hundred pounds to advance to the gunsmiths.

Christopher Marshall informs us that Joseph Fox was spokesman for the Committee which on January 18, 1775, waited on the Carpenters' Company for the use of their Hall for the meeting of the Provincial Committee. The price asked was ten shillings a day. Marshall also writes under date of October 4th, 1776: "Some day this week Joseph Fox and John Reynolds refused to take the Continental Money for large sums due them by bond, mortgage, &c., as it is said." Perhaps this is why in Scharf & Westcott's *History of Philadelphia* it is stated that Joseph Fox developed Tory proclivities. That the British did not consider him an ally is proven by the diary of Robert Morton, of Philadelphia, written while the city was occupied by the British. On November 22, 1777, he writes: "They have destroyed most of the houses along the lines except William Henry's, which remains entire and untouched, while J. Fox and Dr. Moner and several others are hastening to ruin."

There is no evidence that Mr. Fox had taken part in public affairs for some time before he took, on the 25th of July, 1777, the oath of allegiance to the state of Pennsylvania, the form of which was as follows: "We, the subscribers, do swear (or affirm) that we renounce and refuse all allegiance to George Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors and that we will be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state, and that we will not at any time do, or cause to be done anything that will be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof, as declared by Congress and also that we will discover and make known to some one justice of the peace of the said State, all treasons

and conspiracies which we now know or hereafter shall know to be formed against this or any of the United States of America." His son Joseph subscribed to the same two days later.

Strong as the above may seem, it was concluded that it did not cover all the ground required. In the autumn of the following year both Joseph Fox, gentleman, and Joseph Fox, Jr., subscribed this form: "I (the subscriber hereof) do solemnly and sincerely declare and swear (or affirm) that the State of Pennsylvania is and of right ought to be a free, sovreign and Independent State. And I do forever renounce and refuse all allegiance, subjection and obedience to the king or Crown of Great Britain; and I do further swear (or solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm) that I never have since the Declaration of Independence, directly or indirectly aided, assisted, abetted or in any wise countenanced the King of Great Britain, his generals, fleets, armies or their adherents in their claims upon these United States, and that I have ever since the Declaration of Independence thereof demeaned myself as a faithful citizen and subject to this or some one of the United States, and that I will at all times maintain and support the freedom sovreignty and independence thereof, so help me God."

In 1777, while the British occupied Philadelphia, the city was for a time so closely surrounded that the troops inside suffered for want of blankets and provisions, in order to procure which a petition to the citizens was signed by a great number of residents who remained in the city, Joseph Fox being among them.

In strong contrast with the more serious occupations of Mr. Fox are the mentions found in Hiltzheimer's Diary. Under date of December 30, 1765, is written: "Dined at Garlick Hall on invitation of Robert Erwin, with Joseph Fox, Thomas Willing, William Parr, Joseph Wharton," etc.

"March 19, 1766, attended Robert Smith's house warming with Joseph Fox, John Lawrence, Samuel Mifflin," etc.

“August 20, 1766, Robert Erwin gave a beefsteak dinner at the Bettering House¹ to J. Fox, Jacob Lewis,” etc.

“January 1, 1767, Very, very cold. Delaware frozen over. Three sleigh-loads of us went to Darby to Joseph Rudolph’s, Joseph Fox, Robert Smith, Robert Erwin and wife,” etc.

“February 27, 1768. Attended a barbecue at Robert Smith’s country place and from there went to William Jones’ Greenwich Hall with the following gentlemen, Jo^s. Fox, Samuel Morris, Samuel Miles,” etc.

“July 10, 1767. Went this afternoon with John Backhouse and Thomas Shoemaker up to Joseph Galloway’s place to dine with Daniel Wister, William Wister, Timothy Matlack, John [doubtless intended for Joseph] Fox,” etc.

“October 9, 1768. Dined at Galloway’s place with Israel Waters, Daniel Wister, Jacob Barge, Joseph Fox,” etc.

Then come three dinners at Greenwich Hall, on November 5, 1768, (on beefsteaks,) April 15, 1769 (on fish,) with Joseph Galloway, Joseph Fox, etc.; and on December 2, 1769, with Thomas Lawrence, Joseph Fox and others.

Unfortunately there is a lapse in the Diary, by which we probably lose much that would have been of interest. When the entries again begin we find the dinners still continued at intervals. “On November 6, 1773—Went down with Mr. Lawrence and Allen to Robert Erwin’s place called Primfield, to dine on beefsteaks with a number of gentlemen,” of whom was Joseph Fox.

At Greenwich Hall, that favorite resort, Mr. Fox dined with others on February 5, 1774, and three days later Mr. Hiltzheimer invited Timothy Matlack and Joseph Fox to go with him to see weighed the carcass of his great six-year-old steer, Roger. The weight we are told was 1332 pounds. On the twelfth of February Mr. Fox was

¹ An odd place for a dinner. The Bettering House was a kindlier name for the Alms House, in the early Quaker days.

one of the guests at Mullins', on the Schuylkill, where they dined on "Roger" beefsteaks.

On March first of the same year Joseph Fox, Michael Hillegas and others went to Province Island to attend the vendue of Samuel Penrose, and dined at the ferry house.

The last item in this connection which the Diary gives, is under date of September 10, 1774, when a part of the new gaol, opposite the State House, was raised. Joseph Fox and Edward Duffield, the managers, gave the workmen a supper and subsequently asked a few of their friends to dine with them in the northeast corner of the building.

Of other festivities we have intimation in the Votes of the Assembly. One of these was when, on August 20, 1756, soon after William Denny was installed as governor, the clerk of the Assembly was ordered to see that a handsome dinner was provided, "next second day," at the State House, for "the present and late governor, Governor's Council, Mayor and Corporation, Officers, Civil and Military, Clergy and strangers now residing in the city."

Joseph Fox was member of the Fort St. David's Fishing Company, a social club of the times, afterwards merged with the State of Schuylkill Fishing Company, an organization still in active existence.

A side light is thrown on the character of Joseph Fox by letters written by James Tilghman and William Allen, commissioners of property, to Thomas Penn. In 1766 Mr. Tilghman writes:

HONORED SIR:

A case has lately occurred—the first of its kind since I had the Secretary's office—in which I must beg leave to trouble you for your direction.

Mr. Joseph Fox, a member of the Assembly, a person of some influence in the City, and I believe at present not indifferent to the Government, a good many years ago purchased some old Rights of Liberty Lands * * * and now applies for a warrant to take up the Liberty Lands * * * I shall not do anything in the affair until I can be instructed. * * * Mr. Fox pressed the matter very much, and thought hard to wait an answer from you, and intimated a design to do himself

Justice, upon which some warmth passed between us, since which I have not heard of the matter. I shall be obliged for your instructions as soon as it may be convenient to you.

Whether any attention was paid to this or (as was the custom with the descendants of the Founder) Thomas Penn left the matter to right itself, we do not know, but Fox having made his claim did not suffer it to rest, for William Allen, two years later, writing of the same matter says:

PHILADA. Feby. 27th, 1768.

SIR :

Since writing a long letter by this opportunity I have recollected something that has frequently been the subject of conversation between Mr. Tilghman and me, which he says he mentioned to you sometime since, and on which he promised again to write to you, and desired me to do the same, which is an application to the office from Mr. Joseph Fox, who was Speaker of the Assembly two years ago. The case stands thus. He conceiving that he had right to use some liberty-land had made a bargain with a man who has overplus lands within his lines, and having improved the land, and not caring to have any future disputes was desirous to buy rights to cover the overplus.

It seems the liberty-land of some old right belonging to Mr. Fox had not been surveyed within the liberty, but, as it is said, was included in the surveys made in the usual way in other parts of the Country, which fact Mr. Fox conceives no way clear, but admitting it had been so, he conceives, and is so told by his Lawyer, that by the words of your father's grants, the purchasers are intitled to lots on liberty land. There are precedents both ways in the office; Though, of late, chiefly against him. He is a man of wealth, but no way avaritious, of great spirit, and esteemed a very honest man; he at present heartily wishes he never had been entangled with the bargain; but as he has entered into it, he thinks his reputation is concerned in the affair, as he may be reflected on of having sold lands for which he had no title, for which reason he has it much at heart to compleat his bargain on the foot of the claim he makes. * * * * *

The precedent of your allowing him to laying his rights in the manner he desires cannot be injurious to your interest, as that matter is now over, but may rather be of service with regard to overplus-land in other parts of the Country, as that a man of his Character Thought it but right to cover Overplus land with other rights.

I would not have presumed to have troubled you on this head, but as I have, and perhaps for some short time longer may be ingaged in our

Political disputes, and Mr. Fox has zealously Cooperated with me in our Assembly in opposing the extravagant conduct of a malignant party among us, I think he has in this great merit ; he formerly had been as well as many others, lead away by the specious pretences of that party. But for near four years past, having seen into their designs, he has frequently told them that their schemes were so bad that an honest man could not act with them. He has shown himself, to the great regret of the party, one of the warmest friends of the Government ; was greatly instrumental in restoring peace for this two years past, for which they outed him from the Speaker's chair, and he is at present, except myself, the most obnoxious to them of any person : They have this present session used many arts to bring him into their measures, fawned, cajold and threatened him, but he laughs them to scorn, and in our late disputes opposed their violent and truly ridiculous measures with a becoming zeal.

I need not hint to you that in Government affairs some things may be done prudentially, and I hope and request that this matter may be seen at least in this light, and that an honest man, though he should be mistaken in what he conceives to be his right, should be rather encouraged than otherwise, to persist in his duty.

I should not have presumed to have said so much upon this head, but I conceive your readily assenting to his application may be of use to your friends and tend to strengthen their hands, and can be no way prejudicial to you.

It is from such sources alone that there must be gleaned anything of the personal life of Joseph Fox, for he left no records ; indeed so far as is known there is not a letter written by him in existence. A few pieces of furniture once owned by him and a number of signatures to public documents are the only things that can now be associated with him and his life of many activities.

Issue of Joseph and Elizabeth (Mickle) Fox:

Thomasine Mickle Fox, born June 15, 1748 ; died November 7, 1821 ; married February 20, 1772, at Philadelphia Meeting, George Roberts, born 1737 ; died September 17, 1821, son of Hugh and Mary (Calvert) Roberts. Had issue.

Hannah Fox, born October 9, 1750 ; died February 19, 1824 ; unmarried.

Elizabeth Fox, born December 26, 1752 : died June 16, 1758.

Samuel Mickle Fox, born August 18, 1754 ; died February 18, 1755.

Justinian Fox, born August 12, 1755 ; died February 25, 1756.

Joseph Mickle Fox, born September 15, 1757 ; died January 18, 1784,
as the result of a fall from his horse.

George Fox, born November 27, 1759 ; died September, 1828 ; married
(1) Mary Pemberton ; (2) Mary Dickinson.

Samuel Mickle Fox, born September 9, 1761 ; died October 17, 1762.

Samuel Mickle Fox, born October 4, 1763 ; died April 30, 1808 ;
married Sarah Pleasants.

Elizabeth Fox, born July 16, 1765 ; died September 25, 1765.

Elizabeth Fox, born April 13, 1757 ; died July 18, 1757.

Elizabeth Fox, born June 30, 1768 ; died July 19, 1768.

Elizabeth Hill Fox, born October 14, 1771 ; died January 23, 1861 ;
married Joseph Parker Norris.

George Fox, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Mickle) Fox, born November 27, 1759 ; died September —, 1828; married (1) in Philadelphia Meeting, November 25, 1789, Mary Pemberton, born March 25, 1771 ; died July 2, 1801, only daughter of Charles and Esther (House) Pemberton ; married (2) October 3, 1803, Mary Dickinson who died March 28, 1822, daughter of Philemon and Mary (Cadwalader) Dickinson.

George Fox graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1780.

In 1784 he was made a member of the Philosophical Society ; in 1789–91, 1812–28, he was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and in 1800 represented the city in the Assembly.

George Fox was at one time owner of the largest part of the Franklin papers. (See the introduction to Smyth's *Life of Benjamin Franklin*.) Franklin by his will bequeathed all his manuscripts and papers to William Temple Franklin, his grandson, who culled out what he imagined to be the most important of the manuscripts and carried them to London with the intention of devoting himself to editing them.

The papers left by him in Philadelphia, by far the greater part of the whole collection, he bequeathed to his friend

George Fox, by whose family the most of them were presented to the American Philosophical Society, and the rest finally came into the possession of the University of Pennsylvania.

Issue of George and Mary (Pemberton) Fox :

Charles Pemberton Fox, born July 3, 1792 ; died October 10, 1866 ; unmarried. Graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1811 ; joined the First City Troop in 1813 ; was made Corporal in 1816 and rose to the position of Quarter Master Sergeant in 1822.

Eliza Mary Pemberton Fox, born May 30, 1794 ; died May 17, 1873 ; married February 18, 1819, John Roberts Tunis, who died October 30, 1819. No issue.

Esther Pemberton Fox, born October 25, 1797 ; died July 24, 1798.

Issue of George and Mary (Dickinson) Fox :

Joseph Dickinson Fox, born 1804 ; died October 19, 1825 ; graduate of the class of 1824, at the University of Pennsylvania.

Mary Dickinson Fox, born December 13, 1807 ; died February 19, 1895, at Champlost, unmarried.

Samuel Mickle Fox, son of Joseph and Elizabeth (Mickle) Fox, married November 27, 1788, Sarah Pleasants, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Pemberton) Pleasants. Samuel M. Fox was one of the incorporators of the Bank of Pennsylvania in 1793 and in 1796 became its president, which position he held until his death. He invested largely in land in the western part of the State, part of which was many years later the centre of the petroleum industry.

Elizabeth Mickle Fox, born October 15, 1791 ; died October 10, 1872 ; unmarried,

Hannah Morris Fox, born December 13, 1793 ; died April 3, 1866 ; unmarried.

Ann Pleasants Fox, born October 28, 1795 ; died January 16, 1861 ; married July 28, 1829, George Newbold, born May 29, 1780 ; died September 8, 1858.

Caroline Fox, born March 19, 1797 ; died September 19, 1804.

Sarah Pemberton Fox, born August 26, 1798 ; died June 6, 1873 ; unmarried.

Samuel Mickle Fox, born March 29, 1800 ; died December 19, 1849, in New York City ; married October 17, 1826, Eliza de Grasse Depau, born November 20, 1803 ; died August 20, 1864 ; daughter of Francis and Silvia (De Grasse) Depau. He took his degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1819, after which he studied medicine, but relinquished the practice of it in 1828 to remove to New York where he became a member of the firm of Bolton, Fox and Livingston, and so continued until his death. Left issue.

Louisa G. Fox, born March 15, 1802 ; died January 19, 1874 ; unmarried.

Emeline Fox, born June 23, 1803 ; died November 19, 1882 ; unmarried.

George Fox, born January 31, 1805 ; died August 29, 1805.

George Fox, born May 28, 1806 ; died December 27, 1882 : married Sarah D. Valentine.

Caroline Fox, born August 28, 1807 ; died January 19, 1859 ; unmarried.

Joseph Mickle Fox, (son of Samuel and Sarah (Pleasants) Fox), married April 6, 1820, Hannah Emlen, born in Philadelphia February 6, 1790 ; died November 11, 1869 ; daughter of George and Sarah (Fishbourne) Emlen.

Joseph M. Fox studied law and was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar on September 7, 1812. At the time of his marriage he was practicing his profession in Bellefonte, Centre County, but shortly thereafter removed to Meadville, Pennsylvania. He purchased from the trustees under his father's will, twelve tracts, comprising thirteen thousand acres of land in the western part of the State.

In 1827 he, with his wife and son, settled on one of these tracts, at the junction of the Allegheny and Clarion rivers, where was established the home about which the town of Foxburg afterwards grew. Joseph M. Fox was elected state senator in 1829.

The only child of Joseph and Hannah (Emlen) Fox was Samuel Mickle Fox, born in Philadelphia, June 29, 1821 ; died at Foxburg, December 25, 1869. He married June 28, 1849, Mary Rodman Fisher, daughter of William Logan and Sarah (Lindley) Fisher. They had five children, viz : Joseph Mickle Fox, who died in infancy ; William Logan

Fox, who married Rebecca Clifford Hollingsworth, and died without issue; Joseph Mickle Fox married Emily A. Read, and has issue; Sarah Lindley Fox, who died June 20, 1882, unmarried; and Hannah Fox.

George Fox, M.D., son of Samuel M. and Sarah (Pleasants) Fox, born in Philadelphia, May 8, 1806, died there December 27, 1882; married September 25, 1850, Sarah Downing Valentine, daughter of George and Mary (Downing) Valentine of Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. Dr. Fox was a physician and surgeon of high standing and ability, and a consistent member of the Society of Friends. Dr. Fox and his wife, Sarah D. Valentine, had children, Samuel Mickle Fox, married September 25, 1890, Elizabeth Richards Newbold; died March 19, 1905, leaving issue, George Fox, married October 20, 1875, Margaret Loper Baird, and has issue; Joseph Mickle Fox, married October 4, 1893, Jean Beverly Chichester, and has issue; Charles Pemberton Fox, married May 19, 1906, Mary Large; Mary Valentine Fox, married April 23, 1883, William Wayne; Sarah Fox, married June 10, 1891, George W. Norris.

OLD PENNSYLVANIA MILESTONES.

BY SUSAN CARPENTER FRAZER.

[A paper read before the Pennsylvania Society of Colonial Dames of America.]

On the King's Highway or "Old Road," and on the Lancaster and Philadelphia "Pike," in my childhood days I travelled in summer's heat and winter's cold. Once a week we drove to Harmony Hall, my maternal grandmother's country place, nine miles from Lancaster, and on Sunday afternoons with my father to Carpenter Hall, twelve miles, the home place of his mother. The memory of the milestones comes back to me, and how my brothers and I never tired counting them, or when cold or weary with the drive, we could always be amused by looking out for the next one. They bring back so many happy recollections that they seem like the friends of my early life.

Two years ago the electric road was built from Lancaster to Christiana. From the car window I observed the improvements, freshly painted houses and barns, gardens and lawns well kept, flowers blooming everywhere. Improvement seemed to be the order of the day; only in the old milestones were the lines of the beautiful hymn verified: "Change and decay in all around I see." The wish was suggested that the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America should care for them. And now I can say with pleasure that the Society has restored these ancient landmarks on two of the oldest roads in the United States.

One mile from Lancaster is Witmer's Bridge, which spans the Conestoga Creek. The road there forks; to the right is the Philadelphia and Lancaster pike; to the left the "King's Highway" authorized in 1730.

Indian trails were the first highways known in this country. Generally speaking, they were along not only the

easiest routes, but the shortest. Of this the early settlers were not slow to take advantage; many of the earliest roads located by the whites being over the old Indian paths. As the necessities of the pioneers demanded more means of easy communication, they were compelled to depart from that early plan, and the road system was gradually broadened, mills and business places having become objective points. But while these answered for local uses, the need of highways between cities and towns remote from each other became apparent. The King's Highway, authorized in 1730, was laid out, upon the petition of the people of Lancaster County, for a distance of thirty odd miles, until it reached a like road in Chester County, which ran all the way to the Schuylkill at Philadelphia. Sixty years later came the famous Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike; but, unlike the earlier King's Highway, it was built by private enterprise. It has the distinction of being the first macadamized road built in the United States. These roads were of incalculable benefit to the people in Pennsylvania, and assisted very effectively in hastening its material development. For the building of this turnpike the books were opened at the State House in June, 1792, and kept open until midnight, when it was found that 2,276 shares had been subscribed for. Each subscriber paid down \$30 on each share, their names were then put into a wheel, and 600 drawn to form the company. The commissioners appointed to receive the names of subscribers were: Elliston Perot, Henry Drinker, Jr.; Owen Jones, Jr.; Israel Whelen, and Cadwallader Evans, of Philadelphia; Edward Hand, John Hubley, Paul Zantzinger, Matthias Slough, and Abraham Witmer, of Lancaster. Shares were to be \$300 each. The business men of that day were so impressed with the value of canals and turnpikes as a means of communication that Elliston Perot, in his will, advised his executors to invest his money in turnpike and canal stocks.

Hand-boards were required to be put up at all points where the turnpike intersected cross roads, giving the names

and distances of the places to which such roads led. Milestones were also required to be placed on the north side of the road, beginning one mile west of the Schuylkill, and extending thence to the borough of Lancaster, on which the distance from the west bounds of Philadelphia was marked.

The original road-bed was not a complete success; it was, however, so well constructed on the macadam plan that Francis Baily, in his *Journal of a Tour in North America*, 1796, wrote: "There is at present but one turnpike road on the continent, which is between Lancaster and Philadelphia, a distance of sixty-six miles, and is a masterpiece of its kind. It is paved with stone the whole way and overlaid with gravel, so that it is never obstructed during the most severe season." Toll-gates were placed on the road, the first one two miles west of the Schuylkill River [at Forty-first Street]; the ninth one at Witmer's Bridge. A system of collecting was published, giving the amount of toll per mile for passing over the pike. The size of the wheels and the amount of weight to be carried were also controlled between December first and May first. "Nor shall more than eight horses be attached to any carriage whatsoever used on said road, and if any wagon or other carriage shall be drawn along said road by a greater number of horses or with a greater weight ($3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 tons) than is hereby permitted, one of the horses attached thereto shall be forfeited to the use of said company, to be seized or taken by any of their officers or servants, who shall have the privilege to choose which of said horses they may think proper, excepting the shaft or wheel horse or horses." The freight was packed and carried in old Conestoga wagons; on the rear was suspended the trough carrying the feed, the water-bucket and tar-can swinging underneath. Many a traveller has earned a seat on the wagon and a share of the wagoner's mattress at night on the floor of a tavern, by attending to the lock and brake. One writer says he was told by one of the wealthiest ironmasters of Pittsburgh that he arrived in that city on a load of salt, having attended to the brake from Philadelphia.

In the sixty-two miles from Philadelphia to Lancaster there were sixty-one taverns. They were of two distinct and separate classes, known as the stage and wagon taverns; to conduct one of the former required great capability. The proprietor had to be a man of intelligence, and a certain amount of culture, and like the Macgregor sat at the head of his table. The position was filled in many cases by members of Congress, as well as State Representatives. The Comte de Segur said, in writing of his journey in America: "At first I was surprised, on entering a tavern, to find it kept by a Captain, a Major, or a Colonel, who was equally ready to talk, and to talk well, about his campaigns, his farming operations or the market he had for his produce." It was considered a lasting disgrace for one of the stage taverns to entertain a wagoner, and the tavern would be sure to lose the patronage of the better class of travel should the fact become known. In Paradise, ten miles east of Lancaster, at a time when the traffic was unusually heavy and all the wagon taverns were full, a wagoner applied to the proprietor of the stage tavern for shelter and refreshment; after a great deal of consideration on his part and persuasion on the part of the wagoner he consented, provided the wagoner would take his departure early in the morning, before there was any likelihood of aristocratic arrivals, or the coming of the stage. As soon as the wagoner had left, the hostlers and stable boys were put to work to clean up every vestige of straw or litter in front of the hotel, that would be an indication of having entertained a wagoner over night. A huge sign, swinging and creaking in the wind immediately in front of the hotel, bore a painted representation of the name by which the house was known. One sign on the King's Highway bore three crowns, and as Washington's army marched along the road, they riddled it with bullets.

Road making was not as expensive in those days as it is now. In 1793 unskilled labor was paid \$6 per month and board from May to November, and \$5 from November to May.

A wagoner, next to a stage-coach driver, was a man of local importance, and they were inclined to be very clannish, and would unite to fight landlord, stage-driver or coachman who might cross their path.

When taking up the pleasant duty of restoring the mile-stones, a toll-gate keeper on the pike, S. P. Gibbons by name, was recommended to me, to do the work. Many of the stones were buried to within a foot of their top; some were leaning at an angle of forty-five degrees; while others were almost flat. They are made of soft stone not unlike the sandstone of the Lebanon Hills; consequently the weather had obliterated the markings on many of them, but enough of the original figures could be seen to establish the mileage both ways. Those which had fallen over were reset; where broken off, a hole three and a half feet deep was dug, filled with broken stones and cement, and the stone set in that mixture, forming, when dry, a substance as firm as a rock. Gasoline or coal oil was poured over the stone; it was then scrubbed, which brought out illegible cutting, making it easier for the man to cut the old marking deeper.

Two of these stones are within the city limits of Lancaster, one in West King Street marked "63 M to P—10 M to C," meaning 63 miles to Philadelphia, 10 miles to Columbia. The other is in front of the Lancaster County Prison. Both of these are in good condition, needing only scrubbing and recutting. It is from this prison stone that the mileage to Lancaster is computed from Philadelphia. One mile east of the prison stone, in the middle of Witmer's Bridge, the milestone is built under the marble tablet to Abraham Witmer; it is laid sideways, and on it is: "61 M to P." The twelfth, sixteenth and seventeenth milestones to Lancaster have not been found. One stone was discovered in a field, the farmer having moved his fence to take in several feet of the road. The first three stones out of Lancaster to Columbia were in rather good condition. The top of one was broken off, but was banded together with iron. The other six stones were all broken off, and reset with stone and

cement; the tenth stone, just outside of Columbia, cannot be found. All the stones have been recut over the original marking.

From the Chester County line to Columbia, on the Susquehanna River, the stones except the four missing ones are all in place, reset and marked, on the north side of the road; the thirteenth stone from Lancaster, however, is on the south side.

At Paradise, where of all places misrepresentation should not occur, an artist with good intentions, but lack of knowledge, painted the ancient markings of the stone, but mistaking the three for a five, the stone reads 55 instead of 53 M to P. In the new deeper cutting the mistake has been rectified as well as possible.

On the King's Highway there are very few stones remaining; and in appearance they are more antique than those on the Philadelphia turnpike. There are but two left between Lancaster and the village of Intercourse, both of which have been straightened and recut. A most interesting stone stands west of Bird-in-Hand, on the King's Highway, the cutting almost obliterated. It marks the boundary between townships; stands higher than the milestone, and is narrower.

There is a stone, east of Intercourse, "55 M to P—11 M to L," and one mile beyond, "54 M to P—12 M to L." Many stones east of these two could not be found, so I determined to search for myself. At the first stone east of Intercourse we tied a long white streamer to the tire and one spoke of the wheel. My companion said, "You cannot speak until we reach the next milestone; each revolution of the wheel must be counted by the white streamer." The wheel made 470 revolutions from stone to stone. Silence reigned, until again there were 470 revolutions, 53 M to P—13 M to L, but the stone we looked for could not be found. Again we counted the white streamer 470 times, which brought us to 52 M to P—14 M to L. A thorough search showed no trace of it. The man, opposite whose

house it had stood, told us he had not seen it for many years. Silence again, and the monotonous count commenced, but the stone which should have been 51 M to P—15 M to L was also gone. We were assured that the stone 50 M to P—16 M to L could not be found, and had not been seen for years, but this assurance did not daunt us. Again the counting, again the search, when reward came, in the stone, broken off, top pointed, only about a foot from the ground, only one-third the width, and some of the marking plainly visible.

Again silence, and counting, but at the end of the 470 revolutions no sign of the hunted for milestone. Driving about 600 yards we found the stone had been broken off at the ground. A Mr. Sweigart had had it carried the 600 yards and laid it against his barn to protect it. It has been restored to its old-time place, and made sound by cement and stones. The next one, 48 M to P—18 M to L, has been taken for a door-sill in a neighboring house. I have, however, the promise that this will be restored to its original place.

The next one and the last in Lancaster County, 47 M to P—19 M to L, stood at Mr. Arthur Burt's "Waterloo Farms." Mr. Burt wrote me that since the farms had come into his possession he had never seen the stone. Many years ago there was a new survey of the King's Highway making the road pass in front of the barn at "Waterloo Farms," instead of in the rear. The old inhabitants think, after the survey, the road was ploughed and put into a field, and that the milestone was not removed to the new road; probably it was broken off or broken into small stones.

There are ten milestones between the west end of Coatesville Bridge, over the Brandywine, and the Lancaster County line. The one in Coatesville is in good condition, the marking plain; 37 M to P standing in pretty good condition, marking not legible; 39 M to P marking plain; 40 M to P not legible; iron bound, back a few feet from road fence in a field; 41 M to P not legible; 42 M to P almost obliterated;

43 M to P good in every way; 44 M to P quite plain; 45 M to P not found. If in place this last stone should be in Lancaster County, about one fourth of a mile from the Chester County border. The Strasburg Turnpike is also an old pike with milestones on it.

The Ephrata and Harrisburg Turnpike crosses the southern corner of Lebanon County. This road, made many years since, was once a great thoroughfare over the mountains, and is furnished with milestones marked so many miles to Philadelphia and so many miles to T., the latter signifying the Tuscarora mountain, west of the Susquehanna. Judge Frankes used to tell a story of his asking a brother Judge for what the *T* stood. He replied quite in earnest, "So many miles to *T*owningtown," meaning Downingtown, in Chester County.

The boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland is marked by stones by the agreement of the proprietaries. Every five miles a large stone was set up or planted, on the respective sides of which were graven their arms—Penn's arms on the northern side, Calvert's on the southern side—and between the larger stones smaller ones were set, with the letters P. and M. on the respective sides. It is an established fact that, from the very earliest days of our country, milestones were used.

These old roads abound in reminiscences. The scenery is attractive; nowhere in the country are there more valuable or better cultivated farms. There are many old Colonial homes of the early settlers, which architecturally are beautiful, and the remains of some of the stables which housed the coaches and horses, each night of the going to and from Philadelphia, are to be seen.

On the King's Highway are three historic churches: Old Leacock Presbyterian Church, St. John's Church, Pequea, and Christ Church. In the God's Acres attached to them sleep many of the men and women who helped to make this land what it is: a possibility for themselves, and a blessed surety for their descendants.

PENNSYLVANIA GLEANINGS IN ENGLAND.

BY LOTHROP WITHINGTON.

JOHN JONES, City of Bristol, Linnen Draper.	Will 13	
December 1699; proved 4 August 1702.		
To father Charles Jones two pieces of gold Jacobuses	2	11. 0
To mother Anne Jones, ditto	2	11. 0
To particular brother or sister which father or mother think do mostly promote brotherly love 100 guineas	100	7. 6
To father in law William Smith 2 guineas	2	3. 0
To mother in law Anne Smith, ditto	2	3. 0
To benefit of people called Quakers inhabiting the City of Bristol £200 to be disposed by Father Charles Jones, William Smith, Charles Hartford, Senior, Benjamin Cool, Cornelius Sarjant	200	0. 0
To Father and Mother Jones each fower Jacobuses more	10	8. 0
To Meeting people that are poore that belong to Congregation where Andrew Gifford, clerk, preaches £50, to be disposed by Andrew Gifford, John Bowman, Cooper, or Henry Parsons, Grocer, in Thomas Street	50	0. 0
	<hr/>	
	370.	3. 6
To parish of Thomas the place of my nativity £20 to be paid to Henry Parsons in Thames Street and Richard Taylor, Iron Monger in Radcliff Street for poore in bread and Apparell	20	0. 0
To parish of Nicholas where I live, ditto, to William Bush, Draper, and Alderman Wallis.	10	0. 0

To — Read that preaches in the public place of Worship of said parish	10	0. 0
To late erected Hospitalls, Boys and Maides, but most especial to the ancient thereof, men and women, £100 at discretion of Mayor Wade, Thomas Callowhill, Edward Martingdale, my Father Charles Jones . .	100	0. 0
To William Fallowfield that commonly lyes at Charles Harfords and often hath preached very well in our Meeting house one guinea and £50	51	1. 6
To Jeremy Hignell, Cooper, in Temple Street, £50, if living, the said Jeremy Hignell now lives the back part of the Bell or next doore	50	0. 0
To John Pope, senior, that lives over against the Glass house without Lowfords Gate .	20	0. 0
To Benjamin Coole, senior	50	0. 0
To Uncle Charles Harford one guinea . . .	1	1. 6
To brother Charles Jones	100	0. 0
To brother Michael Jones	100	0. 0
To brother Matthew Jones	100	0. 0
To sister Sarah married to Francis Roach . .	200	0. 0
To sister Elizabeth married to Charles Harford	200	0. 0
To Peter Young my brother in law	50	0. 0
To Francis Roach my brother in law	10	0. 0
To Edward Harford my brother in law . . .	50	0. 0
To Peter Young, son of said Peter Young and to Ann Young, daughter of my Sister, £500 each	1000	0. 0
To brother Charles Jones £600 if he balance account and demand nothing in law, except as by the two papers wrote in my name and owing on account of late Brigantine Expedition, or the £600 to brother Michael Jones, brother Mathew, and brother in law, Charles Harford	600	0. 0

To brother Michaell Jones	600	0. 0
To sister Roach £600 for children but only £300 if brother Charles do not perform as above, as other £300 to brothers Michaell Jones, and Mathew Jones	600	0. 0
To sister Elizabeth married to Edward Har- ford	600	0. 0
To kinsman Mathew Jones, senior, of London	100	0. 0
To John Keenton that was my apprentice . .	60	0 0
To servant Jane	10	0. 0
To Martha Gifford	5	0. 0
To John Harwood's wife ,.	5	0. 0
To six or 12 B to 20s. each	12	0. 0

To Arthur Thomas, Pewterer £5. To my cozen Thomas Dickson £3. To Charles Harford, junior, £5. To Elias Osborne, Richard Yeomans, Robert Priest, and Arthur Taylor, one guinea each. To Arthur Sawyer one guinea. To my Aunt Smith £5. To William Pope my Porter £10. To sister Roach my part of the Ship I have called the Susannah. To my cosen Widow Low of this City £5. To my cousen Martha, married to William Stafford £100. "Item I give my cousen Mary, that is married to William Penn, one hundred pounds" All the Remy [sic] of my estate to my executors: viz. my cousens Peter and Ann, children of my sister, and Rachell the Daughter of my brother Michaell, and the two youngest children that shall be living borne by my Sister Elizabeth Harford. I appoint to assist them my brother Michaell Jones, my brother in law Peter Young, and my brother in law Edward Harford. Witnesses: Wm. Rishton, Richard Hawksworth, Richard Vicks, Junior, Proved by Ann Young, one of executors named, with reservation to other executors [not named].

136 Herne.

JAMES THOMAS, late of Philadelphia. Will 22 4th month (June) 1706; proved 11 February 1711/12. To my Brother

Micah Thomas and his children £40. To my Brother Gabriel Thomas, (besides what he oweth me) £20. To my sister Mary Snead and her children £20. To my sister Rachell Wharton £40. To my unkle James Thomas £20 a year for life. To my cousins or neices Elizabeth, Mary and Rachel Williams £50 apiece at decease of my said Uncle. To my nephew, Brother of said Williams, if living £50. To my cousins, the children of Thomas Wharton and my sister Rachell, his wife, £20 after decease of my said uncle. To Edward Shippen Senior, and his grandchildren Edward and Elizabeth Shippen £20 and to Samuel Preston and his daughters Margaret and Hannah £30. To the poor of Philadelphia the yearly interest of the remainder of my estate for ever. Executors: Edward Shippen and Samuel Preston of Philadelphia merchants. Witnesses: Philip Russell, Walton Huling, Jonathan Baily, Morris Edwards. 7th of 9th month Called November, before Thomas Fisher, deputy Registrar for County Sussex, Philip Russell and Jonathan Baily swear to signatures. Died in St. Margaret Lothbury, Batchelor.

Barnes, 38.

HANNAH PENN, Relict of William Penn, late of Roscombe Berks, Esqr. Will 11 September 1718; proved 16 February 1726/7. Whereas said late husband by last will dated 27 of 3rd month called May 1712, made me sole executrix and devised me with other persons named, all lands, in Pennsilvania or elsewhere in America, on trust to pay debts and to convey certain portions to his daughter Aubrey and the three children of his sonn William, and then to convey all rest of lands in America to his children by mee his second wife as I think fitt and also gave me his personal estate for me and my children, now I said Hannah Penn devise said residue of lands and estates, after debts are paid to be divided in six equal parts, whereof to my eldest sonn Julian Penn, three sixth part, paying to his sister Margaret £2000 at marraige or 21, and other three sixths to my three

other sons, Thomas Penn, Richard Penn, and Dennis Penn, and if either die before 21, to survivors, etc. Witnesses: Susanna Pewin, Mary Chandler, Hannah Hosken, Thomas Grove, S. Clement. Administration to son John Penn, Esq. chief legatee, no executor being named and testatrix described as of St. Botolph Aldersgate London

Farrant 49.

JAMES WILLING, of the City of Bristol, Soapboiler. Will 25 November 1727; proved 5 December 1727. To my brother Richard Willing of City of Bristol, Merchant, £100. To Brother Thomas Willing of Philadelphia in America, Merchant, £100. To Mary Burcombe, Jane Burcombe, and Anne Burcombe, Daughters of Stephen Burcombe of Stenchcombe, County Gloucester, Clothier £100 apiece at 21. To brother in law, George Willing 5s. Rest to said brother Richard, executor. Witnesses: Richard Price, John Bedford, William Waish, G. Tyndall.

Farrant 311.

Peter Evans, Registrar General of Counties of Newcastle, Kent, Sussex, on Delaware and Province of Penna. at Philadelphia 13 August last past was proved the will of ANDREW HAMILTON of Philadelphia, Province of Pennsylvania, Esq. Will 31 July; proved 8 December 1742 To my daughter Margaret, wife of William Allen of this City, merchant, two acres near the borders of Bucks County, a Lot in Philadelphia near a Lot formerly given her by George Willox, and a Lot at Wicocoa on the Delaware River, all in the now possession of William Allen, also my lot, late the estate of Joshua Tittery, my messuage in tenure of Stephen Benezet of this city, merchant, extending 102 feet upon Second Street and my lot in the Square between Second Street, Third Street, Mulberry Street and Sassafress Street. To my grandson John Allen the Lotts purchased from the heirs of one Richards. To my grandson Andrew Allen the Lots lately purchased of John and William Bullock. To grandson James Allen largest silver dish. To

my son James Hamilton: The messuage I now live in and land called Bush Hill, land now in tenure of Esther Banks and William Bissell, land on Chesnut Street bought from the Widow Carpenter, representative of one Townsend, Lots on Chesnut Street opposite the State House, lands in Walnut Street belonging to William Hudson, Junior, formerly the estate of the Widow Aston and her son. To my son Andrew Hamilton land bought of Stephen Jackson lying by Pooles bridge, lands in County Newcastle on Delaware, Plantation at Powellsbridge in County Kent. Lands in Province of New Jersey to my son James, and my negroes. My Plantation on Skiulkill River to my son Andrew which I bought of Stephen Jackson, also Lots purchased from heirs of one Jobson and from Edward Robinson, also land near Dunk's Ferry in Bucks County and land in Kent County called Whitehall. My negro woman Sue and her two children to Elizabeth Watters who now lives with me. My executors to give a negro girl to George Gale of Somerset County in The province of Maryland, gent, who married the daughter of Bridget Letherbury. Residue to daughter Margaret and sons, James and Andrew. Executors: William Allen and my sons James and Andrew. Witnesses; Abram Taylor, William Till, Sept. Robinson, Tench Francis 2 August 1741 Wm. Till, Tench Francis, Sept Robinson. I appoint William Allen and my son James Allen to convey the lands formerly given in trust for the use of the province. 13 August 1741 Philadelphia, Taylor, Till, Robinson and Francis, swear to their signature. The executors to render an Inventory before 13 December next Certified 5 July 1742 by Pet. Evans, Regr. Genl.

Trenley 355.

JOHN PENN, now of Hitcham, county Bucks, Esquire. Will 24 October 1746; proved 13 November 1746. Executors in Great Britain: William Vigor of London, Merchant, Joseph Freame, Citizen and Banker of London, Lascelles Metcalfe of Westminster, Esquire, to whom I give all my

personal estate in England, all moneys sent from Philadelphia, also my tenements in Bristol in trust to pay my sister Margaret Freame an annuity of £120 a year for life, £100 to my servant John Travers and 100 guineas to each of my said English Executors, and then to make up the sum of £10000 in 3% and to pay out of it $\frac{1}{2}$ yearly £7.10s. to my old and worthy servant Thomas Penn, £7.10s. to my servant Hannah Roberts and £5 to Jane Aldridge now the wife of Henry Aldridge of White Waltham and the residue to the education and maintenance of my nephew John Penn unless he shall become intitled to possession of my moiety of the Province of Pennsylvania, when he does, the annuity shall cease and shall go to the Heir Expectant. £6000 to be invested for the use of my other Nephews and Neices, Hannah Penn, Richard Penn, and Philadelphia Hannah Freame, when Hannah Penn is of 21 years or married $\frac{1}{3}$ of said £6000 to be transferred to her, Nephew Richard $\frac{1}{3}$ when he is 21, the other $\frac{1}{3}$ to my niece Philadelphia Hannah Freame, the residue of my English estate to my Brother Thomas Penn. To my nephew John Penn my inheritance and rights in lands in Remembrance in Philadelphia, ile. Manor of Perkassie. Liberty Land, and my High Street Lot which I claim under grant from my late Father or under will of my late grandfather Thomas Callowhill. To my Brother Richard Penn my tenements in the Eastern and Western Division of New Jersey and appoint him executor there in that Province. To my Brother Thomas Penn my half part of the Province of Pennsylvania and of the Three Lower Countys of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex upon Delaware, and the Royal Franchise of Government of the same Province, and of the government of the three lower counties for life and after his decease to my friends, Thomas Hyam and David Barclay of London, merchants in trust to the first son of my said Brother Thomas, in default then to the second, third fourth, and fifth son in Priority of Birth, in default to my Brother Richard Penn, after his decease to my nephew John Penn (eldest son of my said Brother Richard Penn), after his decease

then to the first son and his heirs male, in default to other sons of John in seniority of age and their heirs male in default to Richard Penn, second son of my said Brother Richard, and his heirs male in like manner as above to other sons of my Brother Richard, in default to heirs of my nephew John, in default to heirs of my nephew Richard, in default to heirs of other sons of my Brother Richard, and in default to my niece Hannah Penn, at present the only daughter of my Brother Richard Penn, and her sons in manner as above, in default to heirs of my Brother Richard Penn, in default to my sister Margaret Freame and her sons in order as above, in default to my niece Philadelphia Hannah Freame and her sons in like manner as above, in default to heirs of my sister Margaret Freame, and in default to my nephew (of the half Blood) William Penn of Coke in the Kingdom of Ireland for life then to Springett Penn present eldest son of said William Penn, failing him then to the heirs of said Springett and in default to Christiana Gulielma Penn (the only present daughter of the said William Penn) and her sons in succession as above, failing, to the heirs of said William Penn, in default to my grand nephew (of the half blood) Robert Edward Fell only son now living of Gulielma Maria Fell deceased for life and then to his sons and their heirs as above, failing them to my grandniece Mary Margareta Fell (eldest daughter now living of the said Gulielma Maria Fell, deceased) and her sons as above, in default to heirs of my said grandniece, in default to my grandniece Gulielma Maria Frances Fell (only other daughter now living of said Gulielma Maria Fell deceased) for life and then to her sons in manner as above, in default to my own right heirs. To my Brother Thomas all my Fines and Purchase money in Pennsylvania, and make him executor for that Province, and the three Lower Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware. Witnesses: John Cornell, Ferd John Paris, Robt Gwynn. Proved by William Vigor, Joseph Freame (who affirmed) and Lascelles Metcalfe for England.

CHARLES WILLING of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Merchant. Will 28 July 1750; proved 15 January 1756. To my father Thomas Willing of Bristol, Merchant £50 per annum for life. To my eldest Son Thomas my house in Third Street where I now live. To my son Charles the lot I lately bought of Joshua Cart in Front Street, Thomas to have the use of it till Charles is 21 paying to him £35 per annum during his minority. To my son Richard my house in Second Street where Captain Charles Stedman now lives. To my daughter Ann, the northermost moiety of the Lot on Fourth Street. To my daughter Dorothy the Southermost Moiety. To my son Richard my right to 500 acres in Pennsylvania bought of the heirs of Christopher Forward. To Son Thomas, my son Charles, my daughters Ann and Dorothy, my Lot in Third Street late the estate of Thomas Story deceased, bounded on the south by a piece of Margaret Jekylls lands. To Daughters Mary and Elizabeth, Son Richard and Daughter Abigail land in Fourth Street late property of Thomas Story deceased. To my wife my negro wench Cloe. To my daughter Dorothy my negro girl Venus. My negro man John to my son Thomas. Negro Boy Litchfield to my son Charles. To my son Thomas furniture in back parlour in house in Third Street and one dozen of Silver haft Case knives and forks, 12 spoons, 4 silver Candlesticks. Residue to my wife and daughters Anne and Dorothy. Son Thomas my chesnut coloured Horse Bridle and Sadle, my gold watch and all my Books. Son Charles my silver watch when 16. To Son Thomas £2000 sterling. Son Charles £3000. Pennsylvania Currency when 21. To Son Richard £2500 Pennsylvania Currency when 21. To my daughters Ann and Dorothy £1500 each of Pennsylvania Currency when 21 or days of marriage. To my daughter Mary £1200 Pennsylvania Currency when 21. To my daughters Elizabeth and Abigail £1200 Pennsylvania Currency when 21 or days of marriage. My Son Thomas is not to be charged with any bonds he owes me on the books I also give him the land I lately bought of James

Humphrie on the best side of Schuylkill. To my wife the interest of £2600 Pennsylvania Currency for life. To my Brother Thomas Willing now or late of London, Merchant, and to my sister Dorothy Hand and Ann Willing 3 English guineas each. Residue among my sons Thomas, Charles, Richard, my daughters Ann, Dorothy, Mary, Elizabeth and Abigail. Executors: Wife Ann and Son Thomas. Witnesses D. Martin, Thos. Hopkinson, Jno Price.

Glazier 23.

HENRY BOUQUET, Brigadier General of His Majesties Forces serving in North America. Will 25 June 1765; proved 16 November 1766. To the use of the Hospital in Philadelphia £40 of that Currency. To my friend Thomas Willing Esquire 5 tracts of land of 200 acres each in Trough Creek Valley including one to be given by George Croghan Esq in the hands of Mr. Robert Callender living near Carlisle in Cumberland County. To John Schneider the boy who is bound to me £50 currency when he is of age. My debts consisting of £1000 to Mr. G. Huneman Solicitor of the Swiss Troops at Hague in Holland in my note of hand and accompt current with Mr. Adam Hoeps. A bond upon mortgage to Mr. Roberts £1000. To my father if living or after him to Colonel Lewis Bouquet all my property in Europe. To my heir and executor my friend Colonel Frederic Haldiman all my property in North America consisting of Long Meadow Farm in Frederic County Maryland, the deeds are now in Mr. Robert's hands, my share of the Shepody lands, my baggage, and slaves etc and my share of the Carolina Plantation. Will made in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Witnesses: Benjamin Chew, John Turner, Thomas Turner. Proved at London by the executor.

Tyndall 398.

MICHAEL CALLANAN of City of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania, Gentleman. Will 22 October 1804; proved 23 October 1807. All goods whatsoever as well as any

estate from the will of my Brother Thomas Callanan, late of London, deceased to my wife Sarah Ann Callanan and my three dear children, Thomas, Elizabeth, and George Callanan. My estate to be sold and the proceeds invested in some fund or funds in the United States of America by my executors until my son Thomas shall be 21, he shall then be entitled to receive his share. Elizabeth to have her share when she is 18. Executors: Benjamin Wilson of Philadelphia, Merchant, and Doctor Thomas Parke of the same city. Witnesses: James Cameron, James Potter, Thomas Barlow. Philadelphia 5 May 1807 before J. Wampole, deputy Registrar, James Cameron and James Potter swear to their signature. Administration to Robert Barclay, attorney of Benjamin Wilson and Thomas Park, the executors of will of Michael Callanan, late of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania.

Lushington, 796.

ENGRAVINGS BY DAVID EDWIN.

(Hitherto undescribed.)

BY MANTLE FIELDING.

Several exceedingly rare engravings by the early American engraver David Edwin have recently come under my notice. The collector of American engravings is naturally surprised that such an important print as the portrait of Thomas Pinckney after Trumbull should not have been found before. Some years ago a Philadelphia artist in the course of his rambles in the South reported having seen such an engraving framed and hanging in the parlor of an old colonial mansion in Charleston, South Carolina. As years went by and no trace of the print was ever found it was thought to have been a mistake, until a copy appeared recently in an old scrap book in Philadelphia.

THOMAS PINCKNEY

Half length, in uniform, to left. (Under)

D. Edwin Sc./ Thomas Pinckney Esq. r/

Former Ambassador of United States, to the Court of G. Britain./

H. 11.4/16 W. 9.2/16 Rectangle.

Another much belated discovery is the original engraved copper plate of a very rare Edwin portrait of Washington (Baker 391, Hart 273). For years only an unlettered impression on satin was known. About a year ago one came into my hands printed on paper with the engravers name only, the title being cut off; this specimen I believe was unique, and it was afterwards purchased by the late Henry Whelen, of Philadelphia. In a sale of old copper plates

recently the original plate of Edwin's portrait of Washington (Baker 208, Hart 359) turned up with the remains of a defaced engraving on the back of it. This had the inscription complete and with a glass the general detail of the portrait could be distinguished, so the record of the print is now fully noted. The date of publication is February 12, 1798, and as the general drawing is bad and much below Edwin's usual work, and his other plate (Baker 208, Hart 359) being published on May 1, 1798, the extreme rarity of the first engraving is readily explained.

WASHINGTON, GEORGE
(William Birch Type)

Full bust, to left. Oval with border line 2/16''.

T. B. Freeman Excudit—D. Edwin Sculpt/ George Washington Esquire/ Philadelphia Published by T. B. Freeman Feb^r 12th 1798/ (Baker 391. Hart 273)

Height 7.6/16

Width 4.9/16

The portrait of the Rev. William Staughton is only known by one example, but as he was a Philadelphia divine, and was painted by Peale when a pastor of the Baptist Church in Sansom Street, it is likely that other copies may be hidden away in our old Philadelphia garrets. It is an unusual portrait with the right hand raised in preaching, and would be readily recognized.

STAUGHTON, REV^D WILLIAM

Half length, preaching with right hand raised. (Under)
Painted by Ja^s Peale. Published by John Dainty Philad^a.
Engraved by D. Edwin & W. R. Jones./ Rev^d William
Staughton, D. D./

Pastor of the Baptist Church in Sansom Street Philadelphia./

Born in England. January the 4th 1770 and died at

Washington Dec^r the 12th 1829./ Blessed are the Dead,
who die in the Lord! Rev. Chap XIV Ver. 13.

Height 14 13/16

Width 12''

MILTON

Milton Dictating Paridise Lost.

In decorated oval, laurel leaves at side.

(Under) Barralet Del^t Edwin Sc^t

Height 4.3/16

Width 4.4/16

PIUS VII. IN HIS CAPTIVITY

Half length in profile to right, hands clasped in prayer
before crucifix. In broad oval frame to represent brick work.

(Under)—1811/ Pius VII. In His Captivity./

6 lines. Edwin sc. Philad.

Height 4.

Width 3.8/16

The portraits of Pius VII and "Milton Dictating Paradise
Lost" are extremely rare and only known to collectors by
the copies in the Edwin collection of the late Charles Roberts.

Another late find is the portrait of Andrew Jackson. It
is astonishing that this engraved portrait of so prominent
and popular a hero should be known by only one example.

JACKSON, ANDREW

Full bust, in uniform to right, (Under)

Peale prinxt—D. Edwin sc./ "Honour & Gratitude, to
the man, who has filled the measure of his Country's Glory!"/
Jackson./

— the States whole Thunder born to weild./ And shakes
alike the Senate and the Field./ Phila^a./ Published for a
Grateful People/

Rectangle

Height 5''

Width 4''

It is of interest to many old Philadelphians to know that
the society for the "Relief of poor and distressed Masters

of Ships, their Widows and Children," incorporated in 1770, still uses the membership blank engraved for them a hundred years ago by David Edwin. In 1788 Stephen Girard became a member and the society also had as members Stephen Decatur, Richard Dale, and John Barry, and many other names well known to our naval and marine history are found among its membership lists. Some years ago the original copper plate certificate of membership was altered very materially as a form for honorary membership. The society, having a number of the original impressions struck off for use, afterwards destroyed the copper plate. These certificates are all extremely scarce, and the first state is No. 255 in my catalogue of Edwin's work.

SOME ACCOUNT OF JAMES HUTTON'S VISIT
TO FRANKLIN, IN FRANCE, IN
DECEMBER OF 1777.

James Hutton was born in London, England, September 14, 1715. His father, the Rev. John Hutton, was an eminent non-juring clergyman, and his mother, Elizabeth Ayscough, a cousin of Sir Isaac Newton. For many years he was a bookseller, his shop at the Bible and Star, near Temple Bar, being the resort of many of the prominent legal, literary, and political characters of the day. After being interested in the religious movements of the Wesleys and Whitefield, he finally united with the Moravian congregation in London, and died May 3, 1795, surviving his friend Franklin five years. Hutton became known to Franklin through the publications of the journals and sermons of Whitefield, in which both were engaged, but their personal intimacy dates from the year 1757, when Franklin, as the agent of Pennsylvania, took up his residence in London. During his subsequent sojourns in England the two booksellers frequently met in social intercourse, and their mutual esteem and friendship increased and only ceased with the death of the American.

In 1777 the English Ministry began to realize the gravity of the task they had undertaken in America, peace commissioners were sent to treat with Congress, and secret ministerial agents were also sent to Franklin in France, to try to draw from him some basis of peace, short of recognizing the independence of the United States, and failing in that, his consent to negotiate separately from France.

Among those who visited Franklin, James Hutton is supposed to have been the confidential agent of the king, for his close relations with both the king and queen, his well-known sentiments as "a peace wisher and promoter," and

his long and intimate friendship with Franklin, would lead to so important a mission.

A correspondent in the *St. James Chronicle* states :

“Politicians inform us that a new favorite has largely engrossed the king’s attention—it is no less a person than the deaf Moravian, James Hutton. Whether his Majesty intends to raise Moravian regiments by Hutton’s means among the faithful, to propagate the ministerial doctrine of unconditional submission in America, I know not, but this I am sure of, that a conversation between the king and Hutton must be exceedingly entertaining. Hutton is so deaf that a speaking trumpet will scarce make him hear, and the king talks so fast that an ordinary converser cannot possibly keep pace with him. After all, Hutton is an honest, humane and sensible man, and worthy a king’s regard.”

Hutton left England for Paris the day after Christmas, 1777, to visit Franklin, and five days later was the guest of Ferdinand Grand, Franklin’s banker, and a brother of Sir George Grand.

The following extracts from a letter of Sir George Grand to Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, informs him of the arrival of Hutton and the object of his visit :

MR. GEORGE GRAND TO COMTE DE VERGENNES.

Jan’y. 1, 1778.

“..... Mr. Hutton, the Moravian, aged seventy years, who left England on Friday, arrived yesterday afternoon at my brother’s, where he made use of my name, I having known him well in Switzerland eighteen years ago. He told us that he came on purpose to see his old and intimate friend, Dr. Franklin, who called there during the evening. Their interview was both cordial and affectionate, and their conversation very animated for two hours. This man sees the King and Queen a good deal, by whom he is esteemed, as he is by all who know him, in consequence of his recognized virtues and probity. If he is a fresh emissary, I regard him as more dangerous than any other, because of his merits, of the confidence which he inspires, and of his old ties. He told me plainly during the conversation, that he had had a tête-a-tête conference of an hour with the King; that

that Prince, whom he adores, breathed nothing but peace; that he had given a proof thereof by putting an end to the last war as soon as he could, and that, in order to finish this one, he was disposed to grant to the Americans everything they might ask, except the word *independence*. He added to me that, if the House of Bourbon had sacrificed twenty millions sterling to cause English heads to be broken by Englishmen, the Ministry could not have served it better; that it was time to put an end to this butchery, and to prevent the total ruin of the two people.

“I shall follow, in concert with Mr. Deane, who shares my doubts, the doings of this honest man, in order to report them to you; meanwhile I am very easy as to the probity and fidelity of the Doctor, whom I hope he will not make a proselyte”

The Duke de Chaumont also informed Vergennes of the arrival of Hutton, refers to some of his movements, and that the object of his visit to Franklin is well understood.

DUKE DE CHAUMONT TO COMTE DE VERGENNES.

Jan'y 1, 1778.

“ . . . Mr. Hutton, a Moravian chief of superior ability and unquestionable probity, much liked by the King of England and his ministers, came to Paris yesterday to confer with his old and intimate friend Dr. Franklin. At the first interview they spoke of pacification, and appointed next Saturday to meet again. The loyal Mr. Franklin would not perhaps compromise his friend with the English Court, and will perhaps keep silence as to his mission, but I think I can assure M. le Comte de Vergennes that there is nothing to fear from Mr. Franklin so long as he believes that his country cannot be enslaved.”

DE CHAUMONT TO DE VERGENNES.

Jan'y 5, 1778.

“ . . . The Moravian passed the whole of Saturday here, and left yesterday morning: he has reviewed the proverb

that it is useless to preach to him who will not value it. On leaving me he said that if Washington could be beaten, our people would be more tractable. . . .

"I shall see my Moravian again. On leaving he must have gone to M. de Follerton [Fullerton]. His introductions are to M. Turgot, to M. Dupont, formerly his secretary, and M. L'Abbe Beaudeau. He has also an introduction to Madame Nece. He told me that he had asked permission of the King of England to come recommended to Mr. Franklin's humanity towards the Moravian Brothers who are in America, that neither the king nor the ministers had answered him and that he had left: that he had been advised to get into my good graces; consequently I have recommended him to the kindness of the deputies. Mr. Franklin said to him: you have only left us the option of preaching by you or with you, we have chosen the latter alternative."

Under date of January 10, 1778, de Chaumont drew up the following document, in which he gives the details of an interview he had with Hutton.

"JOURNÉE COMPLETE AVEC LE MORAVE.

"The chief of the Moravian Brethren has made it his business to pump me today, and I see that his object was to find out whether there was a treaty signed by the Deputies of Congress. He said to me: In the preceding war, Washington signed articles with the French, the force of the terms of which he did not understand, and which were dishonourable for him. You ought, addressed he to me, to advise your friends, if they have nobody amongst them who understands French well, to defer to you or else they will be deceived. I replied to this pious speech that, I saw more objections to admitting a third person into important secrets, than to relying on the sense which appears to us the true one, especially in treating with people of recognised good faith, but that I saw no reason to suspect a treaty when there was no offence; that on this hand England appeared to me to be the party most concerned. Yes, replied he, but

do you wish to cause the King and his Ministers to be de-
voured by the Nation if they accept the Independence.

“It would only be as long as the house of Bourbon joined with us to recognize in a treaty of alliance against all the other powers, and that is what I have insinuated lately, because if the English Nation kicked against recognized Independence of America they would be restrained by the fear of the horrors of a civil war, in which the King’s party would be sustained by the Bourbons, and he added to me, that if it were now to the interest of England to ally herself in perpetuity with the House of Bourbon it was no less to the interest of that House to accede thereto in good faith, in order to hold its own to all time against those empires of Northern Europe, whose ambition was increasing in the same ratio as the formidable armies which they kept in the best discipline.

“I appeared very pleased with the grandure of his plan, and I await the sequel thereof, for the good Moravian no longer intends to leave here, in order to be in London before the 20th of this month.

“With regard to the private insinuations, they are not, however, dishonourable. He asked me some questions as to the losses which I might have experienced in the preceding wars, and as to the profits I might expect from this one. I replied, that I thought no money worse earned than that got by privateering, unless it was that taken from a Nation before declaring war against it: that in this respect I had great reprisals to make, but as I still felt myself to be of sufficiently robust constitution to rear my children, I would leave it to them to calculate what I would have done, if I had not been unnerved by that atrocity, and also the care of taking revenge, as they should think fit. . . .

“But I see that my Moravian is most sensible in appearing to be borne down by the weight of circumstances; his friends would have time to rally and cause the intolerance of our religion to foment as well as the inveterate antipathies of the English and French by inoculating the Americans

with them; they would not forget the means of exciting the jealousy of the Spaniards and the Moravians would end by abandoning the good Catholics, and allying themselves afterwards with the immense powers of the North."

Hutton finding that the object of his principal mission to Franklin could not be attained, except by conceding the independence of the United States, set out on his return for England on January 25th, and on his arrival wrote to his friend.

HUTTON TO FRANKLIN.

"LONDON, January 27, 1778.

" . . . I got to my own house in seventy three hours from Paris. I shall never forget your kindness to me and your kind intention to serve my Brethren. The sensation I had of the certain miseries of war, that would attend all parties embarked in it, caused my heart almost to break. I always thought it a sad misfortune that there was such a thing as war upon earth.

" When I left England I fancied that you and Mr. Deane could treat about peace. I wished it ardently; but having no commission, nor anything to offer, I was sorry to hear nothing of your side that I could mention as ground to treat upon, to such as I fancied could give it weight. I was a loving volunteer, loving both people with common ardour; a friend of peace; a hater of discord, with horror at all bloodshed, wishing you secure in your liberties, and guarded forever against all apprehensions. I did before I set out, and I do now still at this moment, and I think on better grounds, believe that anything short of absolute independency would almost be practicable, and could take place. There is such a spirit and temper now in the nation, that I cannot think Independency could be successfully proposed. If you and Mr. Deane could give me a hint of anything practicable, you considering not only your own case but ours, I would venture to try what could be done.

" I know your hand writing as well as I do your heart. Direct your answer to me Queen's Row, Pimlico, Westmin-

ister, under the cover to M. Count de Gebelin, Rue Pompei, Paris, who will put a cover over it and my friend Mr. Fullerton will without examination forward it to me in the packet of Mr. Stormont. . . ”

FRANKLIN TO HUTTON.

PASSY, 1st February, 1778.

“ MY DEAR OLD FRIEND.

“ You desired, that if I had no proposition to make, I would at least give my advice. I think it is Ariosto who says, that all things lost on earth are to be found in the moon; on which somebody remarked, that there must be a great deal of good advice in the moon. If so, there is a good deal of mine, formerly given and lost in this business. I will, however, at your request, give a little more, but without the least expectation that it will be followed; for none but God can at the same time give good counsel and wisdom to make use of it.

“ You have lost by this mad war, and the barbarity with which it has been carried on, not only the Government and commerce of America, and the public revenues and private wealth arising from that commerce; but what is more, you have lost the esteem, respect, friendship and affection of all that great and growing people, who consider you at present, and whose posterity will consider you, as the worst and wickedest nation upon earth. A peace you may undoubtedly obtain by dropping all your pretensions to govern us; and to your superior skill in huckstering negotiations, you may possibly make such an apparently advantageous bargain, as shall be applauded in your Parliament; but if you cannot, with the peace, recover the affections of that people, it will not be a lasting nor a profitable one, nor will it afford you any part of that strength which you once had by your union with them, and might (if you had been wise enough to take advice) have still retained.

“ To recover their respect and affection, you must tread back the steps you have taken. Instead of honouring and

rewarding the American advisers and promoters of this war, you should disgrace them; with all those who have influenced the nation against America by their malicious writings; and all the ministers and generals who have prosecuted the war with such inhumanity. This would shew a national change of disposition, and a disapprobation of what had passed.

“ In proposing terms, you should not only grant such as the necessity of your affairs may evidently oblige you to grant, but such additional ones as may shew your generosity, and thereby demonstrate your good will. For instance, perhaps you might by your treaty, retain all Canada, Nova Scotia, and the Floridas. But if you would have a really friendly, as well as able ally in America, and avoid all occasion of future discord, which will otherwise be continually arising on your American frontiers, you should throw in those countries. And you may call it, if you please, an indemnification for the burning of their towns, which indemnification will, otherwise, be some time or other demanded.

“ I know your people will not see the utility of such measures, and will never follow them, and even call it insolence and impudence in me to mention them. I have, however, complied with your desire, and am, as ever,

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ B. FRANKLIN.”

About ten days later Franklin again wrote to his old friend as follows:

FRANKLIN TO HUTTON.

“ PASSY, February 12, 1778.

“ DEAR OLD FRIEND :

“ I wrote the above some time before I received yours, acquainting me of your speedy and safe Return, which gave me Pleasure. I doubted after I had written it, whether it would be well to send it. For as your proud Nation despises us exceedingly and depends and expects absolute and hum-

ble Submission, all Talk of Treaty must seem Impudence, and tend to provoke rather than conciliate. As you still press me by your last to say something, I concluded to send what I have written, for I think the advice is good, tho' it must be useless; and I cannot, as some amongst you desire, make Propositions, having none committed to me to make; but we can treat, if any are made to us, which, however we do not expect. I abominate with you all Murder, and I may add the Slaughter of men in an unjust cause is nothing less than Murder; I therefore, never think of your present Ministers and Abettors, but with the Image, strongly painted in my View of their Hands red, wet, and dripping with the Blood of my Countrymen, Friends and Relations. No peace can be signed by those hands. Peace and Friendship, will, Nevertheless subsist forever between Mr. Hutton and his affectionate
B. F."

In the postscript of a letter to David Hartley, Franklin refers to the recent mission of Hutton. Hartley was a member of Parliament, an intimate friend of Franklin, and always deplored the folly and madness of the American war. His relations with Lord Rockingham caused him to be selected to act as plenipotentiary in Paris, where he assisted to draw up the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States.

FRANKLIN TO DAVID HARTLEY, M. P.

"Febry 12, 1778.

"P. S. An old Friend of mine, Mr. Hutton, a Chief of the Moravians, who is often at the Queen's Palace, and is sometimes spoken to by the King, was over here lately. He pretended to no Commission, but urged me much to propose some terms of Peace, which I avoided. He has wrote to me since his return, pressing the same thing, and expressed with some Confidence, that we might have every thing short of absolute Independence, etc. Inclosed I send my answers,

that you may read them, and, if you please, copy before you deliver, or forward them. They will serve to show you more fully my Sentiments, tho they serve no other purpose.

“B. F.”

After the treaty of alliance between France and the United States had been concluded, and Franklin and his associate Commissioners had, on March 20th, been received at Court as the representatives of the United States, the following letter was written:

FRANKLIN TO HUTTON.

“PASSY, 24th March, 1778.

“My dear old friend was in the right not to call in question the sincerity of my words, when I say, February the 12th, *we can treat, if any propositions are made to us!* They were true then, and are so still, if Britain has not declared war with France; for in that case we shall undoubtedly think ourselves obliged to continue the war as long as she does. But methinks you should have taken us at our word, and have sent immediately your propositions in order to prevent such a war, if you did not choose it. Still I conceive it would be well to do it, if you have not already begun the war. Assure yourself, nobody more sincerely wishes perpetual peace among men than I do; but there is a prior wish, that they would be equitable and just, otherwise such peace is not possible, and indeed wicked men have no right to expect it.

“Adieu. I am ever yours,

“Most affectionately,

“B. FRANKLIN.”

PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES, ISSUED BY
GOVERNOR JAMES HAMILTON, 1750-1752.

BY HELEN JORDAN.

(Continued from Page 87.)

- Hart, Neal, and Mary Kale, 1750, October 3.
Hart, William, and Ann McCreary, 1749, July.
Hartin, Eedy, and Jeremiah Claud, 1750, May.
Hartley, Ann, and Wm. Heuehman, 1752, June 3.
Hartley, Hannah, and Robert Blake, 1749, April.
Harvey, Benjamin, and Margaret Lawdirmæ, 1751, April 13.
Harvey, Priscilla, and James Murphy, 1751, August 13.
Haugh, Michael, and Eve Stegarin, 1749, April.
Havelfinger Katharine, and John Rees, 1752, May 9.
Hawkins, Phobe, and Howell Morgan, 1750, September.
Hawkins, Rachel, and Edward Turner, 1751, August 17.
Hawks, William, and Margaret Pollard, 1751, August 23,
Hayes, Elizabeth, and Thomas Welsh, 1750, September.
Hayes, Nicholas, and Alice Hunter, 1751, November 18.
Hayes, William, and Ann Clark, 1751, February 13.
Hazard, Elizabeth, and Theophilus Wiley, 1752, June 26.
Head, Olive, and Rees Davis, 1751, October 19.
Head, Samuel, and Mary Woeneldorfe, 1848, November.
Heath, Susannah, and William Colgan, 1749, January.
Heling, Eve, and Daniel Delbick, 1751, November 7.
Hellings, Sarah, and Samuel Testin, 1751, November 29.
Helmer, Mary, and George Masters, 1752, July 4.
Helves, Andrew, and Alice Wilkins, 1752, January 11.
Hemphill, James, and Elizabeth Wells, 1750, December.
Hendrickson, Magdalen, and Charles Grantham, 1749,
August.
Heuehman, Wm., and Ann Hartley, 1752, June 3.
Henry, Margt., and Hugh McMelon, 1751, September 28.
Henry, Margaret, and John Miller, 1752, March 18.

- Henry, Martha, and James Adams, 1749, June 7.
Henry, William, and Elizabeth Fox, 1750, October 13.
Herbert, Thomas, and Sarah Cartmell, 1750, September.
Heron, Mary, and Humphrey Mersden, 1751, November 8.
Hervey, Esther, and George Cliff, 1751, April 23.
Hewlings, Lawrence, and Abigail Wallace, 1749, August.
Hibbs, Hannah, and James Coopes, 1750, September.
Hicks, Mary, and John Searle, 1748, February 16.
Hiddings, Henry, and Mary Wym, 1752, March 23.
Hillborn, Mary, and Isaac Buckman, 1751, November 18.
Hillman, John, and Rachel Test, 1750, June.
Hodgson, Peter, and Elizabeth Harding, 1749, March.
Hoffing, Anna Katherina, and Jos. Groff, 1748, March 21.
Hoffman, Rebecca, and Thomas Pedrick, 1751, November 16.
Holgas, Mary, and William Whittenham, 1751, February 9.
Holland, Samuel, and Elizabeth Scull, 1749, December.
Holliday, Henry, and Elizabeth Rue, 1751, January 15.
Holliday, Juliana, and Placius Daniel McCauel, 1751,
November 4.
Holling, Michael, and Dorothy Grasshold, 1749, August.
Hollingsworth, Jacob, and Susannah Justice, 1749, March.
Holloway, Hannah, and James Waring, 1749, January.
Holloway, Margaret, and Peter Morstris, 1751, October.
Hollowback, Matthias, and Elizabeth Yodern, 1750,
October 2.
Hollwell, Sarah, and Abraham Gardiner, 1749, March.
Hollyday, Elizabeth, and John Sitch, 1751, December 19.
Holmes, Susannah, and George Eckles, 1750, October 6.
Holt, Rebecca, and Joseph Walton, 1752, January 14.
Hood, John, and Elizabeth Silus, 1749, December.
Hood, Jonathan, and Mary Hood, 1748, December.
Hood, Mary, and Jonathan Hood, 1748, December.
Horner, Hannah, and Richard Fannimore, 1749, July.
Horton, Christiana, and Israel Cox, 1751, April 6.
Hossay, Joseph, and Hannah Eastburne, 1752, July 17.
Hough, Mary, and Anthony Burton, 1752, February 12.
House, Margaret, and Samuel Bonsell, 1748, December.

- House, Mary, and Morris Morgan, 1749, December.
How, Mary, and Jacob Stadler, 1751, August 6.
Howard, Hannah, and John Gardner, 1751, August 13.
Howard, Rebecca, and John Lewillin, 1751, March 20.
Howell, Isaac, and Mary Baker, 1751, April 17.
Howell, Sarah, and Thomas Rowland, 1750, October 31.
Hudson, Deborah, and Jesse Price, 1748, December.
Huff, Martha, and William Evans, 1751, September 11.
Huffty, David, and Dorothy Willard, 1751, April 16.
Hufty, Phoebe, and Abraham Vandegrift, 1749, August.
Hughes, Edward, and Elizabeth Williams, 1749, September.
Hughes, Isaac, and Lydia Weldon, 1748, December.
Hughes, Robert, and Abigail McGee, 1751, November 1.
Hughes, Samuel, and Elizabeth Raine, 1751, April 17.
Hultenstein, Jacob, and Maria Sevan, 1749, April.
Hulton, James, and Mary Weeks, 1749, April 20.
Humphries, Charles, and Marg^t. Parry, 1749, August.
Humphries, Leonard, and Mary Asprell, 1752, May 4.
Humphries, Richard, and Dinah Wheat, 1749, April.
Humsted, Catharine, and John Ayres, 1750, July.
Hunloke, Bowman, and Deborah Croker, 1751, November 26.
Hunter, Alice, and Nicholas Hayes, 1751, November 18.
Hunter, James, and Mary Cole, 1751, November 12.
Huston, Wm., and Mary McDowell, 1749, September.
Hutchinson, Martha, and Joseph Brown, 1751, May 11.
Huysler, John Peter, and Annie Writtenhausen, 1749, June 12.
Iddings, Elizabeth, and James Lewis, 1752, March 23.
Ingels, Joseph, and Mary James, 1749, April.
Ingle, Sarah, and Charles Bensall, 1748, January 18.
Ihnis, William, and Hannah Koppock, 1752, March 7.
Ireson, William, and Elizabeth Stewart, 1749, July.
Irwin, Margaret, and Isaiah King, 1749, October 25.
Isburg, Peter, and Hannah Over, 1750, August.
Jackson, William, and Abigail Styles, 1752, March 11.
Jago, Henry, and Mary Bain, 1748, February 25.

- James, Elizabeth, and Benjamin Butler, 1748, February 2.
 James, Mary, and Joseph Ingels, 1749, April,
 James, Mary, and Thomas Treviller, 1749, April.
 Jarret, Jane, and Mathias Nethermark, 1751, June 14.
 Jennings, Rebecca, and Richard Price, 1751, October 7.
 Jenkins, Charles, and Elizabeth Quantrall, 1752, June 13.
 Jenkins, Jenkin, and Elizabeth Thomas, 1748, December.
 Jenkins, Mary, and Lewis Gordon, 1749, January.
 Jenkins, Susanna, and Jonathan Davis, 1748, March 4.
 Jerrard, Richard, and Mary Bane, 1751, May 18.
 Jessop, Abraham, and Alice Pedrix or Pederick, 1749,
 August.
 John, David, and Catharine Roberts, 1752, March 12.
 Johnson, Elizabeth, and James Whitton, 1751, January 3.
 Johnson, Isabella, and Philip Stevens, 1749, September.
 Johnson, John, and Mary Wills, 1752, April 11.
 Johnson, Joshua, and Ann Panyard, 1750, September.
 Johnson, Mary, and Joseph Coleman, 1752, April 2.
 Johnson, Mary, and Joseph Steward, 1749, March.
 Johnson, Milby, and Teny Simson, 1749, October.
 Johnson, Sarah, and William Price, 1749, March.
 Johnston, Robert, and Elizabeth Mitchell, 1750, October 11.
 Jolly, Charles, and Catherine Mayberry, 1752, January 8.
 Jones, Daniel, and Mary Smith, 1751, November 19.
 Jones, Derrich, and Jane Muckleroy, 1752, June 17.
 Jones, Elizabeth, and Thomas Blake, 1749, October.
 Jones, Griffith, and Catharine Prichard, 1749, July.
 Jones, Jane, and John Atkinson, 1751, June 6.
 Jones, John, and Sarah Evans, 1749, December.
 Jones, John, and Mary Morford, 1749, September.
 Jones, John, and Sarah Morris, 1751, January 19.
 Jones, John, and Mary Nettle, 1751, December 4.
 Jones, Margaret, and Isaiah Bell, 1749, August.
 Jones, Mary, and Ellis Davis, 1749, September.
 Jones, Patrick, and Ann Chambers, 1749, January.

(To be Continued.)

“ACCOUNT OF SERVANTS BOUND AND ASSIGNED
BEFORE JAMES HAMILTON, MAYOR OF PHILA-
DELPHIA.”

CONTRIBUTED BY GEORGE W. NEIBLE, CHESTER, PENNA.

(Continued from page 103.)

August 14th.

Peter Conolly indents himself apprentice to Samuel Evans of Phila. mason and bricklayer, for four years and a half from this date, to be taught the trade of bricklayer and mason, and when free to have customary dues, and to the exc. for the said Samuel Evans.

Hugh Diver, in consideration of £14: paid James Carr at his request indents himself servant to Maurice and Edmund Nihil of Phila. brewers for three years wanting four days from this date, customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *John Martin* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George), to William Adiddle of Phila. County yeoman, for four years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £19: customary dues.

August 15th.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *Alexander McCallister*, (a servant from Ireland in the Belinda) to Joseph Nicholls of New Castle county yeoman, for two years from July 3rd. 1746. Consideration £7: customary dues.

George Wakely assigns *Anne Ellis* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Samuel Vanburkilow of Phila. cordwainer, for four years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

George Patterson assigns *Sarah Crafeart* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to James Johnson of Lancaster

county, yeoman, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

August 16th.

Archibald Campbell in consideration of £14: paid Conyng-
ham and Gardner for his passage, indents himself servant
to Jeremiah Vastinie for three years and two months from
this date to be taught to read, and have customary dues.

Blair and Irvine assign *Daniel Brady* (a servant from Ire-
land in the snow Chester) to William Hudson of Phila. for
four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £19:
customary dues.

John Behman son of Nathaniel Behman with consent of
his father who signs his indenture, indents himself appren-
tice to Archibald Thorp of Phila. cordwainer, for fifteen
years and a half from this date, to be taught to read write
and cypher as far as the rule of three, and the trade of a
cordwainer, when free to have customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *John Copley* (a servant from Ire-
land in the snow George) to Alexander Morgan of Gloucester
County yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746.
Consideration £16: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *John Coffee* (a servant from Ire-
land in the snow George) to Thomas Griffith of Chester
county yeoman, for six years from August 2nd. 1746. Con-
sideration £15: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *John McCawley* (a servant from
Ireland in the snow George) to John Tyson of Phila. county
yeoman, for four years from August 2nd. 1746. Considera-
tion £7: 10/ customary dues.

Blair and Irvine assign *Neal O'Neil* (a servant from Ireland
in the snow Chester) to Barak Wright of Germantown, tan-
ner, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration
£16: customary dues.

August 18th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Owen Kerigan* (a servant from
Ireland in the snow George) to Bernard Reiser of Phila.

county yeoman, for six years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

William Harris assigns *Mary Hear* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to David Chambers of Phila. shopkeeper, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

John Heaton indents himself apprentice to David Cane of Phila. joiner, for eighteen months from this date, to be taught the trade of a chairmaker, to have during his apprenticeship two new shirts, one new jacket and pair new shoes, but no freedom dues.

Michael Ark in consideration of £16: paid Nathaniel Ambler for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to John Ristine of Phila. county, tanner, for six years from August 2nd. 1746, to be taught the trade of a tanner and have customary dues.

Thomas Duke in consideration £15: 15/. paid Nathaniel Ambler for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Baltel Roser of Phila. county, tanner for five years from August 2nd 1746, to be taught the trade of a tanner and have customary dues.

James Ray for divers good consideration indents himself apprentice to Conrad Waldegar of Phila. butcher for six years from this date, to be taught the trade of a butcher and have customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Owen Reily* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Silas Parvin of Phila. shallopman, for four years from August 2nd. 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Robert Jones* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Silas Parvin of Phila. shallopman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Dennis Callaghan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Lewis Davis of Chester county yeoman, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £14: 10/ customary dues.

Georgu Wakely assigns *Thomas Riely* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Joseph Williams of Phila. county yeoman for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

August 19th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *John Clark* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Henry Crooks of Bucks County yeoman, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

Anne Betty assigns *Charles McGauren* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Isaac Whitelock of Lancaster, tanner, for four years from August 3rd 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *John Gory* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Thomas Norrington of Phila. baker, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

William Cunningham indents himself servant to Robert Mathews of Phila. brewer for three years from this date, to have given him three pairs of new shoes and two pairs of new stockings during his servitude but no freedom dues. Consideration paying for his passage.

August 20th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Garret Murray* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Richard Pritchard of Chester County, blacksmith, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £18 : 10/ customary dues.

August 21st.

James Cunningham, with consent of his father George Cunningham who was present, indents himself apprentice to ✓ William Greenway of Phila. mariner, for six years from this date, to be taught navigation and the mystery of a sailor, and customary dues.

Anne Garraway by consent of her mother Abigail Frederick who signs her indenture in consideration of £3: paid her mother, indents herself servant to Jacob Cooper of Phila. shopkeeper, for nine years and one month from this date, customary dues.

Alexander Williams late of Antequa indents himself apprentice to John Scull of the Northern Liberties, house carpenter, for four years, three months and a half from this date, to be taught the trade of house carpenter, and have customary dues.

August 22nd.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Hugh Gillan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to James Fullerton of Somerset County in East Jersey, yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £17: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Thomas Caray* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Peter McDowell of Somerset County in East Jersey, yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Martin McVeagh in consideration £8: paid for his use and at his request indents himself servant to Samuel Hastings of Phila. shipwright for one year from this date, to have two new check shirts, and two pair of new shoes, during his servitude, but no freedom dues.

August 23rd.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *James Wood* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to John Cleland of Lancaster County yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

George Wakely assigns *James Boyle* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Ephraim Leech of Phila. county yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Joseph Turner assigns *Thomas Knight*, late servant to ✓ Richard Trappell, to Edward Brooke of Phila. butcher, for five years from January 18th 1744, to be taught the trade of a butcher and have customary dues.

August 25th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Thomas Conolly* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Randall Malin of Chester County yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : 10/ customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Patrick Fitzgerald* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Benjamin Watkin of Phila. county, yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : 10/ customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Arthur Sachevdrall* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Patrick Ogilby of Bucks County yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Thomas Dillon* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Benjamin Gilbert of Bucks County yeoman, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

✓ *John McClean* in consideration £16 : paid for his passage from Ireland indents himself apprentice to Farrel Reiley of Phila. hatter for five years from this date, to be taught the trade or mystery of a hatter and have customary dues.

August 27th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Peter Perkins* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to David Jones of Lancaster County yeoman, for seven years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Cormack Conolly* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to David Jones of Lancaster county yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

Nathan Ambler assigns *Dominick Kelly* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Evan Jones of Lancaster county yeoman, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Gabriel Mitchell in consideration £15: paid George Wakely for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Evan Jones of Lancaster county, yeoman, for five years and eleven months from this date, customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Patrick Charles* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Joseph Kaighin of Gloucester county, gentleman, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

James Goodwin in consideration of £10: 10/ paid Henry Kellso for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Moses Foster of Phila. chaise-maker for five years from this date, to be taught the trade of a harness maker and have customary dues. ✓

August 29th.

John Parrock assigns *Hugh Williams* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Katherine) to Samuel Read of Phila. baker, for seven years from May 29th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Margaret Templeton in consideration £7: paid for her use and at her request by John Frew of Chester county yeoman, indents herself servant to John Frew for two years from this date, to be found in apparel during her servitude, but no freedom dues.

John Slowman Taylor in consideration £20: paid for his use and at his request by Hugh Davids of Phila. cordwainer indents himself servant to Hugh Davids for four years from this date, to have customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Patrick Johnson* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Thomas Moorey of Somerset County in East Jersey, yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Robert Grant* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Thomas Moorey of Somerset County in East Jersey yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

August 30th.

William Anderson in consideration of £16: 5: paid James Moore for his passage from Ireland, indents himself servant to Robert Casky of Bucks County yeoman, for four years from this date to have customary dues.

George Patterson assigns *Sarah Sleans* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Rebecca Leech of Phila. County widow, for four years from August 3rd 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

George Patterson assigns *Anne Canide* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Simon Evans of Phila. house-carpenter, for five years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *James Johnston* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Joseph Morgan of Gloucester County yeoman, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: 18/ customary dues.

John McCowen in consideration £10: 10/ paid James Moore for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to John Wogan of Lancaster county yeoman, for three years from this date, customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Garret Cavenagh* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Francis Battin of Gloucester County, yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Laughlin Dunn* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to James Treviller of Chester county, yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

James Parker assigns *Robert M. Cook* (a servant from Ireland in the ———) to Arthur Nesmith of Chester

county yeoman, for seven years from August 1746. Consideration £12: customary dues.

September 2nd.

Richard Miller assigns *Daniel Welsh* his servant for the remainder of his time four years from May 21st 1746, to Othniel Tomlinson of Salem County yeoman. Consideration £16: customary dues.

William Spense in consideration £9: paid Andrew Beer for his use and at his request indents himself servant to Alexander Gibbony of the borough of Lancaster bricklayer, for one year and nine months from this date no freedom dues.

Daniel McKendry in consideration of £14: paid Robert Blair for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Thomas McMollin of Chester County, weaver, for five years and a half from this date, to be taught the trade of a weaver, and have customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Daniel Dawson* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Robert Eastburn of Phila. blacksmith, for four years from Aug. 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Andrew Hesley in consideration of £14: 10/ paid George O'kill for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to

September 3rd.

Patrick Dougherty in consideration £14: paid Conyngham and Gardner for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to James Todd of Phila. County taylor, for eight years from this date to be taught the trade of a taylor and have customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *George Allen* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to John Smith of Phila. County yeoman, for six-years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

✓ *Thomas Robbs* indents himself apprentice to John Blackwood of Phila. cordwainer, for five years from this date to be taught the trade of a shoemaker and to have customary dues.

John Hall in consideration £1: 10/ paid by Joshua Nicholson of Phila. taylor, assigns *Peter Flood* his apprentice to him the said Joshua for twelve years from February 3rd. 1745.

✓ *Isaac Conrow* with consent of his mother Jane Hedges, widow, indents himself apprentice to Edward Fell of Chester County, weaver, for eight years and eight months from this date to be taught the trade of a weaver to read and write, and to have customary dues.

Robert Blair assigns *Daniel McClode* (a servant from Ireland in the brig^a Sally) to James Allison of Chester county yeoman, for four years from August 24th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

John Doge in consideration £7: 11: 6 paid George O'kill for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Derick Tyson of Phila. county yeoman, for three years and one month from this date, customary dues.

September 4th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Richard Kelly* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to John Granner of Chester county, yeoman, for seven years from August 2^d 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

September 5th.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Michael Hogan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Samuel Richardson of Phila. county yeoman for four years from August 2^d 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *John McCartney* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Bryan Powell of Kent

County in Maryland, gentleman, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Edward Penbrook* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Bryan Powell of Kent County in Maryland, gentleman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £17 : customary dues.

Christopher Parry assigns *William Wright* his servant to William Darvill of Phila. baker, for the remainder of his time three years from May 27th 1746. Consideration £10 : 7 : 6. customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Bryan Dunkin* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Nathaniel Delays of Gloucester County, yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

September 6th.

Nathan Ambler assigns *John Johnson* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to John Scoggin of Phila. bricklayer for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

Elizabeth Lynn with the consent of her mother Bridget Lynn who signs her indenture, indents herself apprentice to Patrick Oneal of Phila. chair maker for seventeen years and nine months from June 6th 1746 ; customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Patrick Harkill* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to John Benson of Chester County yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : 10/ customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Neal McCawley* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to George Walker of Chester county, yeoman, for five years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15 : 10/ customary dues.

John Morn in consideration of being taught the art or mystery of a ropemaker, indents himself apprentice ✓
to Henry Williamson of Phila. county, ropemaker, for seven years from August 2nd 1746 ; to have customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *James Brow* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *George*) to Thomas Attinors (?) of Gloucester county, yeoman, for four years from August 2^d 1746. Consideration £19: customary dues.

Thomas Walker assigns *Peter Colwell* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *Chester*) to William Wallace of Phila. taylor, for four years from August 3rd. 1746. Consideration £17: customary dues.

✓ *Edward Bridy* indents himself apprentice to Thomas Walker William Blair and Caleb Cowpland owners of the snow *Chester*, to serve on board said snow as a cooper, four years from this date to be taught navigation and have customary dues.

George Okill assigns *Robert McCree* (a servant from Ireland in the ship *Griffin*) to Renier Tyson of Phila. county, yeoman, for four years from August 25th 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

Elizabeth Kerr assigns *Janet McClane* her servant for the remainder of her time to Conrad Waldegar of Phila. butcher, for six years from September 20th 1745. Consideration £6: customary dues.

Robert Cochran assigns *Hugh Quin* (a servant from Ireland in the ship *Griffith*) to Thomas McKane of Chester County, innholder, for four years from August 25th 1746. Consideration £14: 10/ customary dues.

Sarah White in consideration of £12: paid for her passage from Ireland indents herself servant to James Shannon of Phila. county yeoman, for six years from this date, customary dues.

William Wright in consideration of £10: 10/ paid for his use and at his request indents himself servant to Anthony Nicholas of Phila. blacksmith for four years from this date, to have customary dues.

John Irvine assigns *Thomas Waddal* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *Chester*) to John Fullerton of Phila. taylor, for four years from August 3rd 1746. Consideration £19: customary dues.

September 8th.

John Scoggin assigns *Timothy Castleton* his servant to James Stevens of Phila. baker, for the remainder of his time four years from Sept 22nd 1745. Consideration £12: customary dues.

Mary Givings by consent and approbation of her mother Mary Givings (?) indents herself apprentice to John Justis of Northern Liberties yeoman, for three years and ten months from this date, to be taught to read the Bible and have customary dues. ✓

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

VALUES OF THE PAPER CURRENCY OF PENNSYLVANIA WITH THE COINAGE OF THE UNITED STATES.—In examining the contents of an old leather wallet, there was found in one of the compartments, a manuscript list of the values of Pennsylvania currency with that of the coinage of the United States, current at the time it was prepared, approximately over a century ago.

“Seven shillings & six pence is one Dollar.

“3 Shillings & nine pence, half a dollar.

“3 Quarters of a dollar or 75 cents, is five shillings & seven pence half penny.

“A Quarter of a Dollar is 25 Cents, or it is one shilling & ten pence half penny.

“Eighteen pence or which is the same 20 Cents is one shilling & six pence.

“Three eleven penny p^s is 2 shillings & 9 pence half penny or 37½ cents.

“One Dollar is	£	0. 7.6
2 “ “		0.15.
3 “ “		1. [torn]
4 “ “		1.10.
5 “ “		1.17.6
6 “ “		2. 5.0
7 “ “		2.12.6
8 “ “		3. 0.0
9 “ “		3. 7.6
10 “ “		3.15.0
11 “ “		4. 2.6
12 “ “		4.10.0
13 “ “		4.17.6
14 “ “		5. 5.0
20 “ “		7.10.0
30 “ “		11. 5.0
40 “ “		15. 0.0
50 “ “		18.15.0
60 “ “		22.10.0
70 “ “		26. 5.0
80 “ “		30. 0.0
90 “ “		33.10.0
100 “ “		37.10.0
200 “ “		75. 0.0
300 “ “		112.10.0
400 “ “		150. 0.0
500 “ “		187.10.0.”

LETTER OF RICHARD PETERS TO GEORGE RUNDLE. [Addressed to Mr. George Rundle, P. Bridge Office].—

BELMONT 14th Oct 1822

DEAR SIR

For the first time since the new invented passage way over the Bridge has been partially finished, I had the misfortune to prove its inconvenience & danger. I have in my chair an excellent tempered horse, & in general free from fear, & starting; its consequence. But the narrow bounds of the travelling *gutter*, gave no scope to his sudden deviation from the direct line; the wheel of my chair came instantly over the rising pieces, & I was within an ace of being dashed against the timbers of the middle section. Several others were embarrassed & annoyed. The plan gives universal dissatisfaction. I had no idea that the roomy & easy passage hitherto experienced, would have been thus cramped & ruined. The bridge platform, heretofore easy, safe & roomy, is now like the channels of a railway. If the inventors of this unfortunate measure, had to cross as often as I have, they would bitterly repent the unlucky thought which dictated it. As to the petty saving of a few plank in wear & tear, it is of no consideration. I fear no amendment can be made. But if any melioration of the evil can be accomplished, I beg you will speak to the acting members of the Committee, & beseech them to widen the passage. If not, I can only enter, as a frequent passenger, my most solemn protest; not only for myself but other sufferers. The *motives* of the gentlemen who executed this disgusting plan, I do not censure. They were no doubt with the best intentions. But as long as I am a passenger, I shall bitterly lament the circumstance. I should prefer going a mile round, over a more convenient bridge. The Falls bridge was something like our new gangway. It was universally reprobated.

Yours truly

RICHARD PETERS

MR. GEORGE RUNDLE

My horse was in a walk. I suppose one object was to oblige every passenger to drive slowly. I always thought the impropriety of going rapidly was much exaggerated. But why everybody shall suffer to prevent a few from misbehaviour, I can assign no just or plausible reason.

16th I have delayed this note to have further experience, both of the facts & public opinion. I have been spoken to by many Passengers. I have disclaimed all knowledge of, or concern in, the matter so that no reproach lies at my door. This is all the satisfaction I shall have; for I am told by the workmen that the plan is to be pursued on the north side of the bridge. Gentlemen may persist & see great things in the Scheme. But we are Trustees for others; & not to be governed by our own views exclusively. I met two Carriages this morning which came over the upper bridge, & much disgust was expressed at our embarrassments to Passage over ours. Instead of inviting we are repelling Custom.—Mark the end of it! What do we gain? Saving of small matters, and forfeiting our duty in rendering our bridge of public convenience, as well as preference & gratification to Passengers. Our own little interest & economy should yield, when the general opinion is against us. Fine theoretical reasoning will not do, on such occasions. I have watched the progress of both Carriages of pleasure & of burthen. I defy the most expert driver to avoid rubbing the wheels against the

curb pieces. Frequently a wheel mounts over them. *Walkers* over the bridge theorize wonderfully on preventing fast driving—passing carriages &c &c. But we who cross in wheeled carriages feel the most intolerable annoyance. The Planks placed from east to west are higher than the short plank north & south—the horses are eternally slipping on the confined middle gangway. I speak *practically* & from minute observation; be the theory ever so plausible. What signifies the eulogized width of our bridge, when a mere *trough* is devoted to the conveyance of Transportation? Timothy Palmer was delighted with the roomy Passage way. He would now be mortified by the embarrassing alterations. He is gone & I am left to deplore it.

CLOWES—CLARKE GENEALOGICAL RECORDS. [Copied from the Bible in the possession of a lady residing in Broadkill Hundred, Delaware, by Rev. C. H. B. Turner.]—

1783 Catherine Clowes within mentioned now the widow of John Young has but one child living (viz) John Young born 28th July 1772

Mary Clowes within mentioned now the Wife of John K. Dorman, has living four children (viz) 3 boys and 1 girl

Gerhardus Dorman born 23^d of Aug. 1772 Nehemiah born 31. July 1774

Elizabeth Dorman born 29 July 1776. John Dorman born 22^d May. 1779

Miers Clarke was married to Aletta Clowes in the year 1785

Miers Clarke was born the 2 of May in the year 1761

Mary Clarke daughter of Miers & Aletta Clark was born August 28 about 3 oClock in the afternoon, on Sunday in the year 1786

Was Baptized by the Rev Lydenham Thorne

Miers Clarke departed this life December 17th 1810

1792 May 9 Wednesday about 9 in the morning was born Sarah Clarke Daughter to Miers Clarke his wife

1794 Sept. 10th on Wednesday about 9 oClock at night was born Hannah Clarke daughter to Miers Clarke and Aletta his wife

1798 Oct. 24th on tuesday was born Elizabeth Clarke, about 11 in the morning. Daughter to Miers Clarke and Aletta his wife

1800 July 18th about 5 in the morning on Friday was born Lidia Clarke Daughter to Miers Clark and Aletta his wife

1803 february the 1st at 2 in the afternoon was born tuesday Ester Clarke Daughter to Miers Clarke and Aletta his wife

1805 february the 6th on Wednesday morning about 1 oClock was born Anna Clarke Daughter to Miers Clark and Aletta his wife

1807 April 30 between 12 in the morning was born Aletta Clarke Daughter to Miers and Aletta Clarke

Mary Clowes Died the 6th of August 1813 aged 73 years, 8 months, & 26 days

Sept. 7. 1758 John Clowes Jr. was married to Mary Draper by the Rev. Matthias Harris at John Spencer's Esq. about 1 in the afternoon

Mary Draper Daughter of Isaac & Sarah Draper was born the 10th day of November 1739

On frayday the 17th day of Aug. anno Domi. 1759 Between the Hours of 12 & 1 in the morning was born Sarah Clowes Daughter to John & Mary Clowes and was Baptized Munday Privately by the Reverend

- Matthias Harris. On Thursday the 1st day of July 1761 about 2 O'clock in the afternoon she was seized with a choking fit which ended with her life in about 9 or 10 hours afterwards and she was buried at John Havelaves on Saturday following
- 1808 May 12th at 4 O'clock in the afternoon James Walker was married to Mary Clarke by Rev^d Mr. William Hickman
- 1809 Aug. 16th on Monday was born James Miers Walker son of James & Mary Walker. He died March 10. aged 27 years. 4 months, 8 days
- Miers Clarke was born May 2. 1761. Departed this life December 17 1810
- 1815 Joanna Truitt March 17th on Friday Daughter to John and Sarah Truitt
- Sarah Pinner daughter of Miers Clarke and Aletta his wife died in North Carolina Jan. 3. 1871

GRAY—EMERSON—DRAPER—FOWLER GENEALOGICAL RECORDS.
[Copied from the Bible of a descendant, by Rev. C. H. B. Turner, Lewes, Delaware.]—

- John Gray was born October the 17. 1750 son to Allen Gray and Sarah his wife
- Anne Wells was born August the 28th 1758 Daughter to Benjamin & Elizabeth his wife
- John Gray & Anne was married September 21, in the year of our Lord 1774
- Sarah Gray was born April 30th 1776 Daughter to John Gray and Anne his wife
- Benjamin Gray was born January 28. 1778 son to John & Anne his wife
- Elizabeth Gray was born February 6. 1780 daughter to John Gray & Anne his wife
- Allen Gray was born March 22. 1782 son to John Grey & Anne his wife
- John Gray son to John Gray & Anne his wife was born May 17. 1783
- William Gray was born February 25. 1785 son to John Gray and Anne his wife
- Susanna Gray was born March 30th 1787. Daughter to John Gray and Anne his wife
- James Grey was born July 6. 1789 son to John Gray & Anne his wife
- Thomas Gray was born Sept. 9. 1791 son to John Gray & Anne his wife
- John Gray and Susanna his wife was married January 30th 1794
- Mary Gray was born Oct. 14. 1795 Daughter to John Gray and Susanna his wife
- Samuel Draper was born October 27th in year 1811 son to John Draper & Susa his wife
- William Draper was born August 7 year 1813
- Elisa Draper was born October 24th in year 1814
- Sally Ann Draper was born April 14 year 1817
- Ebenezer Fowler and Susan his wife was married June 30. 1808
- Susan Annay Fowler was born March 29. 1809 Daughter to Ebenezer and Susannay his wife
- John Fowler was born April 21. 1811 son to Ebenezer Fowler and Susanna his wife
- Susan Gray Daughter of William Gray & Unity his wife was born August 5. 1815

Ann Emerson Gray Daughter of William Gray & Unity his wife was born November 27. 1816

Sarah Gray Daughter of the aforesaid William & Unity was born Aug. 7. 1819. about 6 O'clock in the evening

Deaths

Elizabeth Gray wife of William Gray departed this life January 22. 1811 in the 24th year of her age

Ann Emerson Gray Daughter of William & Unity Gray departed this life Sept. 10th 1817 aged 9 months & 13 days

William Gray husband of Unity Gray departed this life June 6th 1828 aged 43 years, 3 months & 9 days

Unity Gray relict of William departed this life Feb. 14. 1863

Mariam Gray departed this life July 12. 1812

Benjamin Gray departed this life June 26, 1781

Sarah Gray departed this life February 14. 1790

James Gray departed this life October 6. 1790

Anne Gray wife to John Gray departed this life Aug. 21. 1792

John Gray Sen. departed this life April 1. 1797

John Draper departed this life December 7. 1806

Unity Emerson daughter of Vincent Emerson and Mary his wife was born the 21st day of 11th month 1776. 14 minutes past 12 O'clock in the morning

Peniel Emerson son of Vincent and Mary his wife was born the 4th day of the 8th month $\frac{3}{4}$ after 3 O'clock in the morning in the year 1779

Anna Emerson daughter of Vincent Emerson & Mary his wife was born the 9th day of the 2^d month, 12 minutes past 6 O'clock in the afternoon of the year 1783

Marriages

William Gray and Elizabeth his wife was married the 14th day of March 1806

William Gray and Unity his wife was married the 25th day of May 1811

Births

Rebecca Gray Daughter of William Gray & Elizabeth his wife was born August 15. 1807

Mariam and Ann twin Daughters of William Gray and Elizabeth his wife were born Aug. 18. 1810

Mary Gray Daughter of William Gray and Unity his wife was born June 25. 1812

Ann Eliza Gray Daughter of William Gray & Unity his wife was born November 29. 1813

SOME POLITICAL DUELS IN PENNSYLVANIA.—The *Aurora*, of Philadelphia, edited by William Duane, was the leading Republican newspaper in the Commonwealth, and wielded a controlling influence in the ranks of that party. Republican and Democrat were then regarded as synonymous terms, and interchangeably used during the administration of Jefferson. The action of Gov. Thomas M^cKean, who had twice been elected Governor by the Republican or Jefferson party, in his second

term going over to the Federal party, created bitterness in political discussions, resulting often in violence, indictments for assault and battery, prosecutions for libel, and occasionally duels.

The bloodless meeting between John Binns, of Northumberland County, and Samuel Stewart, of Lycoming, took place on the bank of the Susquehanna opposite Lewisburg, on December 14, 1805. Binns was then editor of the *Northumberland Republican Argus*, which he conducted with ability and exerted a wide influence through the State.

Prior to July of 1805 there were two newspapers published in Pittsburgh—the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, edited by John Scull, and the *Tree of Liberty*, edited by John H. Israel. The *Tree* had started as a Republican paper, but followed the Governor in his apostasy. The Jefferson Republicans were thus left without an organ. It was determined that this should not be, and on July 25, 1805, Ephraim Pentland issued the first number of the *Commonwealth*, which met with a hearty welcome by the Republicans. Pentland was of Irish birth, had been formerly employed in the office of the *Aurora*, and although young was a terse and spirited writer, with brains and culture, and who poured hot shot into the ranks of the apostates, then called "Quids."

Among the writers of the editorials in the *Tree*, and also a co-partner, was Tarleton Bates, then Prothonotary of Alleghany County, and he and Pentland paid their personal respects to each other frequently and without measure. Bates seems to have been worsted in the arguments; he lost his temper, laid down the pen, took up the cudgel, and assaulted Pentland on the street. But Pentland got away from his assailant, and gave notice that an appeal would be made to the law for redress, which was the only proper remedy.

The population of Pittsburgh was then composed in a good degree of men of Irish birth, and generally Republicans, who believed the Federal leaders and their allies were disposed to wage a native war of persecution and violence, which must be met at every hazard. Hence Pentland sent a challenge to Bates, but this was declined. Bates was then posted in the usual manner of the code, and he making personal reflections in the *Tree* upon Thomas Stewart, who had borne Pentland's challenge, was in turn challenged by Stewart and the call accepted.

Stewart was also an Irishman, a merchant, and son of a clergyman in Ireland. The parties met on the bank of the Monongahela River, about three miles from Pittsburgh, on January 8, 1806, fighting two rounds with pistols, and at the second fire Bates received the ball of his adversary in his left breast, fell, and immediately expired.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF ISAAC AND MARY NORRIS, 1mo. 7th 1694.

WHEREAS Isaac Norris late of the Island of Jamaica and Mary Lloyd daughter of Thomas Lloyd of Philadelphia in the province of Pensilvania have declared their Intentions of marriage with each other before several publiq meetings of the people of God called Quakers in Philadelphia aforesd according to the good order used amongst them, whose proceedings therein (after deliberate consideracon thereof & consent of parties & Relations concerned) was approved of by the said meetings :

Now This is to certify all whom it may concern That for the full accomplishing of their said Intençons this seventh day of the first month 1694 The said Isaac Norris & Mary Lloyd appeared in a solemn and publiq Assembly of the aforesaid people met together for that purpose at

the house of Samuel Carpenter and in solemn maner according to the Example of the holy men of God Recorded in the Scriptures of Truth hee the said Isaac Norris taking the said Mary Lloyd by the hand did openly declare as followeth viz' friends In the view of this Assembly & p'sence of Almighty God I take this my friend Mary Lloyd to be my wife promiseing to be to her a faithfull and true husband till it please God by Death to seperate us And then and there in the said Assembly the sayd Mary Lloyd declared as followeth viz', Freinds In the ffeare of God and before you his people I take this my freind Isaac Norris to be my husband promiseing to be to him a faithfull and Loveing wife till death seperate us.

And the said Isaac Norris & Mary Lloyd as a further confirmacon thereof did then & there to these p'sents set their hands: And we whose names are hereunto subscribed being present at their taking each other and of their setting their hands to this certificate as aforesaid have hereunto set our hands also as witnesses thereof the day and year above written :/

ISAAC NORRIS
MARY LLOYD

Robert Ewer	Tho : Lloyd }	Mord : Lloyd
Eliz : Ewer	Patience Lloyd }	Thomas Lloyd
Barbara Pepett		Hannah Desmond
Esther Whithead	Enoch Story	Rachell Preckett (?)
Elizabeth Guest	Marey Story	Elliz : Lloyd
Rebekah Bradford	Millisent Hoskins	Margrett Coke
Sarah Powell	Eliz : Hooton Sen'	Sarah Owen
Ann Griffith	Margaret Beardsley	Ann Jenings
Eliz. Derborough	Mary Sibthorp	Eliz : Kelley
Sarah Gove	Sarah Goodsonn	Elizabeth Fox
Mary Burge	Susanna Turner	Mary Pierce
William Burge	Sarah Whitpaine	Mary Cooke
Thomas Jones	Katherin Dean	Mary Gray
Nehemiah Allen	Mary Hudson	Mary Coates
Robt. Jones	Mary Buzby	Ann Humphrey
John fellows	Hannah Carpenter	Martha Medlin (?)
John Buzby	Mary Richards	Sarah Kinsey
Da ^a : Lloyd	Elizabeth Corrie	Marg : Powell
John Lynam	Rebecca Humphrey	Diana Hardiman
John Humphreys	Mary Oliver	Joan florrest
Alexand' Beardsly	Barbara Prichard	James ffox
Thomas Hollyman	Debara Burrow	Isaac Marriott
Ralph Jackson	Philip Howell	Thomas Prichard
Evan Oliver	John Goodsonn	Cornell ^e Empson
Sam : Carpenter	Phill Richards	W ^m Hudson
Tho : Griffitts	Abraham Hardiman	Edward Jones
Benj : Humphrey	Daniell Humphrey	Tho : Morris
Willm Kelly	Richard Townsend	Thomas Cook
James Coate		





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ANTHONY WAYNE.¹

“Egregias animas, quae sanguine nobis hanc patriam peperere suo, decorate supremis muneribus.”

BY HON. SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, LL.D.

[An address delivered at VALLEY FORGE, June 20, 1908, in the presence of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution at the dedication of the equestrian statue of Major General Anthony Wayne, Commander-in-Chief United States Army, erected by the Commonwealth.]

At the close of the unsuccessful campaign of 1777, which had resulted in the capture, by the British under Sir William Howe, of Philadelphia, the capital city of the revolted colonies, Washington, in writing, requested the opinions of his generals as to what should be his military policy during the approaching winter. One of them, a brigadier, then thirty-two years of age, after making a full review of the situation, recommended for the army either a camp at Wilmington, “or hutting at the distance of about twenty miles west of Philadelphia.” The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, after the lapse of one hundred and thirty-one years, in the presence of the descendants of the men who fought the battles of the Revolution, to-day erects this equestrian statue in

¹ This study was prepared mainly from original letters of Wayne and the other generals of the Revolution in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

bronze, in memory of him who so accurately forecasted, if he did not determine, the encampment at Valley Forge. She presents him to mankind as a soldier who participated with honor and unusual éclat in nearly every important engagement from Canada in the North to Georgia in the South throughout that struggle, and as the capable general-in-chief of the army of the United States, who later amid vast difficulties, and in personal command, brought to a successful result what has proven to be in its consequences one of the most momentous wars in which the country has ever been engaged.

Anthony Wayne had other and earlier associations with the Valley Forge. Within four miles of this camp ground, in the Township of Easttown, in the County of Chester, he was born, and from here in 1758 he hauled the hides bought by his father at the store in connection with the forge where the family of Potts hammered out their iron.

His grandfather, Anthony Wayne, went from Yorkshire, in England, to Ireland, where he fought in the battle of the Boyne among the forces of William III, and he afterward emigrated to Pennsylvania.

Isaac Wayne, the youngest son of the immigrant, was the owner of a large tract of land in Easttown, which he cultivated and where he had a tannery, and he was beside much concerned in the political controversies of the time. The popular Party, the opponents of the proprietary interests, elected him to the Provincial Assembly for several terms. He had a bitter quarrel with Moore of Moore Hall, an old-time aristocrat and pet of the Governor, both Colonel and Judge, and he has the lasting distinction of being one of the characters portrayed in the *Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi*, 1758, one of the brightest and most spirited bits of literature the American Colonies produced. St. David's Episcopal Church at Radnor, an ancient shrine where Parson Currie preached and starved, sung about by poets and written about by historians, owed very much to his earnest and loyal support.

Anthony Wayne, son of Isaac, looming up before us today, was born January 1, 1745, and grew to young man-

hood upon his father's plantation of over five hundred acres, and about the tannery, traces of which still remain. He had the benefit of a somewhat desultory education received from an uncle living in the country, and he spent two years in Philadelphia at the academy out of which arose the University of Pennsylvania. The bent of his mind even in boyhood was to mathematics rather than to literature. At the time of the French and Indian war, wherein his father had served as a captain, he was at an age when startling events make their strongest and most lasting impressions, and in his sport he discarded balls and marbles to construct intrenchments and engage in mimic battles. At the academy he studied surveying and determined to make that occupation the pursuit of his life. An elaborate and somewhat artistic survey of the Township of Vincent, in Chester County, made by him in 1774, is preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and his correspondence relating to military affairs is often illustrated with the plans which he drew.

In 1765, when in his twenty-first year, in association with Matthew Clarkson; John Hughes, the stamp collector; William Smith, the curator of the university; William Moore of Moore Hall; Joseph Richardson, captain in the French and Indian war; Benjamin Franklin; Israel Jacobs, afterward a member of Congress; and others of the leading men of the province, he participated in an effort to found a colony in Canada. One hundred thousand acres of land on the St. John's River and a tract of like extent on the Peticoodiac River were granted to them. A town was located, lots were sold, and settlers were transported. Wayne went to Canada with Benjamin Jacobs as the surveyor for the company, and spent the summers of 1765 and 1766 there, but the enterprise resulted in failure, and at the time of his death he still owned his proportion of these lands. To some extent his activities found expression in a civil career. In several of the conventions which took the preliminary steps leading up to the Revolutionary War,

he as a delegate bore an active part; in 1775 he was a member of the Committee of Safety; for three years he sat in the Assembly, and he was a member of the Council of Censors, and of the Pennsylvania Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States. These public services, important as they may have been, were only incidental and subsidiary in determining the value of the labors of his life.

With the first breath of the coming war blowing from the northward in 1775, the instincts of the soldier plunged him into the field and he organized a regiment of "minute men" in Chester County.

On the 4th of January, 1776, he was appointed Colonel of the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment. This regiment, together with the Second and Sixth, was formed into a brigade under the command of General Wm. Thompson, and hurried away to Canada. Montgomery had been killed, Arnold had been defeated in an assault upon Quebec, and that army badly needed help. The forces from far away Pennsylvania reached them on the fifth of June at the mouth of the Sorel, between Quebec and Montreal, whither they had retreated. Sullivan, who was in command, a week later ordered Thompson with 1450 men, all of them Pennsylvanians except a battalion from New Jersey under Maxwell, to attack a force of British estimated to be four hundred strong, at Three Rivers, forty-seven miles down the St. Lawrence. Instead of being a surprise, as had been expected, the effort resulted in an encounter with three thousand men under Burgoyne. After a march of nine miles through a swamp under fire from the boats in the river, with Wayne in the advance, the gallant troops pushed their way up to the breastworks of the enemy, before unknown, and then were compelled to retreat. Thompson, Irvine and other officers had been captured; three hundred and fifty men had been lost, but Anthony Wayne had fought his first battle and received the first of many wounds, and they had "saved the army in Canada." Two days later he wrote cheerily "our people are in high spirits and long for another

bout." Nevertheless the army was in full retreat to Ticonderoga, and already Wayne, left in command of the Pennsylvania troops, had found the place of danger. Wilkinson tells that Allen said to him, "Colonel Wayne is in the rear," and if anybody could render assistance, "he is the man," that he found "the gallant soldier as much at his ease as if he were marching to a parade at exercise," and that when mistaken for the enemy by Sullivan, he "pulled out his glass and seemed to enjoy the panic."

Already he had made his mark. On the 18th of November, General Schuyler gave him the command of Fort Ticonderoga, at that time, since the British had in view a separation of the country by an advance from Canada, one of the most important of our military posts, and placed him at the head of a force of twenty-five hundred men. "It was my business," he says in one of his letters, "to prevent a junction of the enemy's armies and . . . to keep at bay their whole Canadian force."

He remained at Ticonderoga until April 12th, 1777. His stay there covered that depressing period of the war prior to the battle of Trenton, during which Washington was defeated at Long Island, three thousand men were lost with Fort Washington, and the main army, its officers retiring and its rank and file deserting, was threatened with entire disintegration. Difficulties accumulated around him. The terms of service of his soldiers expired, and to fill their places became almost impossible. Some of the soldiers, who came into camp from the Eastern States, on one occasion deserted the same night. Recruiting officers from the same part of the country were endeavoring to secure enlistments even in his own regiment. He was holding men three weeks after their terms of service were ended. Hearing that a company, claiming their enlistments to have expired the month before, were on the march for home, he halted them and called for their leader. A sergeant stepped to the front. "I presented a pistol to his breast. He fell on his knees to beg his life. I then ordered the whole to ground their

arms," and they obeyed. A certain Josiah Holliday endeavored again to incite them to mutiny, whereupon Wayne "thought proper to chastise him for his insolence on the spot, before the men," or as Holliday himself puts it, did "shamefully beat and abuse him." The captain interfered and was placed under arrest for abetting a mutiny.

The garrison had dwindled in numbers and one-third of them were Negroes, Indians and children. The enemy were threatening his own home in distant Chester County, and the only comfort he could give his wife "Polly," the daughter of Bartholomew Penrose, was to tell her: "Should you be necessitated to leave Easttown, I doubt not but you'll meet with hospitality in the back parts of the Province," and yet never for an instant did he falter. He had studied the campaigns of Cæsar and Marshal Saxe, and he believed that too much attention was given to forming lines and too little to disciplining and manœuvring: that "the only good lines are those nature made," and that American liberty would never be established until the army learned "to beat the English Rebels in the field." He constructed an abattis around the fort, octagons upon the top of an adjacent mount, built two new block-houses to render the station tenable and secure, and then he wrote to Schuyler asking to be sent to the South in order to meet "those Sons of War and rapine face to face and man to man." He added: "These worthy fellows [his Pennsylvania comrades] are second to none in courage. I have seen them proved and I know they are not far behind any regulars in point of discipline. Such troops actuated by principle, and fired with just resentment, must be an acceptable and perhaps seasonable reënforcement to General Washington at this critical juncture."

He received a commission as brigadier general February 21, 1777, and two months later Washington, then in New Jersey, wrote to him, "Your presence here will be materially wanted." For nearly a year he had successfully maintained the post at Ticonderoga, which was surrendered almost as soon as he had departed, and had confronted the

proposed advance of the army under Burgoyne, and now after "the charming Miss Schuyler" had made him a new cockade, he hastened to Morristown to take command of the Pennsylvania Line in the army of Washington. Just as within the memories of some of us, who are here present, Pennsylvania during the War of the Rebellion, alone of all the States, had an entire division in the service, known as the Pennsylvania Reserves, in like manner there were in the Continental service throughout the War of the Revolution, thirteen regiments, distinguished for their gallantry and efficiency in the many battles of that sanguinary struggle, which came from the same State, and were united into two divisions, designated as the Pennsylvania Line. Eight of these regiments were placed under the command of Wayne. Washington was then encamped on the heights of Middlebrook, whence he could look toward the Hudson on the one side and the Delaware on the other, should Howe show a disposition to move in either direction. He needed a general, active, alert and intelligent, with a force upon which dependence could be placed to cover the stretch of country between West Point and Philadelphia. He sent for Wayne and posted him in front, giving him charge of the pass on the most important road leading to and from the camp. Within three weeks an opportunity arose. A detachment of the British army advanced as far as Brunswick. Wayne made an attack upon these forces on the second of May, and after pushing them from one redoubt to another, finally drove them within their lines at Amboy. He reported to the Board of War: "The conduct of the Pennsylvanians the other day in forcing General Grant to retire with circumstances of shame and disgrace into the very lines of the enemy, has gained them the esteem of his excellency," and Benjamin Rush wrote: "The public have done you justice for your gallant behavior in checking the prowess of Mr. Grant." The brave soldiers who achieved this success and were so praised for their efforts had never received any uniforms except hunting shirts, which were

then worn out, but it is a comfort to know that about this time Sally Peters sent to Wayne by wagon, "a jar of pickled oysters," and he was enabled to buy three gallons and five quarts of Madeira wine. Graydon, who sought the camp, tells us that he "entertained a most sovereign contempt for the enemy," but that he, who had been accustomed to appear in exemplary neatness of apparel, was now dressed "in a dingy red coat, a black, rusty cravat, and tarnished lace hat." Only dire necessity could have caused the condition of his attire, for he still maintained that "pride in a soldier is a substitute for almost every other virtue."

At last Howe, who had been waiting in the vain hope that Washington would cease clinging to the heights and would make the blunder of coming down on to the plain to fight him, determined upon an aggressive policy. On the twenty-fourth of July, Washington wrote to Wayne, "The fleet have just gone out of the Hook, and as Delaware appears to be the most probable destination, I desire you will leave your brigade, go to Chester and organize the militia of Pennsylvania." He gathered them together into three brigades, probably three thousand in number, since one of them had thirteen hundred and fifty-six men, and put them under the command of John Armstrong, the hero of the famous battle and victory over the Indians at Kittanning in 1756. "Time at last sets all things even," and a descendant of Armstrong is here to-day, one of the Commissioners charged with the duty of erecting this statue. The celebrated Elizabeth Graeme, whom Aunt Gainor, in "Hugh Wynne," called "That cat Bessie Ferguson," scratched at him after this fashion: "Two suttlers in the rear of your division inticed my slave with them, with my wagon and two very fine oxen . . . the heat of the weather and the violent manner the poor beasts were drove occasioned one of them to drop down dead."

He wanted to see his family, from whom he had long been separated—they were now not very distant—but an early battle was anticipated, and he had been peremptorily

forbidden by Washington to leave the army and ordered to hasten at the head of his division to Wilmington. The duties of three generals were imposed upon him, and yet his thought not limited to their performance was busy with plans for the campaign. He feared the enemy might reach the city by the fords near the Falls of Schuylkill, and in order to prevent such a contingency proposed to march forward and give them battle. On the second of September he recommended to Washington that three thousand of the best armed and disciplined troops make a regular and vigorous assault on one of the flanks of the enemy, trusting to surprise for success, and added: "I wish to be of the number assigned for this business." The suggestion was not adopted, but a week later Howe pursued precisely this plan at Brandywine and won a decided victory. In that memorable engagement, Wayne, with his division, was on the left upon the east bank of the Brandywine where Chad's Ford offered a means of crossing the creek. Throughout the entire day he maintained his position, preventing the advance of Knyphausen, and occasionally sending detachments to the opposite shore, but the right wing under Sullivan and Greene had been turned and crushed, and at sunset, finding that he was becoming enmeshed between Howe on the front and the fortunate Cornwallis in the rear, he in good order retired. The steadfastness on the left saved the right from entire destruction.

On the eighteenth, Washington, then at Reading Furnace, on the French Creek, in Chester County, and expecting to cross the Schuylkill River, determined to detach a part of his forces to harass the rear of the enemy while he, with the main army, should defend the fords. Such a plan necessarily involved the separation of the army with a river between, the close proximity of the harassing force to the enemy, and the danger of an attack upon this force by overwhelming numbers. That such risks were not unrecognized is shown by the letter of Washington written from Pott's Grove, September 23rd, before he had learned of the affair

at Paoli, recalling the order and saying: "Should we continue detached and in a divided state I fear we shall neither be able to attack or defend ourselves." However, he selected Wayne for this dangerous service, gave him twelve to fifteen hundred men, and wrote to him on the eighteenth: "I must call your utmost exertion in fitting yourselves in the best manner you can for following and harrassing their rear," and saying further: "The army here is so much fatigued that it is impossible I should move them this afternoon." Evidently anxious, he the same day recites: "Having wrote twice to you already to move forward." Celerity and secrecy were both necessary for the success of such a venture. Unhappily these two letters referred to had both fallen into the hands of the enemy. This fact alone would have been fatal. Wayne, being informed that the British were about to march for the Schuylkill on the twenty-first, took a position on the high ground near Paoli, within four miles of the enemy, and there he established six pickets and a horse picket to patrol the road. At eleven o'clock on the night of the twentieth, General Grey, with a much superior force, attacked him. He held the ground for an hour and saved his artillery, but lost one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded and had met with the only defeat of his career. A court-martial called at his request found that he deserved the "highest honor" as "an active, brave and vigilant officer." Rumor ran through the neighborhood that he had been killed, that he had been taken prisoner, and that his life had been saved through his hurry in putting on his coat with the red lining outside. That same night a squad of British marched to his house, thrust their bayonets into a huge boxwood bush that still grows and thrives in the yard, "but behaved with the utmost politeness to the women."

Not in the least daunted, at the Council of War attended by twenty generals, held before Germantown at Penny-packer's Mills on the twenty-ninth, he, with four others, was in favor of again giving battle. There can be little doubt that the spirit he displayed at this time, as upon

every other occasion, had its effect upon his companions and was influential in bringing about that change to a more aggressive policy which led to the results at Germantown, Monmouth and Yorktown. "The enemy's being in possession of Philadelphia," he said, "is of no more consequence than their being in possession of the City of New York or Boston." On the eve of Germantown he wrote: "I have the most happy presage of entering Philadelphia at the head of troops covered with laurels before the close of the day." The value of such vitality to a defeated army at the close of a lost campaign cannot be overestimated.

At Germantown his division encountered and attacked the right wing of the British army to the east of the town, charged with bayonets, crying out for "Paoli and revenge," put the enemy to rout and pursued them for three miles, killing with little mercy those who were overcome. On the retreat of the Americans, after the check at the Chew House and the confusion caused by the fog, he was in the rear and with cannon and musketry brought to an end Howe's attempted pursuit. The British General Hunter, in his history, records: "General Wayne commanded the advance. . . . Had we not retreated at the time we did, we should all have been taken or killed. . . . But this was the first time we had ever retreated from the Americans," and he asserts that Howe, swept by passion, shouted, "For shame I never saw you retreat before," but the rattle of grape through the limbs of a chestnut tree under which he stood convinced him, also, of the necessity. Wayne's theory that the liberty of America would be secured when the British were taught respect upon the field of battle, was taking a concrete form. At eight o'clock that night, apparently unwearied by the great exertions of the day, he wrote to Washington, hoping for "their total defeat the next tryal, which I wish to see brought to issue the soonest possible." Two days later he wrote from Pennypacker's Mills a long letter to his wife, as remarkable as it was characteristic. He gave in detail the military movements of

the battle, which evidently absorbed his thought. There was, nevertheless, one series of incidents, of minor importance no doubt to him if not to her, which had been overlooked. They suddenly occurred to him as he closed. "I had forgotten to mention that my roan horse was killed under me within a few yards of the enemy's front, . . . and my left foot a little bruised by one of their cannon shot. . . . I had a slight touch on my left hand. . . . It was a glorious day."

On the twenty-seventh of October, in response to a query from Washington as to whether it would be prudent to attempt to dislodge the enemy, he recommended that an immediate attack be made, and he advanced as reasons for his opinion that the ground was not disadvantageous, that the shipping in the river could assist, that in the event of failure they had a stretch of open country to which to retire, that if no attempt were made the forts on the Delaware must fall, affording the enemy comfortable quarters, and finally that the Americans would be forced from the field, or lose more by sickness and desertion in a naked, discontented army than in an action. The subsequent evacuation of Fort Mifflin, with loss of control of the Delaware, and the experiences at Valley Forge seemed to justify at least some of his conclusions. Fort Mifflin on the west bank of the Delaware had been besieged for six weeks, the British had erected works on Province Island, near enough to threaten the fort, when Wayne was ordered with his division and the corps of Morgan to "storm the enemy's lines, spike their cannon, and ruin their works." Wayne gladly undertook the difficult and dangerous task, but the day before the effort was to have been made the fort was abandoned. Another Council of War was held November the twenty-fourth and the same question broached. Wayne was decided in his view that the credit of the army, the safety of the country, the honor of American arms, the approach of winter, and the depreciation of the currency made it necessary to give battle to the enemy, and he advised that the army march

the next morning to the upper end of Germantown. He admitted the hazard and the undoubted loss of life, but believed that the bold course would prove to be the most effective.

His life at Valley Forge, where his division occupied the centre of the outer line, was an unceasing struggle to secure recruits and sufficient arms to equip and clothing to cover his soldiers. Nearly all of the deaths and desertions, he says, were due to nakedness and dirt. He did not want rifles, but muskets with bayonets, believing that the mere consciousness of the possession of a bayonet gave a sense of security, and that without being used it was an element of safety. Provisions grew to be scarce and he was sent with five hundred and fifty men to the agricultural regions of New Jersey to collect cattle for the army. On one occasion he sent to the camp one hundred and fifty cattle and thirty horses. With the British, who crossed the Delaware from Philadelphia upon a like errand, he, and Count Pulaski at the head of fifty horse, had a combat of some severity in the neighborhood of Haddonfield, and another at Cooper's Ferry. Not only did he succeed in feeding the army, but his energetic movements became the subject of a ribald poem, entitled, "The Cow Chase," written by John André, the vivacious adjutant general of the British army, in which to some extent the author foreshadowed his own unhappy fate, should he fall into the hands of Wayne.

On the return of Wayne to the camp at Valley Forge he, on the twenty-first of April, 1778, again urged upon Washington that "many reasons, in my humble opinion, both political and prudential, point to the expediency of putting the enemy on the defensive." He recommended making an effort against Howe or New York, saying, "Whatever part may be assigned to me, I shall always, and at all times, be ready to serve you." Ere long his wish was gratified. The British, fearing a blockade of the Delaware River by the French fleet, were about to evacuate Philadelphia. Again Washington called a Council of War. The advice of Wayne

was "that the whole of the army be put in motion the soonest possible for some of the ferries on the Delaware above Trent Town, so as to be ready to act as soon as the enemy's movement shall be ascertained," and then if the North River should prove to be their objective point "take the first favorable opportunity to make a vigorous and serious attack." Manifestly his earnestness of purpose was having its effect, since this was the course a few days afterward pursued.

At another Council of War held on the twenty-fourth of June, Wayne and Cadwalader, the two Pennsylvanians alone, supported to some extent by Lafayette and Greene, declared in favor of active and aggressive measures. On this occasion Wayne had his way, and two days afterward the two armies were within a few miles of each other and about to come into contact. Washington determined to attack the rear guard of the enemy, which was protecting the baggage train, and sent General Charles Lee, with five thousand men, among whom was Wayne, five miles in advance with this purpose in view. Lee ordered Wayne, telling him that his was the post of honor, to lead the advance, and with seven hundred men to assail the left rear of the British. Before, however, this movement could be accomplished, they assumed the aggressive. A charge by Simcoe's Rangers upon Butler's Pennsylvania regiment was repulsed, but reënforcements in great numbers came to their assistance. At this time, while Wayne was engaged in a desperate struggle, the heart of Lee failed him, and he marched his men not forward in support, but about face to the rear. His excuse was that the temerity of Wayne had brought upon him "the whole flower of the British Army, Grenadiers, Light Infantry, Cavalry and Artillery, amounting in all to seven thousand men." Washington, meeting Lee in retreat, in anger assumed command and ordered Wayne, who to avoid capture had been compelled to follow, to take Craig's Third Pennsylvania, Irvine's Seventh Pennsylvania, Stewart's Thirteenth Pennsylvania, a Maryland

regiment and a regiment from Virginia and check the pursuit. Holding a position in an orchard, between two hills near the parsonage of Monmouth, they repelled two determined onsets and gained time for the occupation of the high ground by the forces sent to the front by Washington. Finally Colonel Henry Monckton, brother of Lord Galway, after a brief speech appealing to the pride, and calling attention to the brilliant services of the British Guards, led them forward in a bayonet charge, with impetuous fury, against the troops of Wayne. They were unable to withstand the withering fire they encountered and, driven back in confusion, left the dead body of the Colonel on the field. Other efforts were continued for more than an hour, but in vain. The élite of the British Army and the ragged Continentals from the huts of Valley Forge had met upon the plains of Monmouth and the fame of the deeds of Anthony Wayne was nevermore to fade from the memories of men. "Pennsylvania showed the road to victory" was the expression of what was probably his keenest gratification. "I cannot forbear mentioning Brigadier General Wayne, whose conduct and bravery through the whole action deserves particular commendation," was the stately and subdued comment of George Washington. Later a duel with Lee, which these events threatened, was happily averted.

After the exertions of Monmouth there was a long lull in military activities. The British held possession of New York, and the army of Washington, stretched across New Jersey, kept watch upon their movements. Throughout this period of inaction the difficulties of the Continental Army in maintaining the numbers of the rank and file, in supplying them with pay, arms, clothing and provisions, in arranging the grades of the officers, were serious and so continuous as to become chronic. On the fifth of October, 1778, Wayne wrote to Robert Morris: "By the first of January we shall have more Continental troops in the field than any other State in the whole Confederacy, but not as

many general officers." At this time Pennsylvania had two brigades with the main army, three hundred men with Colonel Butler on the Mohawk, three hundred men with Colonel Brodhead at Pittsburg, and a regiment with Colonel Hartley at Sunbury. The service, according to Wayne, promised nothing "but indigence and want." The pay had become a mere *vox et praeterea nihil*. The Clothier General of the army refused to furnish them with clothing, giving as a reason that, unlike the other States, they had their own State Clothier. When his men burned some fences to keep themselves warm, Scamell, the aide to Lord Stirling, proceeded to read him a lecture. "In case he (the Major General) is obliged to repeat the orders again, he shall be under the disagreeable necessity of pointing out the Pennsylvania troops in particular," said Scamell in a reflected lordly fashion. Wayne, entirely able to hold his own, and ever ready to support his troops, replied: "During the very severe storm from Christmas to New Year's, whilst our people lay without any cover except their old tents, and when the drifting of snow prevented the green wood from taking fire," yes, they burned some rails, but fifty men had first been frostbitten. The other troops "were either cooped in huts or cantoned in houses. . . . It is not new to the Pennsylvanians to be taken notice of in general orders." It was always his effort to keep them "well and comfortable," and no commander ever had more trustful and devoted followers.

When Doctor Jones sent to him a bear skin, he was delighted. Occasionally his thoughts wandered toward his home. To Polly he sent "A tierce of beer, some rock fish and oysters with a little good fresh beef," saying, "I would advise you to make immediate use of the fish." Again he wrote to her, "I am not a little anxious about the education of our girl and boy. It is full time that Peggy should be put to the dancing school. How does she improve in her writing and reading? Does Isaac take learning freely? Has he become fond of school?"

Though Wayne had long with the greatest measure of success commanded a division, his rank and pay were only those of a brigadier, and he never throughout the Revolution received the advancement to which his services were entitled. Skill in securing recognition and compensation is an art in itself often quite apart from those qualities which accomplish great achievements. The man who is really intent upon his work often forgets the reward. And now his superior, St. Clair, that unfortunate general who had surrendered Ticonderoga, and who for some occult reason appears to have ever been a favorite with those in authority, came to take charge of the Pennsylvania line. Wayne, after having been promised command of the Light Infantry soon to be organized, and bearing with him the written and eager statement of his colonels, Harmar, Stewart and the rest, that his recent effort had "riveted the hearts of all ranks more firmly" to him and had rendered his "name more dear to the whole line," returned to Pennsylvania. His rest was not for long. Washington pondered over the possibilities of a desperate deed of "derring-doe" requiring military intelligence and personal courage of the highest character, and in its consideration in all probability weighed the qualities of every general then in the field with him. One day, June 24th, 1779, Wayne was in Philadelphia on his way to greet his family at Easttown, when a post rider gave him a despatch from Washington with the suggestive words: "I request that you join the army as soon as you can." Polly must forego the greeting and be left to her loneliness, and it meant a long farewell.

Stony Point, a rugged promontory covered with rock and wood, extending into the Hudson River for half a mile from the western shore line and rising to a height of one hundred and fifty feet, stood "like a solitary sentinel, ever keeping watch and ward over the gateway of the Highlands. Bending around its western base, and separating it from the mainland, a marsh sometimes to the depth of two feet crept from an entrance in the river to the north to an outlet in

the river to the south. An island fortress likened often in its strength and conformation to Gibraltar, it seemed to present insurmountable obstacles to any attacking force and with quiet and sardonic frown to threaten destruction. Upon the summit the British had erected a series of redoubts and had placed seven or eight disconnected batteries, while immediately below them an abattis extended the entire length of the crest. Within this fortification were four companies of the Seventeenth Regiment of Infantry, one company of American Tories and a detachment of the Royal Artillery. About one-third of the way down the hill from the summit ran a second line of abattis, supported by three redoubts, on which were brass twelve-pound cannon defended by two companies of the Seventeenth Regiment and two companies of Grenadiers. At the foot of the hill near the morass were five pickets, and the British vessels of war, which rode in the river, were able to sweep with their guns the low ground of the approaches. Four brass and four iron cannon, one howitzer and five mortars, amply supplied with ammunition, were at the service of the garrison, which consisted of over six hundred of the best disciplined and most trustworthy troops of the British army," commanded by a capable and gallant officer. At half after eleven o'clock on the night of July 15th, 1779, thirteen hundred and fifty men with bayonets fixed, and likewise "fresh shaved and well powdered," were waiting with Anthony Wayne on the farther side of the marsh to storm this formidable fortification. It was a most difficult undertaking, and the entire responsibility for the plan to be pursued, and the time and manner of carrying it out, rested upon Wayne. "So soon as you have fixed your plan and the time of execution I shall be obliged to you to give me notice," Washington wrote to him on the tenth of July, to which Wayne replied on the fourteenth, "I shall do myself the honor to enclose you the plan and disposition to-morrow." He determined upon an assault by two columns, one on the right and one on the left, each to consist of one hundred and fifty men with arms unloaded,

depending solely upon their bayonets, each preceded at the distance of sixty feet by a "forlorn hope," consisting of an officer and twenty men, while a force in the centre were to attract attention by a fire of musketry, but to make only a simulated attack. Never in the whole history of mankind has there occurred a situation which gives more forcibly the impression of absolute solemnity—the silence—the stern resolution of the musket grip—the morass in front, with its hidden uncertainties—the dangers and hopes that lay beyond on the threatening mount, and the deep darkness of the midnight. Wayne made his preparations for death. At eleven o'clock he sent certain roughly drawn papers to his dearest friend. "This will not meet your eye until the writer is no more. . . . I know that friendship will induce you to attend to the education of my little son and daughter. I fear that their mother will not survive this stroke. Do go to her. . . . I am called to sup, but where to breakfast, either within the enemy's lines in triumph or in the other world," were some of the utterances wrung from a burdened soul. On the way up the mount, just beyond the first abattis, he was struck by a ball which cut a gash two inches in length across his face and head, and felled him senseless to the ground. It was no light wound. Long afterward he was weak from the loss of blood which streamed over him. Three weeks later his mental faculties were still benumbed. Six weeks later it was yet unhealed. As soon as he regained consciousness he called aloud: "Lead me forward. . . . Let me die in the fort," but continued to direct the movements with the point of his spear. In a few moments the words which he had adopted as a signal, "The Fort's our own," rang over the parapet; at two o'clock in the morning Wayne sent a despatch to Washington almost as laconic as the message of Cæsar: "The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men determined to be free"; of the twenty-one men in the "forlorn hope" led by Lieutenant James Gibbons, of Philadelphia,

seventeen had been shot; and a valorous feat of arms, unequalled in American annals, either before or since, ending in brilliant success, had caught the attention of the entire world to hold it forevermore.

At that time the laws of war permitted a garrison taken by storm to be put to the sword, and memory recalls more than one British victory in that and later wars stained with such cruelty. It is a great glory of Stony Point that no poor wretch cried for mercy in vain, and that all who submitted were saved. As an achievement more important than the capture of a stronghold and the exhibition of valor and military skill was the fact that it created confidence and self-respect, and aroused a sense of state and national pride, public virtues as much needed then as they are to-day. The calm Washington in a despatch to Congress said that the conduct of Wayne "through the whole of this arduous enterprise merits the warmest approbation," and the more impulsive Greene declared that the event would "immortalize General Wayne" as it would do honor to the first general in Europe. Girard, the French minister, wrote: "The most rare qualities were found united;" John Jay, "You have nobly reaped laurels in the cause of your country and in the fields of danger and death;" Sharp Delaney, "At a Town Meeting yesterday you had all our hats and hands in repeated acclamation;" Benjamin Rush, "Our streets for many days rung with nothing but the name of General Wayne;" Colonel Spotswood, of Virginia, "The greatest stroke that has been struck this war;" General Adam Stephens, "You have added dignity to the American arms and acquired immortal renown;" Colonel Sherman, that his name would "be coeval with the annals of American history;" Lafayette, that it was a "Glorious affair;" Steuben, "This gallant action would fix the character of the commanding officer in any part of the world;" General Lee, "I do most sincerely declare that your action in the assault on Stony Point is not only the most brilliant in my opinion through the whole course of this war on either side,

but that it is one of the most brilliant I am acquainted with in history," and the English commodore, George Collier, that "The rebels had made the attack with a bravery they never before exhibited and they showed at the moment a generosity and clemency which during the course of the rebellion had no parallel." The poet sang:

"Each soldier darts amain
And every youth with ardor burns
To emulate our Wayne."

The Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Supreme Executive Council passed resolutions thanking Wayne and the Pennsylvania line for "the honor they have reflected on the State to which they belong," and Congress, praising his "brave, prudent and soldier like conduct," ordered a gold medal to be presented to him, to be made in France under the supervision of Dr. Franklin. In the very nature of things such an event could not occur without producing an effect upon the relations of Wayne to the other officers of the army, in some instances enhancing their esteem and in others, it is to be feared, arousing their envy, and without influencing his personal fortunes. He turned sharply upon Return Jonathan Meigs, of Connecticut, with: "I don't wish to incur any gentleman's displeasure. I put up with no man's insults." Twice within the next six weeks Washington dined with him and referring to a recent incident in the conduct of military affairs, paid him this high compliment: "I had resolved to attempt the same enterprise, to be executed in the same manner you mention." The minds of the two men had come to be in an entire accord. About the same time he ordered: "One pair of elegant gold epaulets, superfine buff sufficient to face two uniform coats, with hair and silk, four dozen best yellow gilt coat buttons, plain and buff color lining suitable to the facing of one coat."

There was an officer in the army holding the high rank of a major general for whom Wayne had long held an unconcealed hostility, and whose conduct he viewed with sus-

picion. "I ever entertained the most despicable opinion of his abilities." "He had neither fortitude or personal courage other than what the bowl or glass supplied," were the comments of Wayne. At Morristown the officers of the Pennsylvania line had refused to serve under his command. After this officer, Benedict Arnold, of Connecticut, had in 1780 planned and given possession of West Point to the enemy and the complot with Clinton had been discovered, while it was still uncertain how far the treason had extended and whether it might not be successful, Washington ordered the Pennsylvania Line to the place of danger and gave them charge of that post. The first and second brigades marched from Tappan at the instant that the order came, leaving their tents standing, without taking time to call in their guards and detachments, and hastened to seize the pass at Smith's White House, where they could dispute the advance of the enemy or retire to West Point as the situation demanded. Wayne, with the rest of the line, taking care to see that no more of the enemy passed up the river, seized the pass at Storms, from which a road in their rear ran to West Point, over which he could move rapidly and send the artillery and baggage. The order was received at one o'clock in the morning. At two they were on the march. It was a dark night, but without a halt they pushed ahead over the mountains "sixteen miles in four hours," and by sunrise were holding the passes. Washington in joyful surprise ejaculating "All is safe and I again am happy," went to bed after a long and uneasy watch.

A few months later occurred that *émeute* which the writers of books have strangely been pleased to call "the revolt of the Pennsylvania line." In the latter part of 1780 the line had under arms two thousand and five men and they constituted, according to Dr. Stillé, as nearly as may be, two-thirds of the entire army. According to an estimate of Washington, they were one-third of his forces, and he said the army was "dwindling into nothing," and that

the officers, as well as the men, were renouncing the service. Within nine months one hundred and sixty-eight officers, including, however, only one from Pennsylvania, had resigned. It is altogether plain that in one way or another, for some reason about which it is unnecessary to inquire, in the main the troops from the other colonies had returned to their homes.

It was of the utmost importance for the success of the Continental cause that the men then in the service should be retained, even if in doing so the timbers of the ship had to be strained. The men in the line had been enlisted for "three years, or during the war." There can be but very little doubt as to the meaning of this contract. The only reasonable construction is that they were to remain at most for the three years, but if the war should end during that period, the government, having no longer use for their services, should be at liberty to discharge them. As it happened, the war lasted beyond the three years and it suited the necessities of the Government to act upon the assumption that "during the war" meant a time without limit. A large proportion of these men had been enlisted in 1776 and 1777, and therefore their terms of service had long expired and they were being held without warrant of law. Moreover, cold weather had come upon them, and in the language of Wayne, "the distressed situation of the soldiers for want of clothing beggars all description." They had no money for their families and Washington wrote that there had been a "total want of pay for nearly twelve months." No gentle remedy would have served any purpose in such a situation. There arose among them a hero with the plebeian name of William Bowser, but imbued with the spirit that won the war of the Revolution, a sergeant of the Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment. With every probability of being shot to death and covered with ignominy, with the nicest propriety of conduct, with a certain rude eloquence, he confronted Anthony Wayne, George Washington, the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Coun-

cil, and the Continental Congress. He was absolutely right as to his contentions, and musket in hand, he gained his cause by force, over the heads of them all, and brought about a relief from the difficulties that encompassed them. About nine o'clock in the night of the first of January, 1781, the line arose *en masse*, formed on parade with their arms and without their officers, took possession of the provisions and ammunition, seized six pieces of artillery, took the horses from the stables, swept the ground with round shot and grape, and proposed to march to Philadelphia and see to it that their grievances were redressed. Some of the officers who tried to stem the torrent were killed. Some of the men were stricken with swords and espontoons and their bodies trampled beneath the hoofs of the horses. Then there were conferences. Joseph Reed, President of Pennsylvania, and the Congress began to stir themselves and to make strenuous efforts to meet the troubles of the situation. For two weeks the men kept up a perfect discipline and permitted Wayne, with Colonels Butler and Stewart, to come and go among them. Sir Henry Clinton sent two emissaries to them with a written proposition to afford them protection, to pay in gold all the arrears of wages due from the Congress, and to exempt them from all military service. It was no doubt a tempting offer. It would have ended the war, and the Colonies would have remained dependencies. These patriots were not made of such stuff. They at once handed over to Washington the British agents, who were on the twelfth promptly hanged. Reed had the indelicacy to offer a reward in money, which Bowser declined because the spies had been surrendered "for the zeal and love of our country." In the end the Government discharged twelve hundred and fifty men whose terms had expired, thus admitting its delinquency, gave to each poor fellow a pair of shoes, an overall and a shirt, and promised that the "arrearages of pay (were) to be made up as soon as circumstances will admit." The greater number of the men willingly reënlisted and Israel went back to its

tents. "The path we tread is justice and our footsteps founded upon honor," announced Sergeant Bowser.

The war now drifted to the southward and Wayne with eight hundred of the Pennsylvania line appeared in Virginia. Washington ordered the line to be transferred to the Southern Army, and wishing a brigadier to go with the first detachment so as to be ready to form the whole, wrote to Wayne: "This duty of course devolves upon you." Lafayette, then in Virginia, warmly expressed his gratification and Greene did not hesitate to declare: "You must know you are the Idle [Idol] of the legion."

A tragedy preceded the movement of the troops into the campaign. As has been shown, they had been promised that the arrearages of their wages would be paid to them. The money came while they were in York, in Pennsylvania, but it was the paper of the Continental Congress. According to Wayne this paper was then worth about one-seventh of its face value, and the people of the neighborhood declined to accept it in exchange for what they had to sell. On the twenty-fourth of May a few men on the right of each regiment, when formed in line, called out that they wanted real, and not ideal, money," and that "they were no longer to be trifled with." These men were ordered to retire to their tents, and they refused to go. The officers, who had come prepared, promptly knocked them down and put them in confinement, a court-martial was ordered on the spot, the trial proceeded before the soldiers paraded under arms, and in the course of a few hours the accused were convicted of mutiny and shot. Says Wayne: "Whether by design or accident the particular friends and messmates of the culprits were their executioners." Our patriotic forefathers of the Revolutionary War were not altogether gentle and mild-mannered persons. To Polly, whose tender heart must have been moved by the tender recital, he explained: "I was obliged to make an exemplary punishment, which will have a very happy-effect." But we find more relief in a letter he wrote about the same time to Nicholson, the

paymaster: "My feelings will not permit me to see the widows and orphans of brave and worthy soldiers who have fought, bled and died under my own eye, deprived of those rights they are so justly entitled to." His careless servant Philip lost the greater part of his table linen and napkins; his carriage and its horses, his baggage wagon with its four horses, a driver and four soldiers were at the plantation of Colonel Simm; "But hark, the ear piercing fife, the spirit stirring drum, and all the pomp and glorious circumstance of war," summoned him to horse, and away they hurried to Virginia, crossing the Potomac with artillery and baggage upon four little boats, one of which sank, drowning a few men, and reaching Leesburg, a distance of thirty miles, in two days. On another day, when there was no river to cross, they marched twenty-two miles. As had grown to become customary, in the Virginia campaign as elsewhere, Wayne went to the front. On the twenty-fifth of June Lafayette wrote: "Having given you the command of our advanced corps, consisting of Butler's advance and your Pennsylvanians, I request you to dispose of them in the best way you think proper."

Cornwallis had his headquarters at Portsmouth and held control of the peninsula between the York and the James rivers, while Lafayette, whose force was much inferior, marched hither and yon in an effort to prevent the British detachments from getting supplies and if possible to cut them off and effect their capture. On the sixth of July what he thought to be the coveted opportunity arose. Information came that Cornwallis, in moving down the James River, had left his rear guard on the eastern bank near Green Spring, and that his army was divided with a river between. Lafayette ordered Wayne, with eight hundred men, nearly all of them from Pennsylvania, and three field pieces, to make an attack upon this rear guard. After crossing a swamp by means of a causeway, and coming upon the enemy, they discovered too late that the information was erroneous, and that they were confronted by the

whole British army of four thousand men under command of Cornwallis himself. The lion, awakened from his sleep, sprang forward in a dangerous mood and soon flanking parties began to envelope Wayne upon both sides. Here was a serious problem—a swamp in the rear, an enemy on the front, and overwhelming forces closing around. What was to be done? Lafayette hurried off an aide to bring up his army, but they were five miles away, and what might not be accomplished while ten miles of country were being traversed? To retreat was to be utterly lost. To stand still meant ultimate capture. Situations such as these, requiring the capacity to think accurately in the midst of unexpected crises, which Hooker was unable to do at Chancellorsville, and the character bravely and vigorously to act upon the conclusions reached, in which Lee failed at Monmouth, furnish the real test of military ability. Wayne boldly ordered a charge, the troops had entire confidence in his leadership, and he succeeded. Cornwallis, with an estimated loss of three hundred in killed and wounded, retired toward Portsmouth to meet his now threatened fate. Of the Americans one hundred and twenty were killed or wounded. Lafayette in general orders proclaimed: "The general is happy in acknowledging the spirit of the detachment commanded by General Wayne in their engagement with the total of the British Army. . . . The conduct of the Pennsylvania field and other officers are new instances of their gallantry and talents." Greene, who had a somewhat undue respect for the British general, wrote: "Be a little careful and tread softly, for depend upon it you have a modern Hannibal to deal with in the person of Cornwallis. Oh, that I had had you with me a few days ago."

Washington placidly wrote: "I cannot but feel myself interested in the welfare of those to whose gallant conduct I have so often been a witness," while the more youthful and mercurial Light Horse Harry Lee could not restrain his enthusiasm, almost shouting: "I feel the highest joy in

knowing that my dear friend and his gallant corps distinguished themselves so gloriously."

The wounded soldiers lacked hospital accommodations and supplies. Wayne ordered them to be furnished, and if there should be trouble about the payment, "place it to my account." This was not the first time he assumed individual pecuniary responsibility for the relief of his men and the welfare of the cause. In 1777, when there was great distress for want of provisions, he sent ten head of cattle to the army from his own farm and had not been paid for them as late as 1780.

The Continental army and the French fleet were about to concentrate and close in around Cornwallis, and in keeping him occupied and preventing the Virginia raids the army of Lafayette had borne its part in bringing about the result. On one occasion Wayne made, as he says, a push for Tarleton at Amelia, but the doughty Colonel had precipitately retreated. It seems almost a pity that they could not have come together. In August for six days during a period of two weeks, the soldiers of Wayne had been "without anything to eat or drink except new Indian corn and water. . . . Neither salt, spirits, bacon or flour," but such inconvenience did not dampen their ardor. For a time Wayne had been at "Westover," and he impressed his hostess, the courtly Mrs. Byrd, who wrote: "I shall ever retain the highest sense of your politeness and humanity, and take every opportunity of testifying my gratitude." The part he took in holding Cornwallis was important. On August the thirty-first, Lafayette thought that if Cornwallis did not that night cross to the south of the James, twenty-five ships of the Comte de Grasse having been sighted, he would have to stand a siege. The Marquis sent Wayne over the river and wrote, "now that you are over, I am pretty easy." Wayne posted his men at Cobham on the south side of the James, opposite to Cornwallis, with nothing but the river between them, selected a location on James Island for three thousand of the French, who had landed

too far below to be effective in preventing the possible retreat of Cornwallis, and then at eight o'clock in the night mounted his horse and rode ten miles to hold a conference with Lafayette, who had sent an express rider to point out the way. About ten o'clock he arrived at the camp, whereupon the sentry upon guard shot him. He had given the password, but the unfortunate guard, whose mind was intent upon the proximity of the British, made a mistake. In the midst of the alarm created, Wayne had great difficulty in preventing the whole squad from firing at him. The ball struck in the middle of the thigh, grazed the bone, and lodged on the other side. Instantaneously he felt a severe pain in the foot which he called the gout. For two weeks he was out of service and at the end of that time could only move around in a carriage. For the guard he had only sympathy, and he called him a "poor fellow," but he vented his indignation upon Peters: "Your damned commissary of military plays false. He has put too little powder in the musket cartridges. . . . If the damned cartridge had a sufficiency of powder the ball would have gone quite through in place of lodging." In view of the pain and the patriotism we may surely, like the recording angel, pardon the profanity. That he accurately understood the surrounding conditions and that his judgment as to the outcome was sound, appears from a letter of September the twelfth, wherein he says: "We have the most glorious certainty of very soon obliging Lord Cornwallis with all his army to surrender prisoners of war." What a contrast these thoughts present to those of another letter written on the same day to his little daughter: "If you have not already begun your French I wish you to request that lady to put you to it as soon as possible. . . . Music, dancing, drawing. . . . Apropos have you determined to hold your head up?"

One of the final attacks at Yorktown was supported by two battalions of Pennsylvania troops and the second parallel of the approaching works of the besiegers they and

the Maryland troops completed. When Cornwallis on the nineteenth surrendered, the guards for one of his fortifications were selected from the French, and for the other from the Pennsylvania and Maryland troops. Since the French had a fleet of thirty-seven vessels of war, and an army twice as numerous as that of the Colonies, Wayne was sufficiently just to concede that the victory was not altogether due "to the exertions of America."

Soon after the surrender an incident occurred which shows what personal manliness and appreciation of the duty of a soldier actuated Wayne in his conduct. He was suffering from the effects of his recent wound and asked for a short leave of absence. Washington, who was himself about to go north to Philadelphia, where he remained until March, but whose purpose was to send Wayne to the South where the war still lingered, gave a not very cheerful assent. Whereupon Wayne wrote: "As a friend I told you that my feelings were hurt. As a soldier I am always ready to submit to difficulties. . . . Your Excellency puts it upon a ground which prevents me from accepting," and getting into a carriage, with such rapidity of progress as was practicable, he made his way to Greene in South Carolina along with the Pennsylvania line.

Greene sent him to Georgia, and much to his regret, without his old troops. However, he had about four hundred dragoons, one hundred and seventy infantry, a detachment of field artillery, and such militia as could be raised from time to time. The British had possession of Savannah with thirteen hundred regulars, five hundred militia, and an indefinite number of refugees and Creek and Cherokee Indians. The people of Georgia were so impoverished that the Legislature authorized the Governor to seize ten negroes and sell them in order to secure his salary. The country below the Briar Creek between the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers had become a complete desert. The Whigs and Tories maintained a partisan warfare of the most desperate character, in which mercy to prisoners was neither expected

nor shown. Into this caldron Wayne plunged, and for the first time in his career he determined for himself the features of a campaign. It is interesting to observe what was expected of him and what were the facilities afforded him for its accomplishment. At the outset Greene sounded this note of warning: "Your reputation depends more on averting a misfortune than on achieving something very great. Brilliant actions may fade, but prudent conduct never can. Your reputation can receive no additional lustre from courage, while prudential conduct will render it complete," and when it came to the methods to be pursued his suggestions were equally definite and helpful: "I think you should try to hold out encouragement to the Tories to abandon the enemy's interest and though you cannot promise positively to pardon them you may promise to do all in your power to procure it." In brief, Greene had nothing to offer and his utmost hope was that no disaster should occur. Wayne in the early part of January, 1782, threw up intrenchments at a point on the Savannah River twenty-five miles above the city of Savannah and established a line across to the Ogeechee, intended to separate the British from their Indian allies and to cut off the sources of supplies. Immediately things began to move and the prospect to brighten. Wayne drafted a proclamation to be issued by the Governor of Georgia offering full pardon to the Tories. At the end of six weeks not an officer or soldier had had an opportunity to remove his clothing, but by the twenty-sixth of January the British had been driven from three of their outposts. The Choctaws, on their way to Savannah, January the thirtieth, were intercepted, twenty-six warriors, six white men and ninety-three pack-horses captured, and while hostages were held the chiefs were sent back to their tribe with messages of friendliness and peace. By the middle of February the British were confined to the city. On the last day of the same month he burned a lot of British forage within half a mile of Savannah. On one occasion he had a personal rencontre with a Creek chief, in which the

chief killed his horse, and he cut down the Indian with his sword. On the twenty-first of April he heard again from Greene, who wrote: "General Barnwell tells me you talk of taking position nearer the enemy. It is not my wish you should," to which Wayne, who held a different view, replied: "I never had an idea of taking a position within striking distance, but such a one as would tend to circumscribe the enemy without committing myself. Such a position is about six miles in our front, and if I am joined by a corps of gentlemen under Colonel Clarke agreeable to promise, I shall take it." The next day Greene wrote that there was no ammunition with which to meet the demands of Wayne, that he had no arms to send, that the cartouche-boxes were all in use, and ordering that Captain Gill be withdrawn to join his own army. With the order recalling Gill, Wayne instantly and reluctantly complied.

On the twenty-first of May the Seventh Regiment of British Infantry with a force of Cavalry, Hessians, Choctaw Indians and Tories moved out to the distance of four miles from Savannah. In the night Wayne crossed the swamp, which was thought to be a protection, attacked and routed them with great loss, made a number of captures, including Lieutenant Colonel Douglass and thirty horses, and the next morning rode within sight of the city.

"Wise commanders always own
What's prosperous by their soldiers done,"

and Greene expressed his pleasure by saying: "You have disgraced one of the best officers the enemy have." In an effort to drag Greene along still further, Wayne wrote: "Do let us dig the caitiffs out. It will give an *éclat* to our arms to effect a business in which the armament of our great and good ally failed." Fortunately we have more than the usual amount of information concerning the minor incidents and the manner of life through this campaign. Captured Indians were treated with kindness and kept in a room with fire so that they could do their cooking. We

are told by Wayne that "Cornell is a dangerous villain. He must be properly secured or bought." To Polly, "my dear girl," he wrote: "Tell my son when he is master of his Latin grammar I will make him a present equal to his sister's when she is mistress of her French."

The whole force of the militia of Georgia consisted of ninety men. There were numbers of the men who had nothing like a coat. There was only one camp kettle to every twenty men. An officer who came to camp with a letter of introduction was entertained with cold beef, rice and "alligator water," but at a more happy time we catch sight of "a quarter cask of Madeira wine, ten and a half gallons of rum, and about two hundred weight of Muscavado sugar." When a dragoon was scalped and his body dragged about the streets of Savannah, Wayne proposed to make victims of an Indian chief and a British officer. He prevented Mrs. Byng, a free quadroon, from being sold as a slave with her children, though her husband had been executed "as a villain, a murderer and outlaw." A lady asked to see him and sent him a union cockade, to which he gallantly replied: "Nature has been but too partial in furnishing Miss Maxwell with every power to please. Notwithstanding these dangerous circumstances, the general as a soldier cannot decline the interview." The personal servant of the British Captain Hughes, who had been captured, he on request sent back, and the captain appreciated "the uncommon attention and extreme courtesy."

Through it all Greene kept up a constant nagging. "You will please order the same issues as are directed in this army. I am willing the troops should have what is sufficient, but by no means more," and at another time, "I was told you proposed to get some clothing from Charlestown and pay in rice. . . . I wish you therefore to avoid it nor attempt anything of the kind," were some of his cheering messages. On the sixth of June he rather overdid himself, writing: "Far less regularity and economy has been made use of in the subsistence of your troops than

I could have wished. . . . I find one pound and a quarter of beef and one pound and a quarter of rice is a sufficient ration for any soldier . . . both men and officers should be allowed a reasonable subsistence, but nothing is more pernicious than indulgence." In one sense no letter was ever more happily conceived. It called forth and secured for our benefit a pen sketch by Anthony Wayne of one of his campaigns, which is a contribution to historical literature. In response Wayne said: "I have received yours of the 6th inst. on the subject of rations and economy. . . . I am extremely obliged to you for the anxiety you express for every part of my conduct to appear in the most favorable light. . . . On the 19th of January we passed the Savannah River in three little canoes, swimming the horses; that by manœuvres we obliged the enemy to abandon every outpost and to retire into the town of Savannah; that we found the country a perfect desert, neither meat or bread kind except what was within the influence of their arms; that notwithstanding this circumstance and surrounded by hostile savages we subsisted ourselves from the stores of the enemy at the point of the sword until with the assistance of a few reclaimed citizens, artificers and slaves we built a number of large boats and rebuilt twelve capital bridges for the purpose of transportation, and three respectable redoubts to enable us to hold the country, without any other expense to the public than a few hundred bushels of rice and beef in proportion, which beef as well as at least one-third of all that has yet been issued in this army cost the United States nothing except the lives of three or four men; the very salt we used was made by ourselves, and the iron, etc., with which our horses were shod, boats built, wagons repaired, es pontoons made and every kind of smithwork done were also procured without any cost to the public except for a very small proportion for which, as well as the labor, we were necessitated to barter some articles of provisions. We were also obliged to exchange some rice and meat for leather

and thread to make and repair the horse accoutrements, harness, etc., or to abandon the country. . . . No army was ever supported for less expense or more service rendered in proportion to numbers than on the present occasion. . . . If severe discipline, constant duty, perpetual alarm, and facing every difficulty and danger be an indulgence, I candidly confess that the officers and men under my command have experienced it to a high degree."

At half after one o'clock on the night of June the 24th the Creek Indians, with British assistance, made an attack upon the post, but after the first surprise were soon routed, leaving many dead, including two white men, on the field. One hundred and seven horses were among the spoils, but their masters, the Indian braves, were subjected to "the bayonet to free us from encumbrance."

The end of it all was that, on the eleventh of July, the British sailed away from Savannah to the West Indies. On the twelfth Wayne, at the head of his horsemen, rode in triumph through the streets of the city and the soil of Georgia was never again trodden by the feet of the enemy. The grateful State set apart four thousand guineas to buy for Wayne a tract of land, and the captious but converted Greene bore tribute before the Congress to his "singular merit and exertions."

He had one further and final service to render to his country in the War of the Revolution. When on the fourteenth day of December, 1782, the British forces marched out of the city of Charleston, leaving at last the Southern colonies to rest and peace, two hundred yards in their rear at the head of that part of the Continental army, bringing with him promise and hope, Anthony Wayne rode into the relieved city, a fitting climax to his many efforts and trials through the eventful struggle.

The ensuing ten years Wayne spent in civil pursuits and private life, endeavoring to recover from the effects of a malarial fever contracted in Georgia, at one time believed to be fatal, and struggling with those financial difficulties

which beset men who devote their energies to the public service instead of to the betterment of their own fortunes. Throughout all of this period, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, the embers of the war were still smouldering, and it was not until after the close of the second contest in 1812 that Americans could feel secure in their independence. The country west of the Ohio was occupied by Indian tribes ever ready to bring devastation, destruction and desolation to the homes of the border settlers, and ever incited and aided by the British who held a number of posts along the lakes. Washington, who had become the President of the United States, selected, to command forces sent to overawe them, Harmar and St. Clair in succession, and each was in turn defeated, the latter with circumstances of peculiar horror and dismay from the loss of such noted soldiers as Butler and Crawford, the latter burned at the stake. Then he sent for Anthony Wayne, gave him at last the commission of a major general, and placed him in command of the Army of the United States. In modest and serious words Wayne accepted the responsibility. "I clearly foresee that it is a command which must inevitably be attended with the most anxious care, fatigue, and difficulty, and from which more may be expected than will be in my power to perform, yet I should be wanting both in point of duty and gratitude to the President were I to decline an appointment however arduous to which he thought proper to nominate me," was the language of his letter to the Secretary of War, April 13th, 1792.

The underlying motive of the war was the determination of the Indians to make the River Ohio the permanent boundary between them and the United States, and the fact that after the concession by Virginia of her western claims the Ohio Company, under the leadership of Rufus Putnam, had established a settlement within what is now the State of Ohio. Within seven years fifteen hundred people had been massacred. Another defeat, said the Secretary of War with auspicious suggestion, would be ruinous

to "the reputation of the government." In its origin, in its conduct, in its results, and even in its details, the expedition was almost a repetition of the march of Cæsar into Gaul. The fierce savages of a vast and unknown territory were about to be subjected, and an empire of civilization to be erected upon the lands over which they held sway. Wayne organized his army in Pittsburg and some such forecast must have occurred to the minds of those in authority, for it was called not an army but a legion. This legion, it was intended, should be composed of over four thousand men, but there were actually under arms two thousand six hundred and thirty-one. Where it was recruited appears with approximate accuracy in June, 1793, when the Secretary of War sent one hundred and nineteen men from Pennsylvania, one hundred and one from Virginia, one hundred and one from New Jersey and thirty from Maryland, and when Wayne issued a call for volunteers for six weeks one hundred and sixty-six from Ohio, one hundred and sixty-four from Westmoreland, one hundred and sixty-four from Washington, eighty from Fayette, and eighty-two from Allegheny, these last four being counties in Pennsylvania. Along with the organization of the legion came the most rigid enforcement of discipline. During the progress of the campaign, in which the greatest vigilance was necessary, at least two soldiers were shot to death for sleeping on their posts. When Wayne found some of them drunk in the village, now the city of Cincinnati, he ordered that no passes be thereafter granted. Whiskey was kept out of the camp. Careful directions were issued describing the methods of meeting attacks upon each flank and upon the rear. He placed reliance on the bayonet and the sword, and urged his men not to forget that "the savages are only formidable to a flying enemy." The crowns of the hats of the men were covered with bear skin. He insisted upon cleanliness of person and regularity of diet. "Breakfast at eight o'clock, dine at one; meat shall be boiled and soup made of it . . . a good old

soldier will never attempt to roast or fry his meat." Every day the field officers, sub-lieutenants and captains of the guard dined with him, and his salary did not pay the expenses of the table. One hundred lashes with wire cats were sometimes inflicted as punishment. He adroitly sowed and cultivated dissensions among the Indians, having in his army the chief Cornplanter as well as ninety Choctaws and twenty-five Chickasaws. The war lasted for over two years, and we are enabled to appreciate the condition of wilderness in which it was conducted when we learn that he was without communication from the Secretary of War in Philadelphia from December to April. The British, contrary to the provisions of the treaty of peace, had established certain posts within the country and Wayne was given authority if he found it necessary to dislodge them. To his wisdom and discretion, therefore, was trusted the grave question of renewing the war with England. Just before the march an interesting incident occurred. On the first of June, 1792, he granted a leave of absence to Alexander Purdy, a soldier in Captain Heth's company, in order that he might assist in printing at Pittsburg a pamphlet written by Hugh H. Brackenridge, "the first publication of the kind ever proposed in the western country."

Late in the summer of 1792 he moved his army twenty-seven miles down the Ohio River and there encamped for the winter. In May of 1793 he advanced as far as the site of Cincinnati. Like all human movements in which various forces are concerned, there was much delay due to differences of views and divergences of counsels. Wayne had reached the conclusion that we should never have a permanent peace until the Indians were taught to respect the power of the United States, and until the British were compelled to give up their posts along the shores of the lakes. In Philadelphia the Government was timid about entering upon the war, and previous defeats had made it fearful of the outcome. Knox, the Secretary of War, wrote that the sentiments of the people "are adverse in the ex-

tre to an Indian War," and again "it is still more necessary than heretofore that no offensive operations should be undertaken against the Indians," and finally that a "defeat at the present time and under the present circumstances would be pernicious in the highest degree to the interests of the country." While the hostile Indians were perfecting their combinations and holding their pow-wows with Simon Girty and an aide of the British Colonel Simcoe, who promised them protection as well as arms, ammunition, and provisions, the Government sent B. Lincoln, Beverly Randolph and Timothy Pickering to Fort Erie to negotiate for peace. The result of these efforts was that after gaining what time was needed the Indians refused to treat at all, and the duty fell upon Wayne to see that the commissioners reached home with their scalps on their heads, for which they formally gave him thanks. To make a general war was the conclusion of the tribes. Wayne then wrote to Knox: "Knowing the critical situation of our infant nation and feeling for the honor and reputation of the government which I shall support with my latest breath, you may rest assured that I will not commit the legion unnecessarily."

By the thirteenth of October he had marched to a point on a branch of the Miami River, eighty miles north of Cincinnati, where he found a camp which he fortified and called Greenville and there he remained through the winter. The march was so rapid and the order maintained so perfect, that the Indian scouts were baffled. From there he sent a corps with guides and spies six miles further along the trail of Harmar to secure "intelligence and scalps." He likewise detached a force to go to the field where St. Clair had been defeated, to bury the bones of the dead and erect a fort called Fort Recovery.

In May a lieutenant with a convoy gallantly charged and repelled an assault.

On the thirtieth of June about seventeen hundred of the enemy made a desperate attempt to capture an escort under the walls of Fort Recovery and to carry the fort by storm,

keeping up a heavy fire and making repeated efforts for two days, but were finally repulsed. Twenty-one soldiers were killed and twenty-nine wounded, and no doubt both sides were animated by the memories of the misfortunes of St. Clair at the same place. A few days later, after receiving some reënforcements of mounted men from Kentucky, he marched seventy miles into the heart of the Indian country, built Fort Defiance at the junction of the Le Glaize and Miami rivers, and then within sight of a British fort on the Miami made his preparations for the battle which was inevitable. He had marched nearly four hundred miles through the country of an enemy, both watchful and vindictive; had cut a road through the woods the entire way, upon a route longer, more remote and more surrounded with dangers than that of Braddock; had overcome the almost insuperable difficulties of securing supplies; had built three forts, and now had reached a position where the issue must be decided by arms. On the morning of August 20th, 1794, the army advanced five miles, with the River Miami on the right, a brigade of mounted volunteers on their left, a light brigade on their rear, and a selected battalion of horsemen in the lead. They came to a place where a tornado had swept through the forest, and thrown down the trees, since called the Fallen Timbers, and where the twisted trunks and limbs lay in such profusion as to impede the movements of the cavalry. Here the Indians, two thousand in number, encouraged by the proximity of the British fort, determined to make a stand. Hidden in the woods and the high grass, they opened fire upon the mounted men in the front and succeeded in driving them back to the main army. The enemy were formed in three lines in supporting distance of each other, extending for about two miles at right angles to the river and were protected and covered by the woods. Wayne formed his force in two lines. He soon perceived from the firing and its direction that they were strong in numbers on his front and were endeavoring to turn his left flank. He met this situa-

tion by ordering up the rear line to support the first, by sending a force by a circuitous route to turn the right of the enemy, by sending another force at the same time along the river to turn their left, and by a direct charge with trailed arms in the front to drive the Indians from their covert with the bayonet, his favorite weapon. The Indians could not resist the onset, broke in confusion, and were driven two miles in the course of an hour through the woods with great loss. Their dead bodies and British muskets lay scattered in all directions. The next day Wayne rode forward and inspected the British fort. The Major in command wanted to know "in what light am I to view your making such near approaches to this garrison?" to which Wayne replied that, had the occasion arisen, the fort would not have much impeded "the progress of the victorious army." All of the villages, corn fields, and houses, including that of McKee, the British Indian agent, within a scope of one hundred miles were burned and destroyed.

American annals disclose no such other victory over the savage tribes. For the next quarter of a century there were peace and safety along the border. It secured for civilization the territory between the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers. It made possible the development of such states as Ohio, Illinois and Indiana. When the information reached London the British Government, recognizing that the cause of the Indians was hopeless, ordered the evacuation of the posts at Detroit, Oswego and Niagara. Twenty years later there was written in praise of Perry's victory on Lake Erie that it was only second in importance to the West to that of Wayne at the Fallen Timbers.

Two weeks later Wayne was crushed to the earth by a falling tree, so much bruised as to cause great pain and hemorrhages, and only the fortunate location of a stump, on which the tree partially lodged, saved his life.

After the treaty of cession and peace had been executed, and after an absence in the wilderness for three years, he returned home in 1795, everywhere hailed with loud acclaim

as the hero of the time and received in Philadelphia by the City Troop and with salvos from cannon, ringing of bells, and fireworks.

His last battle had been fought. His work was done. "Both body and mind are fatigued by the contest," were his pathetic words. Soon afterward the President sent him as commissioner to Detroit and on his return he died at Presque Isle, now Erie, December the 15th, 1796.

We have this description of his personal appearance: "He was above what is termed the middle stature and well proportioned. His hair was dark. His forehead was high and handsomely formed. His eyes were dark hazel, intelligent, quick and penetrating. His nose inclined to be aquiline."

His was a bold spirit. His six wounds indicate that he did not hesitate to expose his person when need arose, but he possessed beside that moral courage which enabled him to move with steady step when confronted with difficult and complicated propositions where the weak waver. Neither the fortifications at Stony Point nor the unknown wilds of Ohio made him uncertain. No man was potent enough either in military or civil affairs to give him affront with impunity. He was on the verge of a duel with Lee, with St. Clair, and with some others. He did not hesitate on occasion to say "damn." At the same time he was almost sentimental in his affections. Attached to his wife, who was ever to him "Polly," or "my dear girl," he wanted her to come to him in camp, and he never wrote to her without telling her to kiss for him his "little son and daughter." A negro boy waited upon the officers of the light infantry, and when the corps was dissolved they determined to sell him. "The little naked negro boy, Sandy," wrote Wayne, "so often ordered to be sold, is in my possession and newly clothed. I shall take care of him."

He had healthy cravings. He was fond of porter and Madeira, of venison, cheese and sugar, of dress, of the approval of his fellow men, of the glory that follows successful military achievement. He drank tea as well as wine.

He could be prudent and even diplomatic. Had he rushed upon the Pennsylvania line when they were aroused and angry, he would have been killed. He opposed in 1778 chasing after Clinton in Connecticut. Contrary to the thought of Washington, he ordered a regiment to follow towards Stony Point for the purpose of having the men who were to make the charge strengthened by a sense of support. When the irritated Colonel Humpton claimed that Wayne's servant had taken his puppy and demanded its return Wayne presented his compliments, denied the facts, declined to "dispute so trifling a matter," and sent the dog. He refused to lend his pistols to his friend, Major Fishbourne, who wanted to fight a duel. He had certain philosophical tendencies. "For law is like war—a trade to a common capacity, but a science to a man of abilities," he wrote to his son, and again, "let integrity, industry and probity be your constant guides." He did not believe that the Colonies could depend upon the aid of France, but contended that they must rest "on the firm ground of our own virtue and prowess." It was because of these tendencies that he was so particular about the discipline and dress of the soldiers, so insistent upon the provision for their needs, so reliant upon the moral effect of the cutting edge of a weapon, and so careful to cultivate the pride and esprit of the corps. He always wanted Pennsylvania troops to be with him in his campaigns, not that he intended to reflect upon those of other states, but because they and he had learned to trust each other and knew the value of the association. His willingness to encounter danger and to take the risks of responsibility was by no means all due to the impulse of a military temperament. He saw, and more than once made his vision plain, that many and perhaps the most of those around him were subservient in thought and feeling. They had so long regarded the English as masters that when they met them as foes they had more respect for the enemy than confidence in themselves. He knew that the first step toward independence must be an

enlargement of soul. He called no Englishman a Hannibal, and when he met the pseudo Roman on the James, struck him with a spear, and after his capture invited him to dine. The supreme contribution of Wayne to the American cause was that more than any other general he gave it inspiration. He proved that an English force could be assailed and compelled to surrender in a stronghold regarded as impregnable, and his conduct affected for good the whole army. The most diffident were given courage by the example of Wayne.

His letters, while lacking in literary skill and somewhat too roseate in their style, unlike much of the correspondence of the period, which is stilted, stiff and vague, always give vivid pictures and make entirely plain the thought he purposed to convey. No one can read them intelligently without being impressed with the accuracy of their reasoning and the correctness of his judgment upon military problems. He understood the conditions in Georgia better than Greene. He comprehended the situation in Ohio more clearly than Knox. The orders of Washington, Schuyler, Lafayette and Greene show very plainly that when they were met by a difficult situation, requiring strenuous mental and physical effort, they were all disposed to call for the assistance of Wayne. Every general under whom he served sent him to the front. He had the advance at Germantown, and Monmouth, and on the James in Virginia. He was the first to enter Savannah and Charleston. No other general of the Revolution had so varied an experience. Greene came the nearest to him in this respect, but he neither fought so far North nor so far South. He was the only one of them who added to his reputation as a soldier after the close of the Revolution. The most dangerous event that can happen to a successful general is to be required to command under different conditions in a later war. History is strewn with the wrecks of reputations lost under such circumstances. Wayne was subjected to this supreme test, and still he triumphed. He is the only gen-

eral of the Revolutionary War in whose achievements the great West, rapidly becoming the source of power in our government, can claim to have participation. The final popular judgment upon all questions is sure to reach the truth. As time has rolled along most of the generals of the Revolution have become as vague as shadows, but Wayne remains instinct with life and the heart yet warms at the recital of his deeds. No Commonwealth in America but has a county or town bearing his name. New York has made a State park of Stony Point, and ere long Ohio will do the like for the Fallen Timbers. One of the most inspiring of our lyrics written in the stress of the War of the Rebellion tells how "The bearded men are marching in the land of Anthony Wayne."

By no chance, therefore, does it happen that his statue is set upon the centre of the outer line at Valley Forge. It is where he stood in the cold and the drear of that gloomy and memorable winter, and the place he held on many a field of battle. This hallowed camp-ground, where was best shown that spirit of endurance and persistence which created a nation, shall tell, through the coming ages, to the future generations of men, the story of the bold soldier and consummate commander whose place seemed ever to be where the danger was the most threatening, and prudence and skill were the most essential.

ORDERLY BOOK OF CAPTAIN SHARP DELANY,
THIRD BATTALION PENNSYLVANIA MILITIA, JULY
16-25, 1776.

[The Third Battalion, when organized in 1775, was commanded by Col. John Cadwalader, with John Nixon, Lieutenant Colonel, and Thomas Mifflin and Samuel Meredith, as Majors, and was composed of one company of Light Horse, four companies of light artillery, and fourteen companies of infantry. The Orderly Book is among the Cadwalader Papers, in the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

CAMP AT TRENTON,
July 16, 1776.

General Orders, that the Pennsylvania troops to march to Woodbridge with all possible dispatch—as fast as wagons can be provided and there to wait the orders of the commanding officer. Returns to be made of the number of men in each company of the several corps, and the commissaries to take a page with which we have been supplied, that they may be provided if any articles is wanted—the second battalion to provide a sergeant and twelve men, to attend the Deputy Quarter-Master General.

JOHN CADWALADER,
Colonel 3^d battalion Militia

CAMP AT TRENTON
July 16, 1776.

Permit John Lord of Captain M^eElwain's, and James Guy of Captain Gurney's Company 3^d battalion Philadelphia Militia to pass to New York, they being ordered there by the commander-in-chief. The commissaries are requested to furnish the above named men with provisions, the commanding officer of the first battalion, now on their

march to Woodbridge, is desired to suffer their baggage to be put into his waggons.

JOHN CADWALADER,
Colonel 3^d battalion Militia.

To all Continental Officers
and others whom it may
concern.

ORDERS 3^D BATTALION,
July 17, 1776.

The companies to parade at Seven O'clock to morrow morning, for the manual exercise, marching and wheeling, to continue under arms one hour. The captains to make a list of the sizes of the muskets in their respective companies, and compare the said list with the ammunition belonging to each company, and report immediately to the Colonel. It is expected the Return required in the Orders this morning, will be delivered to the Sergeant Major early to-morrow morning. When any man is taken ill, he must immediately [report] to the hospital, unless his disease is infectious, in which case he is to be removed to some distant place—the surgeon to keep the number of men in the hospital, the time they come there, when discharged, and the disorder, and report the same to the Colonel. Every Wednesday morning when a man is discharged from the hospital, he may be excused from duty at the discretion of the surgeon. The Fife Major must take out drums & all the fifers every morning to practice, and make a return as soon as he comes in of the absentees, and is to take particular care that the drums and Fifes are kept in good order. A Sergeant, one Corporal of every company must be constantly in the way.

CAMP WOODBRIDGE
July 21, 1776.

The Quarter-Master is to prepare two necessary houses, one for the officers and the other for the privates; these are to be filled up every four days and new ones dug, as the filth of the camp is a matter of utmost consequence & to be ob-

served in every particular, and it is expected that all filth of every kind will be removed constantly at a distance from the camp, and no person on any account will be suffered the use of any other place near the camp. Every person is strictly enjoined not to take or cut up any rails, or do any other damage to the inhabitants. A detachments must be formed to day to reinforce different posts under this command; all the companies must be immediately paraded, and the officers are desired to inspect the arms and the accoutrements of every man and see that he is supplied with twenty-three rounds of cartridges. Each battalion company will furnish one man for Camp Collorman. Guards to be mounted at 9 o'clock in the morning.

General Orders.

Parole, *Congress.*

Counter Sign, *Washington.*

Quarter and Rear guard to be relieved, and to duty agreeably to the Orders of yesterday. The third to furnish the Sergeant and twelve men to the Quarter Master General's guard to morrow; the Officer of the guard go the rounds regularly and not suffer more than ten men at one time to leave the guard tent—to send a patrol round the encampment of each corps one hour after, and to see that the sentenals entertain no person after that hour, and to see that Sentries are all at their posts.

JOHN CADWALADER,
Of the battalion.

CAMP TRENTOWN

July 17, 1776.

Parole, *Philadelphia.*

Counter Sign, *Lee.*

John Cadwader, third battalion, Orders to battalion 17 July, 1776.

The battalion to-morrow, move as soon as the Waggon can be provided. A baggage and a rear guard of twelve men each to be provided—the Commanding Officer is to mount a proper guard as soon as he arrives at quarters, and give positive orders that the men may arrive at their quar-

ters at ten o'clock, and to order the officer of the guard to see that all the candles be put out at that time.

JOHN CADWALADER.

CAMP WOODBRIDGE

July 21, 1776.

[Parole], *Charleston.*

Counter Sign, *Lee.*

The following parties are to be visited and reinforced by detachments viz: Captain Gurney's Company at Eadger's landing; Captain Faulkner 28, and Captain Boyer 30, New Bleasing Star; Captain Delaney at the Old Bleasing Star; Captain Fitzsimons and 8 men from Captain Boyer to Smith's Farm Captain M^eIlwain 32 men at magazine. The above detachments will march to-morrow morning at five to their respective posts. Those posts that are to be reinforced, to have orders to be given in the morning for the detachment for Edger's landing; Old Bleasing Star, and Magazine.

CAMP WOODBRIDGE 21st JULY 1776.

General Orders.

The Woodbridge command includes all the posts from Rawway river to Woodbridge creek.

The commanding officers at the different posts, will station his centinals along the shore at proper distances & in proper situations, and give strict orders that the duty be done regularly. The officers of the guard are to keep their men to their stations at the guard houses, or Tents, that they may always be ready to turn out upon an alarm, or when the General or Field officers visit the posts, and not to suffer more than two men at a time to be absent, and to make a report in writing every morning to the commanding officer of the post, mentioning extraordinary occurrences, if any happen.

If the Enemy should much increase in number, erect any material works, or if any thing extraordinary should happen, an express must be sent, with all expedition to the commanding officer at Woodbridge.

No officer or private must be suffered to be out of Camp or Quarters without leave from the commanding officer. The utmost care must be taken that there is no waste of ammunition, & positive orders given that no rails be destroyed, nor any injury be done to the Inhabitants or their property. Every opportunity must be taken (without fatiguing the men), to exercise the men. The utmost endeavours must be used to stop and prevent all the Enemy's boats from passing. It is expected that the commanding officer at each post will give positive orders to have the quarters and camps kept clean, as the health of the men very much depends on it.

The arms and ammunition to be inspected twice a day.

OLD BLAZING STAR, JULY 22^d 1776.

Orders for the party stationed there.

Guards to consist of 1 Officer 1 Sergeant 1 Corporal and 16 privates—and Centries to be fixed in the four places appointed, the extremities to have double centries, who are to suffer no boat to land or pass up the sound,—to challenge every person and secure them, unless they give the countersign—to give particular attention to every thing that passes on Staten Island—and if any unusual stir or the noise of oars are heard, to immediately give notice to the Officer of the Guard—the Centeries to be relieved with as little noise as possible every two hours and their duty plainly and particularly pointed out, the Men to have all their arms and accoutrements ready to turn out at a minutes warning.

SHARP DELANY.

Parole, *Lee*.

Counter, *Charlestown*.

OLD STAR, JULY 23rd 1776.

Orders for the Day:—

On acc^t of the Enemy collecting their Shallops & Boats at the lower landing—besides the usual Guards, Place a Pickett of 12 men in the point of Woods adjacent to the lowest centries—the Men to have great coats, and a profound

silence observed—all challenges & reports to be made with precision, to prevent unnecessary alarms—no Drum to beat unless by my particular orders. One from each mess to be ordered every day to clean Tents & the House. No Cards to be allowed—& all profane swearing discountenanced. The country people to be used politely, & no indecent language exchanged with our Enemy, but our whole Behaviour to show the Gentleman & the Soldier. That unsoldier like unprofitable & inhuman practice of firing on Centries & on unarmed spectators, to be forboren & detested by this Company. The arms &° to be particularly regarded—& if the men are not too much fatigued, to be exercised in the afternoon. The Officer of the Day to point out their duty plainly to the Centries & frequently visit them.

Parole, *Mercer.*

Counter, *Cadwalader.*

S. DELANY.

POST AT THE OLD STAR, JULY 24th 1776.

Orders for the day.

Guards to be mounted as usual, omitting the Pickett, but cautioning all the Men to be ready to turn out at a moments warning. Centries to be fixed agreeable to former orders—who are to challenge every person without distinction—and unless they Give the proper signs to secure them at every risque—to suffer no boats to pass unchallenged or any person to land here or pass over to the Island; to pay particular regard to any noise or stir among our enemy—and give notice to the Officer of the Guard on any suspicion well founded of a surprise to send immediate notice to the main Guard. The officer of the day to go the rounds frequently—and if any centry is found asleep—or off his post—the safety of the whole depending on them, he is to be put under arrest and other centry fixed; a report to be made in writing of every material transaction.

Parole, *Meredith.*

Counter, *Knox.*

OLD STAR JULY 25th 1776.

Orders for the Day.

Guard & Centries as usual—Officers frequently to go the rounds in the Night—& the centries to be cautious, but steady—& no alarm given unless evidently necessary—from the great fatigue we have lately undergone—the men to be excused exercising—& an exact observance of order &c. to be followed.

Parole, *Roberdeau.*Counter, *Ewing.*

SHARP DELANY.

The Blanketts to be well dried—& the Straw of the Tents.

LISTS OF PENNSYLVANIA SETTLERS MURDERED,
SCALPED AND TAKEN PRISONERS BY INDIANS,
1755-1756.

[The Conrad Weisser Papers, in the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contain much material relating to the French and Indian War, from which have been copied the following lists of settlers killed, scalped and taken prisoners in what are now the Counties of Berks, Dauphin, Lancaster, Lebanon, Monroe and Northampton, and the valley of the Lehigh.]

- | | | |
|---------------------------|--|--------------------|
| | In Paxton | |
| Oct ^r 25, 1755 | at Machania | |
| | James Armstrong | } |
| | Richard Cabit | |
| | Michel Paxton | |
| | John Stevenson | |
| | John Murrey | |
| | Tho ^s Woods | |
| | Tho ^s Colliar | |
| | James Mc. Creery | Killed and Scalped |
| August 24 1757 | James Bealy Kill ^d and Scalped | |
| Sept ^r 8 | Henry McIllroy Son and 2 Daughters
Captvated | |
| Oct ^r 1 | Will ^m Martin Kill ^d and Scalped | |
| 17 | Allen. Watt | } |
| | John Mc. Kennet | |
| | Kill ^d and Scalped | |
| | In Lebanon | |
| May 18, 1757 | George Menier's Son Kill ^d & Scalp ^d and three
taken Captives | |
| Sept ^r 19 | Conrad Waggonr Kill ^d & Scalp ^d -his wife
Captvated | |
| | Henry Hamer Kill ^d and Scalp ^d | |
| | Jacob Freleigh's wife and daughter Kill ^d &
Scalp ^d | |

Sept^r 30 Peter Wampler's five Childer Captivated
 ☞ Me Adam Reed

The number of What is Kill^d & Captivated in Bathel town-
 ship Lancaster County

Dec ^r 12, 1755	John Rosenbarger Captvated	
June 3, 1756	Felix Wench Kill ^d & Scalp ^d Orshel his wife and his Child and two Children of a frende	} Captvated
June 15	Esther Cleir Scalped but yet Living	
19	Francis Albert Jacob Hinch Georg Meass Fredrick Weisor	} Kill ^d and Scalp ^d
Oct ^r 24	Fredrick Hendly Margret Hendly Elizebath Keyler Kathrine Stample Scalp ^d but yet Living Margret Stample Captvated	} Kill ^d and Scalp ^d
No ^r 3	Cristopher Staffel Kill ^d & Scalp ^d	
May 16, 1757	John Spitler Michel Fisher David Fisher Michael Clever Ann Clever	} Kill ^d and Scalp ^d
19	Ann Kathrin Lingefeller Kill ^d & Scalp ^d Cathren Lingefeller Kathren Albert Elizebath Sharl	} Captivated
June 1	Peter Cleeck wife and three Childer Jacob Erbe's wife and one Child Jacob Weiregh's wife	} Kill ^d and Scalp ^d

July 20	Mary Lorash Kill ^d	
	Jacob Lorash	} Captivated
	Barbara Lorash	
	Cristiana Lorash	
	Kathrin Lorash	
August 5	John Winkelplich Kill ^d & Scalp ^d	
	Georg " Kill ^d	

Since my Last in Hanover thownship

Nov. 23 1757	Tho ^s Robinson	} Killed & Scalped
24	Robart Bell	
	⌘ Me Adam Reed	

HONOURED SIR

According to your desire, to make out a List of the people, who are Murdred and taken Captivity by the Indians. I send hereby so near as possible, I could get it /to wit/

George Eberhard and his Wife and 5 Children Killed and scalp'd—	} in the Month of Oct ^r 1755, on the Shoe- mokee road over the Kittitiny hill
Baltzer Shefer Killed and scalped and his Daughter taken Captivity	
Henry Hartman Killed and scalp'd in his house over the Mountain	} in Nov ^r . 1755

John Leyenberger & Rudolf Ken- del George Wolf & John Apple Caspar Spring & Jacob Ritz- man Fred ^k . Wieland & Geo. Martin Bouer. are all killed	} in Nov ^r . 1755 as they where going on the watch on the Kittitinghill on Sat- urday at noon wher Fort Henry is Built at present
---	--

Philip House Killed the same Evening in his house

Henry Robels wife and 5 Children and a Girl of W ^m . Stein are Killed and some scalped	} on the next Day or Sunday
---	--------------------------------

Baltzer Newfangs wife killed and his son taken Captivity	} In March 1756 over the Mountain
Valentine Baumgartners Son Killed	

an old Men Caled Clous and his } in Aprill 1756 over
Wife are killed and scalpd } the Mountain

Double, 2 Children Killed and Scalpd in Bethel Township
in May 1756

Martin Cappeler and his Wife are } in July 1756 Bethel
killed and scalped } Township

Philip Guinters Wife, Son in Law }
and a Daughter are Killed and } in Oct^r 1756 over
scalped. And a Daughter & 2 } the Mountain
Children taken Captivity }

Two Men Killed and scalped } in Oct^r 1756 on the planta-
and one Bernard Motzs taken } tion of Nicolaus Long in
Captivity } Tulpehokin Towns

George Peter Gisingers Wife taken } in Dec^r 1756 in Tul-
Captivity } pehokin Township

Adam Miller Killed and scalped in April 1757 over the
Mountain

George Peter Gisinger Killed and } in Aprill 1757 Tul-
scalped } pehokin Township

Baltzer Smith's Daughter taken Captivity the same Day
Bethel Towns.

Fred^k Myer and his Wife Killed and } in June 1757 in
scalped; and 3 of his Children } Barn Township
taken Captivity }

Highstealers Wife and one Child }
Killed and scalped himself and 4 } in Sept^r 1757 in
Children taken Captivity } Barn Township

Philip Summer Killed and scalpd }

This is as near as I could Collecting the same, in the
County of Berks on this side of the River Schuylkill

I am

Sir

Tulpehokin, ye 28
Nov^r 1757

Your Most humble serv^t
PETER SPYCKER

A List of all the People which was Killed Since The War began from the Rever lechy east Wards and of them which was Taken Presoner Within the Same Parts I have Takin the Nams and the Tim when the where Killed or Takin Presoners as Much as Possible but in Sum parts I coulnt not have there Nams of all but the Number how meny there Was the Said List was made by

Fort Allan December 16th 1757 Captⁿ Jacob Orndt

November 24 th 1755 att Mahoney Crick att gnathinhutin	}	Martain Nitshman & his wife Andrew & his Wife and one Child Senceman his Wife Gatter Mayer George Swayer Prester & fabarickius & lisle—11 Killed
---	---	---

January 1 th 1756 att gnathinhutin	}	14 men Were Killed of Capt ⁿ Haysis Company
--	---	---

December 10 th 1755	}	Frederick Haeth and his Wife and one of his Dattear and another girl both under eage and Two men more was Killed & Three Datters of Fred- erick haeth and the Smith Wife and Two Childern them where Takin Presoner—6 Killed—6 Presoners
--------------------------------	---	--

January 17 th 1756	}	Christian Bembar & falty Huid & Michol huid & lorance Konckel & four Solder of Capt ⁿ Drombs Cum- pany where killed & falty huid Dat- tar and a boy was Takin Presoner— 8 Killed—2 Presoners
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Appril 4 th 1756	}	John Waterson and his Wife and one Child Killed & hanry Christ- mens Son & hanry Silrice Son both under eage where Takin Presoner. 3 Killed—2 Presoners
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in february 1756 —Peter Kaller was Takin Presoner

in January 1756 { John Bowman and another men was
Killed & Cathrina hailin Presoner
2 Killed—1 Presoner

Jan'y 2th 1757 { Hanry Boyer was Killed and three
of his Childern where Takin Pre-
soner the was under eage—1 Killed
—3 Presoners

in February 1756 { in uper Smithfield
Thomas quick and Two Solders
belonging to the New Yorck forces
where Killed—3 Killed.

in December 1755 { gist von Comp his Wife and a
sucking Child John Worly & his
Wife John Worly & his Wife the
Juner and Seven Childern mor
which whar all under eage was Killed
and three Childern Takin Presson-
ers—13 Killed—3 Presoners

November 1755 { Cornalius von acken and his Wife
and three Childern Was Killed and
abraham Cutrides his Wife and Two
Childern Takin Presoner—5 Killed
—3 Presoners

May 1757 { Stoffel Denimarck and his Wife
both Killed

September 1757 { Andrews Dickirs Dattar & Manuel
Cunsarles Datter both under eage
Takin Presoner 2 Presoners

February 1756 { Lower Smithfield
one men and Two Sons of Joseph
beackhorn they where under eage
Was Killed 3 Killed

- November 1755 { lamboad Boss & goldon hans von
flary and a negro men James Caull
& Dichold Thomas hill and one Wil-
liams where Killed—8 Killed
- December 1755 { Martain Row was Killed and the
above mention Williams Wife and
her five Childern Takin Presoner
1 Killed—6 Presoners
- January 1756 { Nathan gomlit and Captⁿ Jonsin
and a Soldier of Captⁿ Dromps
Cumpeny Were Killed and hol-
bords Son Takin Presoner
3 Killed—1 Presoner
- January 1756 { att one foxis Where five Killed and
one Takin Presoner
5 Killed—1 Presoner
- March 1756 { Adam Boserds Son and Two more
Where Killed 3 Killed
- December 1755 { Nicklas Wasir and Peter Hass and
three more where Killed and hanry
Hass & lanord Wasird and one mor
where Takin Presoner. beniamen
Deets and one mor Killd and his
Wife and Seven more where Takin
Presoner
7 Killed—11 Presoner
- Aprril 1757 { Sergend lenard Dean of Captⁿ von
eatins Cumpeny where Killed
- August 1757 { a Son of adam Snal Was under eage
whas Killed
- June 1th 1757 { John Deed and his Son & andrew
Countrymen Where Killed
3 Killed

April 1757 { att the Sattlemem by adam boserd
Where Killed William Waybrased
& Cunrad betebender Jacob Road
and Three more and abraham Mel-
ler and his mother and a Dattear of
adam Snall and three mor where
Takin Presoner
6 Killed—6 Presoner

January 1756 { Playnfeeld Township
William Custon and Two men more
where Killed 3 Killed

May 1757—Edward Marshels Wife Takin Presoner

July “ att Williams maks was one men Killed

September 1757 { one boy Killed and Jacob Killers
Wife and Two of his Childern
Takin Presoner

Dead and Presoners are in all—114 Killed—52 Presoners
of the Within mentioned Persons Which Where Takin
Presoners by the Indians where brought back again and
arrived the following Persons

Linard Wasird & Willim Wasird abraham Meller hanny
Hass Nicklas Romston and John evers boy and Jacob fox.
Persons Killed, wounded & taken Captives to the North
of the Mountains on the Waters of Shuylkill Viz

1756 { Balzar Nighfang's Wife & Son— Killed
March 6th { Jacob Clowser and Wife “
David Howell Wounded

March 22^d At the Plantation of Valentine Bumgarners
1 Woman & 2 Boys—2 Killed—1 Wounded

Oct^r 15 George Weidner Jun^r—Missing

Nov^r 3 Martin fell. Mother in law Sister in law his
Wife Child and Brother in Law

3 Killed—3 Missing

on the south side of the Mountain on the N. E. side of Shuylkill

19 Killed—1 Wounded

On the south west side of Shuylkill in Bern Township

9 Killed—3 Wounded— 5 Missing

Total 38 “ —6 “ —12 Missing

A List of all the Peoble which was Killed and Takin Presoner by the Indians Since the War began from the Rever Lechy and Weast Wards from the Townships haydelberg & linn Township and albany Township the Said list was made by Captⁿ Watherholt the 21th Day of December 1757.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| in the year 1755 | { | Haydelberg Township was Killed
John Rood his Servend & george
gorm Christobel Stoll John Stoll
lecocks Wife Richard lecock John
Sencer & his mother & one more
Milchor Dinke and his Dattear and
one more they Were all Killed
<p style="text-align: right;">14 Killed</p> |
| Septem 1757 | { | hanry france his Dattear Takin
Presoner |
| 8 January 1756 | { | in albany Township in the battle
with the Indians where Three men
Killed |
| 7 february 1756 | { | ould gerhorn Was Killed and Two
Wemon and Six Childern was burnd
in the hous by the Indians and fred-
erick Richelsdorfer his Two Datters
Killed ————— 11 Killed |
| 6 November 1756 | { | adam buss his wife & four Childern
Takin Presoners
<p style="text-align: right;">5 Presoner</p> |
| Jany 15 th 1757 | | Adam Drom Killed |

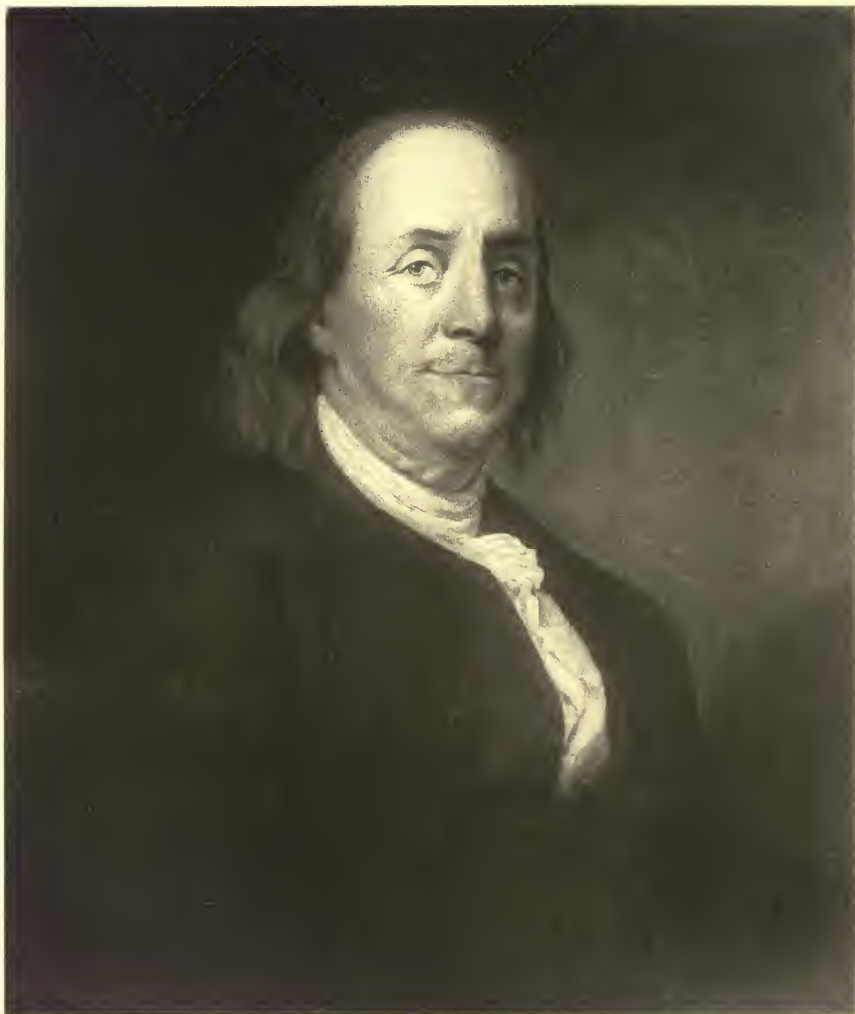
December 1755	{ Linn Township was Killed one Kouffman & hanover 2 Killed
february 1756	{ John Groushor his Wife William yet was Killed and his Son Takin Presoner and boldes Saislove and George Saislove his Two Sons Killed one Takin Presoner 5 Killed—2 Presoner
March 1756	{ George Saislove and his Wife and three Childern where Killed the Wife of David bialmen and Two of his Childern Killed — 8 Killed
Appril 1757	{ John Eckred Killed and one of his Childern Takin Presoner 1 Killed—1 Presoner
Novem 1756	{ Jacob Staynbruck Killed and boldis yeagers Dattar Takin Presoner 1 Killed—1 Presoner
July 1757	{ Adam Yeager and his Wife Abra- ham Senbacker his Wife and Two Childern. groushors Wife and his three Childern and a Child of Philep andoney 10 Killed

Dead and Presoners are in all—56 Killed—10 Presoners

AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT OF DOCTOR FRANKLIN,
PAINTED BY JOSEPH WRIGHT, BELONGING
TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY, LONDON.

BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

The discovery of an original authentic portrait painted from life by an American painter, of so distinguished a character as Doctor Franklin, and hitherto unknown, is a matter of great interest and of the first importance in the iconographic history of the country and of the man. It was known that in the collection of the Royal Society, at Burlington House, London, there was a portrait of Franklin, presented, in 1790, by Caleb Whitefoord, who had been Secretary to the Commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, but as to who was the painter of the portrait, or whether it was a copy or a life portrait, the society was in profound ignorance. Wheatley in his *Historical Portraits* (London, 1897, p. 222), confirms this by saying, "Franklin's portrait at the Royal Society is anonymous." And "anonymous" it might have remained but for that Eldorado of historic lore, the Franklin manuscripts in the American Philosophical Society, at Philadelphia. This magnificent collection has now been made accessible to students by the patient industry of the learned librarian of the society, as a memorial of the bi-centenary of Franklin's birth. After several years of untiring labor he has had printed for the society, in five large volumes, a thorough index to the manuscripts, entitled *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society. Edited by I. Minis Hays. Philadelphia, 1908*, and I have had the privilege, in the preparation of this monograph, of being the first person to use the *Calendar* practically, for purposes of research.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

1782

Painted from life by Joseph Wright

From the original painting presented by Caleb Whitefoord
to the Royal Society, London, in 1790

Some years ago, in running over these papers, I had found a letter from Patience Wright, the American modeller in wax, to Franklin, in Paris, dated London, July 30, 1782, in which she wrote: "I am very happy to here by Mr Whitford and others that my son is painting your Portrite. We expect a order from the Comon Councill very soon and so beg the orders of the City or Part of them for your Pictur to be painted by Joseph Wright and presented to those or to whom or where it may do most honor."

But diligent and persistent inquiry failed to identify any portrait of Franklin by Joseph Wright, who at the time his mother wrote was twenty-six years of age. That he was on terms of familiar intercourse with Franklin, went without saying, for his mother and the philosopher were old cronies, and she furnished the Doctor with much political information during the pendency of the war, until she was openly accused of being a spy.¹ And Dunlap, in his *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*, says²: "In the winter of 1782 Joseph was placed by his mother under the protection of Benjamin Franklin, in Paris." And the following letter recently found in the A. P. S. collection³ from Joseph Wright to Temple Franklin, undated, but written just before the former left France in the fall of 1782, not only confirms this, but gives us an introduction to Whitefoord's connection with the portrait of Franklin that Wright painted, which is of much significance.

Dear Sir; —

I found at my return to Paris yesterday, that I am oblidge'd to be detained a week longer as every place was taken both in the Dilligence and Cabriolé and there being no other conveyance before then and as I receiv'd your packet this Morning perhaps your letter to Mr. Williams

¹ See "Patience Wright, Modeller in Wax," by Charles Henry Hart, *The Connoisseur*, London, September, 1907.

² Vol. i, p. 312.

³ Letters of William Temple Franklin, vol. vii, No. 81.

may require an immediate conveyance. I return my sincere thanks for this continued instance of your grand-father's kindness. I could wish my situation here had put it in my Power to show you that I had a sense of the Friendship I have received from him and yourself but I find I have only, more favours to ask.

I could wish he would give me leave to make another Copy of his Picture either in small or large. As I wish to make a Present of to Mr Beech¹ or whatever Person he should think fit. The last I did Mr. Whitford has been pleased to take from me. I am fearful to ask as I consider I may be in some measure troublesom and he must be tired of seeing me so Constantly. I remain etc

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

P. S. I had a great notion of making it the Size of my Mother's or the other little one you saw as it will be portable and yet sufficiently marked to keep the likeness.

A year ago I had had occasion again to examine the Franklin manuscripts, and then found the following most valuable confirmatory letter from Caleb Whitefoord to William Temple Franklin.²

LONDON June 30th 1784

Dear Sir; —

Sometime ago, our friend Mr West, having the opportunity of seeing three of the America Plenipos' here & wishing to transmit their Portraits to Posterity in some Historical picture, made a sketch of the signing of the Preliminary Treaty, to which I contributed a material part by lending him the Portrait of your grandfather by Mr Joseph Wright, which I brought with me from Paris. There is only wanting (to make it compleat) a head of the Secretary to the American Commission, which Mr West requests you

¹ Either Richard Bache, the son-in-law, or Benjamin Franklin Bache, the grandson of Franklin.

² Letters of William Temple Franklin, vol. vi, No. 45.

will send us. A miniature will do; but it should be *in Colours*; & the attitude of the head *looking over the right shoulder*. I have promised the Portrait of your grand-father, when Mr West can spare it, to Mrs Hewson, who from her long acquaintance & great veneration for him, I thought highly deserving of such a present. I reserve a copy of it for myself & I have given one to Mr Strahan. I am etc

CALEB WHITEFOORD

P. S. I was elected F. R. S. last Thursday.

Here, then, was the proof positive from Patience Wright, Joseph Wright himself and from Caleb Whitefoord, that Joseph Wright did paint Franklin's portrait, and, further, that Caleb Whitefoord owned no less than three of them, for while he uses the word "copy," he unquestionably used it in its common, ordinary sense, of repetitions by Wright, as Wright himself uses it, and not in its strict technical meaning, of a copy by another hand. West's "sketch of the signing of the Preliminary Treaty," I well knew from reproductions of the unfinished picture in possession of Lord Belper, of Kingston, Hall, Kegworth, Derby, England; but as West and Franklin were old friends, I naturally supposed he had sketched the Doctor from life, and never dreamed of his having copied the head from another's painting.

In connection with our present inquiry, the "P.S." to Whitefoord's letter was pregnant with suggestions,—“I was elected F.R.S.¹ last Thursday.” What more likely, then, than when Caleb Whitefoord presented a portrait of Franklin to the Royal Society, he should present the one by Joseph Wright he had retained for himself, and what would that one be but the original from life, while the replicas went to Strahan and Mrs Hewson? But this was mere suggestion, strongly presumptive, 'tis true, yet not proof. The needed proof, however, was furnished too by the learned society that Franklin had founded.

¹ Fellow of the Royal Society.

Three months before Franklin died Caleb Whitefoord was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, which distinguished honor he accepted by letter of February 25, 1791, addressed to James Hutchinson and John Vaughan, the secretaries. This letter, on file with the society, concludes with the following all important postscript:

“P.S. It is a curious concurrence of circumstances, that on the day and hour when your letter arrived, acquainting me of my Election into the American Philosophical Society, I received a letter of Thanks from the Royal Society here, for a Portrait which I had presented to them, of my honoured friend, your late worthy President¹. It is an excellent Resemblance of that truly great man and useful Philosopher; and was painted by Mr. Wright, an American Artist, whom I employed at Paris in the year 1782. It is now added to the Heads of Illustrious Persons, in the Royal Society’s Great Room; and Doctor Franklin is grouped with his immortal Brethren in Philosophy, Newton, Boyle and Locke.”

Could proof be more direct, unanswerable and conclusive, and I have had the pleasure of advising the Royal Society that the painter of its portrait of Franklin, presented by Caleb Whitefoord, is no longer unknown,—that it was painted by the American artist JOSEPH WRIGHT.

This discovery of Joseph Wright’s authorship of the Royal Society’s portrait of Franklin is rich in results beyond anything anticipated. The reproduction accompanying this monograph is made from a photograph by G. Hyatt, 1 Hamilton Road, Ealing, London, direct from the painting belonging to the Royal Society and a comparative study of this photograph with the portrait of Franklin in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., attributed to Duplessis, and with the portrait of Franklin in the Public Library, Boston, Mass., attributed to Greuze, can leave no doubt upon the mind of any unprejudiced person that both

¹ Benjamin Franklin.

of these portraits are also by or after Joseph Wright. This is particularly gratifying to me, as long ago I expressed the opinion that the former was not by Duplessis and the latter not by Greuze; and, as we shall see, I have good evidence that I am absolutely correct in regard to the Corcoran-Duplessis picture. The Wright portrait is very like the pastel portrait of Franklin by Duplessis, of the following year, recently presented by the Hon. John Bigelow to the Public Library of New York,¹ and it is only natural that it should be, as portraits painted of the same subject at about the same time, by different artists, must necessarily, if each is like the sitter, be like each other; and Wright's portrait of Franklin having preceded Duplessis's portrait of Franklin, of the same type, by one year, there is no room for the suggestion even that Wright copied the Duplessis pastel; any contention of this kind would only put the boot on the other leg.

The history of the portrait in the Corcoran Gallery of Art confirms my judgment to the letter in regard to its authorship. It was purchased in 1885 from Henry Stevens, "G.M.B.," of London, an eccentric character who dealt in Americana, and who had bought it three years earlier from Graves, the print-seller and successor of Boydell. Upon the back of this picture is the following inscription: "This portrait of Doctor Franklin was painted in Paris in 1782 and was presented by him to Mr William Hodgson, of Coleman Street, as a token of his regard and friendship." William Hodgson (1745-1851), who lived to the age of 106, was a friend of Franklin and of the colonies, who acted on behalf of both, in England, for the exchange of American prisoners of war and the amelioration of their condition during confinement. Among his many letters to the American plenipoten-

¹ Mr. Bigelow in his letter of presentation, printed in the Bulletin of the Library for June, 1908, makes the error of saying that M. le Villiard, the original owner of the portrait, accompanied Franklin on his return voyage to America. Houdon, the sculptor, was his *compagnon de voyage*, but not M. le Villiard.

tiary that are preserved, one of October 14, 1782, is directly in point: "If the above bill on L'Orient is honored you will please to apply the whole or what part you please to Mr Wright, for the picture, which, when proper opportunity offers, I am expecting."¹ Here, then, in the Corcoran Gallery, is the portrait of Franklin that belonged to Hodgson, and which Hodgson himself writes is by "Mr Wright." Before I found this decisive letter I felt that the date in the inscription on the portrait was a significant substantiation of the inherent evidences of the painting that it was the work of Joseph Wright; 1782 being the year that Wright had painted his portrait of Franklin, while Duplessis's portrait of Franklin, of the type similar to the Royal Society picture, by Wright, was not painted until 1783. This, I think, must be accepted as conclusive as to the authorship of the Corcoran Gallery portrait of Franklin; and now as to the one in the Boston Public Library attributed to Greuze.

The so-called "Greuze" portrait of Franklin, in the Public Library, Boston, has a somewhat more important history, but I fear an apocryphal one. In 1857 and again in 1859 Charles Sumner saw this portrait in London at the house of Joseph Parkes (1796-1865), who married a daughter of Joseph Priestley and collected the material for a life of Sir Philip Francis, which was afterward used by Hermann Merivale, and who was a long-time manager and confidential adviser to the Whigs, acting as intermediary between the Whigs and the Radicals on the question of parliamentary reforms in 1832. Parkes had received the portrait from James Oswald, M.P., for Glasgow, a great-grand-nephew of Richard Oswald, who was the chief British commissioner of the Peace Conference with the United States, and the tradition that went with the picture was that Franklin had given it to Oswald in exchange for his own portrait, at the close of the negotiation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace of November 30, 1782. Parkes sold the portrait

¹A. P. S. vol. xxvi, No. 39.

to Gardner Brewer of Boston in 1860, and twelve years later Mr Brewer presented it to the Public Library of Boston.¹ The flaw in the history is that there is to-day at Auchincruive, Ayrshire, Scotland, which was the seat of Richard Oswald, acquired by him in 1759 from the proceeds of his business ventures in America, a precisely similar portrait with the same story tacked to it, and as the Ayrshire picture seems undoubtedly to have belonged to Richard Oswald and always to have remained in the plenipotentiary's house, it is most likely the identical one that passed in exchange from Franklin, and the one in the Public Library of Boston a copy of it. This, too, would seem to be the case from a study of photographs of the two pictures, the Boston portrait looking like a copy of the Auchincruive picture. This interesting information came to me in a correspondence I had, in 1897, with Mr Richard A. Oswald, a great-great-grand-nephew of Richard Oswald, the commissioner, who inherited the portrait with the house where it had always hung. This portrait, too, Mr Oswald wrote me, like the Parkes portrait, had always been attributed to Greuze; but it must be remembered, apart from the fact that neither of these portraits in its execution has the slightest resemblance to the well-known methods of Greuze, which intrinsically condemns their attribution to that painter, the portrait that Greuze did paint of Franklin is of a wholly different type.² It was painted in 1777, in pastel, and belongs to Mrs Thomas Lindall Winthrop, of Boston, whose first husband, Mr James Lawrence, purchased it at the famous San Donato sale of Prince Demidoff's collection, in March of 1870. The Boston portrait is therefore certainly not a Greuze, and that it is a copy or a replica of Wright's portrait is shown not only by its resemblance upon comparison, but by its traditional date, 1782, which is that of

¹ 20th Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Library, 1872, pp. 21, 86-88.

² See "Life Portraits of Franklin," By Charles Henry Hart, *McClure's Magazine* for January, 1897, p. 268.

Wright's portrait; and the added fact that Wright did paint three portraits of Franklin for Caleb Whitefoord, who, it will be remembered, was Richard Oswald's secretary, in Paris, and therefore who so likely as Wright to paint Franklin's portrait for Oswald at that time? In final confirmation that the portraits of Franklin in the Royal Society, London, in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, and at the seat of the Oswalds in Ayrshire, are all from the brush of Joseph Wright, and that in the Public Library of Boston either by or after him, is found in the color scheme of the four pictures, each precisely the same—a red-brown or claret-color coat and a dark green chair.

Joseph Wright, who is now for the first time to receive the honor that is his due for his portrait of Doctor Franklin, never before published as from his brush, was born in Bordentown, New Jersey, July 16, 1756. As already stated, he was the son of Patience Wright, the first American modeller, and accompanied his mother to London when she settled there in 1772, and from her inherited the artistic instinct. He studied painting under Benjamin West¹ and also with John Hoppner, who married his sister. Before he left London for Paris, he had exhibited at the Royal Academy, and had painted a portrait of the Prince of Wales, afterward George IV. His sojourn in France was rather brief, something short of a year, he sailing for home in the good ship *Argo* late in October of 1782, and after being shipwrecked reached Boston at the end of a voyage of ten weeks. Wright carried a letter of introduction from Franklin to Washington, which he presented in the fall of 1783, when the commander-in-chief had his headquarters at Rocky Hill, near Princeton, N. J., where Wright painted Washington's portrait. This original study on a mahogany panel, 12x14 — doubtless the portable size Wright in his

¹ See letter from West to M. Pierre at Paris, introducing Wright. PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, vol. xxxii, p. 17.

letter, *supra*, suggests for Franklin's portrait — became the property of Francis Hopkinson, and is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is difficult to feel that it can possibly be a true portraiture of the subject, and yet Washington has given Wright's portrait the guinea-stamp of his approval.¹ When the Count de Solms, commandant of the Fortress of Königstein, solicited Washington, in July, 1783, for his portrait, writing: "Let the best pencil trace your image; let no pains or cost be spared to favor me with the most faithful likeness," Washington employed Wright to paint the portrait. He wrote to the Count de Solms:

MOUNT VERNON January 3, 1784

SIR; —

The letter which you did me the honor to write from Königstein on the 9th of July last came safely to my hands a few days ago, accompanied by one from Mons. le Count de Bruhl. * * * * * As the distance and circumstances will not permit me the pleasure of seeing you I must be contented with giving the best demonstration of respect in my power. I have not delayed a moment therefore to comply with your wishes, but have employed a gentleman to perform the work, who is thought on a former occasion to have taken a better likeness of me than any other painter has done. His forté seems to be in giving the distinguishing characteristics with more boldness than delicacy. And although he commonly marks the features very strongly, yet I can not flatter you that you will find the touches of his pencil extremely soft or that the portrait will in any respect equal your expectations. Such as it may be (and for your sake I would wish the execution was as perfect as possible) it will be forwarded from Philadelphia to the order of the Count de Bruhl, as soon as it is finished and I pray your acceptance

¹ See Life Portraits of Washington, by Charles Henry Hart, *McClure's Magazine* for February, 1897, pp. 294, 295, 299 and 300.

of it as a token of the great veneration and esteem with which I have the honor to be

Yours etc

GO. WASHINGTON

On the same day Washington wrote to the Count de Bruhl :

MOUNT VERNON January 3, 1784

SIR; —

In forwarding the letter of the Count de Solms, you have done a most acceptable office by bringing me acquainted with so venerable and dignified a character. You have also given me an occasion of experiencing your great politeness and of expressing my obligations for it. I now take the liberty of committing to your charge a letter directed to the Count. It is a harbinger of the Portrait which is intended to be presented to him, in conformity to his request and your permission and which will likewise be addressed to your care by my friend the Honble Robert Morris of Philadelphia. I have the honor to be

Yours etc

GO. WASHINGTON

A week later he wrote to Joseph Wright:

MOUNT VERNON, Jan. 10th 1784

SIR; —

When you have finished my portrait, which is intended for the Count de Solms, I will thank you for handing it to Mr. Robert Morris, who will forward it to the Count de Bruhl, (minister from his Electoral Highness of Saxe, at the court of London) as the channel pointed out for the conveyance of it. As the Count de Solms proposes to honour 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 and I will remit you the money. Let it (after Mr Morris has seen it) be carefully packed to prevent injury. With great esteem I am

Yours etc

GO. WASHINGTON

The same day he wrote to Robert Morris :

DEAR SIR; — MOUNT VERNON January 10, 1784

I will thank you for putting the letter herewith enclosed into a proper channel of conveyance. The Count de Bruhl is informed by it that my Portrait (which I have begged the Count de Solms to accept) will be forwarded to his care by you so soon as it is finished and I request the favour of you to do it accordingly. Mr. Wright is desired to hand it to you for this purpose and as he is said to be a little lazy, you would oblige me by stimulating him to the completion. By promise it was to have been done in 5 or 6 weeks from the time I left Philadelphia, near four of which have expired. I am sorry to give you trouble about trifles but I know you will excuse it in this instance. I am etc

GO. WASHINGTON

Washington paid for this portrait £18, and sent it to Königstein, where it was received August 4, 1785, and the above letters, with the exception of that from Washington to Wright, are printed from Washington's copies in the Library of Congress at Washington, and have never before been published. Certainly Washington shows himself an incisive critic of the painter's ability at delineation, but what is more important, and also surprising, is the statement that Wright has taken a better likeness of him than any other painter.¹ In addition to painting several portraits of Washington, Wright modelled his bust for Congress, made a laureated head in bas-relief, and etched his profile. In regard to the first named Washington wrote Wright:

SIR; — MOUNT VERNON 30th Jany. 1785

It has so happened that your card of Sept. 1st with the bust which accompanied it did not get to my hands until

¹ The only painters who had painted portraits of Washington prior to Wright were Charles Willson Peale, Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, and William Dunlap.

sometime in the course of last month and that a letter from your good mother, dated Dec. 8, 1783, only reached me the 12th of last December. For the first you will please to receive the united acknowledgments and thanks of Mrs Washington and myself. The large one she prays may give you no uneasiness or hurry your convenience in the execution will be most agreeable to her wishes, In answer to the second I give you the trouble of forwarding the enclosed letter when you have occasion to write to England. Our best wishes attend you and I am etc

GO. WASHINGTON

Unfortunately Wright's bust of Washington is unknown to-day, although beside the one mentioned in Washington's letter there was one made for Congress, as shown by the action of that body "Passed 6 Apr. 1785":

"The Committee consisting of Mr Johnson, Mr Bedford and Mr Howell to whom was referred a report of the Secretary of Congress respecting the bust of General Washington, do report That it appearing to them that the Bust of General Washington is now finished and ready to be delivered and that Mr Wright the artist who executed the same is about to remove from the city of Philadelphia, Your Committee are of opinion that some immediate disposition should be made of said bust. Therefore submit the following resolution

"That His Excellency the President draw an order on the Treasurer of the United States in favor of Joseph Wright for 233 1/3 dolls it being the sum charged by him for modelling and completing the said Bust.

"That the Secretary of Congress take order for causing the said bust to be brought to this city and wait the further order of Congress"

The next day Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, wrote to Wright from New York, covering a warrant for the amount and requesting delivery of the bust.

Washington showed his appreciation of Wright's ability further by appointing him the first engraver and die-sinker

to the United States Mint, a position he had held but a short time when he fell a victim to the scourge of yellow fever that swept Philadelphia toward the close of 1793. The exact date of Wright's death is lost, but on November 6, 1793, Jefferson, as Secretary of State, wrote to David Rittenhouse, Director of the Mint, "It has been understood that Mr. Wright, our engraver, is dead."¹ His wife was a Miss Vandervoort, who died within a few days of her husband, and who is said to have been a niece of the Colonel Ledyard who was murdered by the British, near New London, Conn., in 1781, after he had surrendered his sword.

Wright's name appears in the Philadelphia Directory for 1793, where he is put down as "Limner, Sassafras Street." In his will, which was made the 11th of September before he died, he calls himself "miniature painter and engraver." His portrait, in a family group that he painted himself, belongs to the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, which owns also a bust of Wright by William Rush.

Caleb Whitefoord (1734-1810), for whom Wright painted the portrait of Franklin, was a very interesting character, and an intimate friend and next-door neighbor of Franklin in Craven St., London, for several years. He was the natural son of an army officer, born in Edinburgh and educated at that university, became a wine merchant, and was secretary to the commissioners that concluded peace between the United States and Great Britain. He was a noted wit and a welcome member of that famous coterie composed of Dr. Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, Reynolds, Burke and their friends. His portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and in 1782 by Gilbert Stuart, the latter an exceptionally fine one. Both have been engraved. He also had some facility with the pencil, and seems by the following extract from a letter to him from Franklin² to have tried his hand at the Doctor's phiz.

¹ Jenkin's *Jefferson's Germantown Letters*, Phila., 1906, p. 38.

² *The Whitefoord Papers*, edited by W. A. S. Hewins, Oxford, 1898, p. 142.

PHILA. Dec. 7, 1762.

DEAR SIR:—

*****I thank you for the humourous and sensible Print you sent me, which afforded me and several of my Friends great Pleasure. The Piece from your own Pencil is acknowledged to bear a strong and striking Likeness, but it is otherwise such a Picture of your Friend, as Dr. Smith¹ would have drawn, *black, and all black.*²

Whitefoord had always been a friend of the Colonies, and in his letter to the American Philosophical Society, acknowledging his election, says: "I have long been a sincere well-wisher to America. No one lamented more the unhappy Quarrel between the Colonies and the Parent State. And having lent a helping hand to stop the Horrors of War and to negotiate a Peace between the two Countries I have the satisfaction to think I have not lived in vain."

If the clearing up of disputed facts and the fixing of the authorship of at least three portraits of Franklin upon Joseph Wright, which hitherto have been attributed to Duplessis, Greuze and one more correctly to an unknown hand, seem as important to the reader as to the writer, then, in the words of Whitefoord, "I have the satisfaction to think that I have not lived in vain."

¹The Reverend William Smith, D.D, an avowed enemy of Franklin.

²"That famous horse Othello, *alias* Black and all Black."—New Foundling Hospital for Wit, 1784, v. 269.

NOTES ON THE WOODS FAMILY, OF BEDFORD,
PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOSEPH L. DELAFIELD.

GEORGE WOODS: Came of a family of Scotch origin resident in Ireland. He emigrated to America from the northern part of Ireland before 1733, probably with John Woods, who appears to have been his brother. He took the oath of allegiance in Philadelphia in 1740 and settled in Tuscarora, prior to 1754. He was taken captive by the Delaware Indians in 1756, confined in Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburgh, apportioned by the French commander to Chief John Hudson of the Seneca tribe, and later released by him. He was a Presbyterian and had married, before coming to America, Rosanna Hall. By 1762 he had moved to Fort Bedford, now Bedford, where his children and their families had probably preceded him. By occupation he was a packer and Indian trader and owned large trains of horses for transporting merchandise of all kinds from Harris Ferry, now Harrisburg, to Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh, and the intervening settlements. They had issue:

Thomas Woods.

Rebecca Woods.

George Woods.

SECOND GENERATION.

THOMAS WOODS: Followed the occupation of his father, having commenced to trade prior to 1743 and settled in Bedford probably before 1761. Deputy Sheriff Bedford Co. 1771. His first wife, who had emigrated with him from the North of Ireland, having died shortly after their arrival in Bedford, he married secondly the Jean Woods famous for her competent management of her husband's tavern, during his absence on the trails with his pack trains. He died in 1798, apparently without issue.

REBECCA WOODS: Married George Nixon, probably before emigrating to America, and settled in Bedford, about 1761. They had issue:

Rebecca Nixon.

GEORGE WOODS: A surveyor by profession, his name appears on the records of Lancaster County prior to 1749, after which the records of Cumberland County show that, with his countrymen, many of whom were probably companion emigrants prior to 1733, he was moving westward up the Juniata Valley. In about 1753 he married Jane McDowell, a daughter of Dr. William McDowell, d. 1769, of Peters Township, then in Cumberland County, who had settled in that region in about 1730. In 1755, the date of the birth of his eldest child, he was in Tuscarora, from whence he pushed steadily westward, leading the eventful life of a frontier surveyor in a country harassed by Indian wars, until in about 1759 he located in Bedford. Most of the early surveys in the upper Juniata Valley were made by him. His services to the community in which he lived and to the country in general, may be briefly stated as follows;—Appointed Justice by Commission from George III, King of England, in 1771–3–4; one of a committee appointed by an Act of the General Assembly of the Colony of Pennsylvania in 1771 to purchase a site for the Court House and Jail at Bedford; appointed by an Act of the General Assembly in 1771 to mark definitely the boundaries of Bedford County; Treasurer of Bedford County in 1773–4; member of the General Assembly from Bedford County in 1773; sole Deputy from Bedford County to the Provincial Convention at Philadelphia in 1774 to act on the refusal of the Governor to call a General Assembly; member of the Committee of Correspondence, Bedford County, 1774–5; Colonel Second Battalion Bedford County Militia 1776, in which capacity he served until the end of the Revolution; member Supreme Executive Council Bedford County 1777–8–9; Bedford County Lieutenant 1784–5; surveyed

and laid out in 1784 the City of Pittsburgh; member Committee on Navigation Susquehanna River 1785; State Councillor for Bedford Co. 1787; member State Board of Property 1788-9; presiding Justice of the Quarter Sessions 1790; Justice of the Orphans Court 1790; presiding Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, the highest Court in Bedford County in 1790. He was a staunch Presbyterian, to which Church his children and his grandchildren adhered after him. Living to a ripe old age, he died after 1795, possessed of considerable property and honored by the respect and good will of the community in which he had spent a long and useful life. They had issue :

Jane Woods.

Henry Woods.

Mary Woods, b. 1759, d. Oct. 28th, 1840, unmarried.

George Woods.

John Woods.

Ann Woods.

THIRD GENERATION.

REBECCA NIXON: m. first Thomas Fannegan, secondly Isaiah Davis. She had issue :

Alexander Davis, b. 1814, resided at Everett, Bedford County.

JANE WOODS: b. 1755, d. June 12th, 1813, m. 1775 David Espy, b. 1730, d. June 13th, 1795, son of George and Jean (Taylor) Espy. A man of mark in Bedford County prior to and during the Revolution. An attorney by profession, he entered public life, was Deputy of the Provincial Convention in Philadelphia in 1775, member of the Council of Public Safety 1776; Colonel Bedford County Militia 1776, Prothonotary Bedford County 1778 to 1790; Justice Bedford County 1778. They had issue :

David Espy, b. 1777, d. 1818, unmarried, Captain Bedford County Militia.

Mary Elizabeth Espy.

George Espy, b. 1781, d. 1855, unmarried.

HENRY WOODS: Resided at Bedford and Hazelwood, Allegheny County, where he kept a handsome establishment and was active and useful in public life; Lieutenant Bedford County Militia, 1779, and elected to Congress 1799, d. 1826. He had issue:

Henry Woods.

John George Woods.

GEORGE WOODS: b. 1764, d. August 25th, 1807, a surveyor by profession and a man of distinction in Bedford, where he made his home when not in Pittsburgh or at Steubenville, Ohio. He ran for Congress on the Federalist ticket about 1806. Assisted his father in the survey of the City of Pittsburgh in 1784 and surveyed and laid out the City of Cincinnati. He married Anna McDowell, a daughter of Dr. John and Martha (Johnston) McDowell, of Philadelphia. They had issue:

Anna Woods.

Margaretta Woods, m. John S. Dike, d. without issue.

Mary Lythe Woods, died unmarried.

JOHN WOODS: One of the first men admitted to practice law at the Bar of Pittsburgh. He rose rapidly to distinction in his profession and helped create and maintained by his example the high standard which is so rightly attributed to the Bench and Bar of that City. He assisted his father in plotting the City of Pittsburgh; was a Presidential Elector in 1796, a State Senator in 1797 and represented Allegheny in Congress from 1815 to his death in 1817, leaving issue, a daughter who married Judge Henry M. Breckenridge of Pittsburgh and Carlisle.

ANN WOODS: b. Jan. 20th, 1771, d. Sept. 11th, 1805, m. Jan. 13th, 1791, James Ross, b. July 12th, 1762, d. Nov. 27th, 1847, son of Joseph and Jane (Graham) Ross, resided in Pittsburgh and at the Meadows, Allegheny County. Senator Ross served as a young man in the Revolutionary

Army; was one of the most prominent members of the First Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention; represented his native state in the United States Senate from 1794 to 1803; for three years in 1799, 1802 and 1805 he was the candidate of the Federal party in Pennsylvania for the office of Governor, was chairman of the committee named by Washington to compose the Whiskey Insurrection; was legal adviser and an intimate friend of General Washington. They had issue:

George Woods Ross, b. April 16th, 1792, d. Feb. 10th, 1814, unmarried.

James Ross, b. July 21, 1794, d. July 30th, 1795, unmarried.

Mary Jane Ross.

James Ross, b. May 23rd, 1799, d. Nov. 7th, 1851, unmarried.

Mary Ross, b. Sept. 21st, 1801, d. Aug. 5th, 1802, unmarried.

FOURTH GENERATION.

MARY ELIZABETH ESPY: b. 1779, d. Nov. 28th, 1815, m. July 10th, 1807, John Anderson, M. D., b. May 1st, 1770, d. March, 1840, son of Thomas and Margaret Alice (Lyon) Anderson, who acquired large properties in Bedford, where he resided in the homestead erected by Col. Espy, and towards the latter part of his life devoted himself to the development of the now famous Bedford Mineral Springs. He was Prothonotary of Bedford County. They had issue:

George Woods Anderson.

Espy Lyon Anderson.

Ann Jane Anderson, died young, unmarried.

Mary Woods Anderson.

Elizabeth Stewart Anderson, b. 1814, d. 1865, unmarried.

HENRY WOODS: Collector of the Port of Pittsburgh and Sheriff of Allegheny County. Resided at Hazelwood,

Allegheny County. He married Rachael E. Keller, daughter of Daniel Keller of Pittsburgh. They had issue :

Henry Woods, d. unmarried.

Mary Woods.

Rachael Woods, d. unmarried.

Prudence Woods, d. unmarried.

Ida Woods, d. unmarried.

JOHN GEORGE WOODS : Resided at Hazelwood, Allegheny County, m. Mary Ann Piper, d. 1792, she married secondly Dr. George W. Duffy of Philadelphia. He had issue :

Lucy P. Woods, married Col. Richard Penn Smith, resided on Staten Island, New York.

Florence Woods, married Dr. Hilton, resided in Philadelphia.

William Woods.

ANNA WOODS : m. Dr. Nathaniel Dike of Steubenville, Ohio, and had issue :

Virginia Dike.

George Dike, d. unmarried.

William Lythe Dike, d. unmarried.

MARY JANE ROSS : b. June 28th, 1797, d. Sept. 27th, 1825, m. Oct. 7th, 1816, Edward Coleman, son of Robert and Ann (Old) Coleman, of Lancaster and Philadelphia, b. July 4th, 1792, d. June 6th, 1841, (he married secondly Ann C. Griffith of Philadelphia, by whom he had no issue) served as a member of the Assembly and of the Senate of the State of Pennsylvania. They had issue :

Anne Ross Coleman.

Harriet Coleman.

Mary Jane Coleman, b. Aug. 21st, 1825, d. March 25th, 1847, unmarried.

FIFTH GENERATION.

GEORGE WOODS ANDERSON : A physician by profession, b. June 27th, 1808, d. June 20th, 1877, m. Caroline Mossell and had issue :

Perry Woods Anderson, b. June 18th, 1856, d. Jan. 1st, 1886, unmarried.

George Mossell Anderson, b. July 27th, 1858, m. Oct. 6th, 1886, *Kathleen O'Neill*, b. Nov. 8th, 1864. They reside at Bedford.

ESPY LYON ANDERSON: b. March 28th, 1810, d. May 12th, 1866, m. Feb. 26th, 1835, *Louisa H. Watson*, b. May 18th, 1817, d. Oct. 3rd, 1884. They had issue:

John Anderson, b. Aug. 2nd, 1837, d. unmarried.

Major William Watson Anderson, b. July 29th, 1839, d. Jan. 17th, 1856, unmarried.

Dr. James Ross Anderson, b. Sept. 14th, 1841, d. Jan. 19th, 1873, unmarried.

George Espy Anderson.

Mary Espy Anderson.

Eliza Watson Anderson, b. 1848, m. *Irwin Beatty* of Harrisburg, no issue.

Louisa Harrison Anderson.

Edward Harrison Anderson, b. April 15th, 1855, d. Feb. 1883.

MARY WOODS ANDERSON: b. 1812, d. Dec. 25th, 1872, m. Jan. 11th, 1843, *Frank Johnston* of Pittsburgh, b. Oct. 31st, 1816, d. Sept. 10th, 1863, son of *Alexander Washington* and *Ann (Poyntell) Johnston*. They had issue:

Alexander Johnston, b. Oct. 21st, 1843, d. May 5th, 1876, unmarried.

Ross Johnston.

Mary Espy Johnston.

VIRGINIA DIKE: m. *Thomas S. Blair* of Tyrone, and had issue:

George Blair.

Thomas Blair.

Anna Dike Blair.

ANNE ROSS COLEMAN: b. Nov. 7th, 1818, d. Dec. 2nd, 1895, m. Dec. 12th, 1837, *George Woolsey Aspinwall*, b.

Jan. 10th, 1814, d. June 19th, 1854, of Philadelphia, and had issue :

Mary Jane Aspinwall, b. Sept. 22nd, 1840, d. Feb. 28th, 1842, unmarried.

Emily Aspinwall, b. March 15th, 1843, d. Aug. 10th, 1844, unmarried.

Georgina Aspinwall, b. May 1st, 1845, d. July 21st, 1873, unmarried.

Harriet Coleman Aspinwall, b. Jan. 1st, 1849, d. Feb. 28th, 1850, unmarried.

Edward Aspinwall, b. 1855, d. June 30th, 1869, unmarried.

HARRIET COLEMAN; b. July 5th, 1820, d. May 3rd, 1848, m. Dec. 7th, 1841, Eugene A. Livingston, son of Robert L. and Margaret M. (Livingston) Livingston, of Clermont and New York City, (he married secondly Elizabeth Rhodes Fisher of Philadelphia, by whom he had issue), b. Aug. 30th, 1813, d. Dec. 22nd, 1893. They had issue :

Eugene Livingston, b. Jan. 8th, 1845, d. Dec. 31st, 1862, unmarried.

Mary Coleman Livingston.

SIXTH GENERATION.

GEORGE ESPY ANDERSON: b. Oct. 30th, 1843, d. April 30th, 1885, m. June 3rd, 1869, Rebecca Johnson. They had issue :

Mary Espy Anderson.

Espy Lyon Anderson.

Thomas Johnson Anderson.

Louisa Anderson.

MARY ESPY ANDERSON: b. July 17th, 1846, d. Feb. 29th, 1890, m. M. Edward Middleton of Philadelphia. They had issue :

Lillian Middleton.

Edwin Middleton.

LOUISA HARRISON ANDERSON: b. June, 1850, m. William O. Hickok of Harrisburg. They had issue:

William Orville Hickok.

Ross Anderson Hickok.

Louisa Hickok.

ROSS JOHNSTON: b. Sept. 1st, 1848, d. March 11th, 1885, resided at Pittsburgh, m. Sept. 18th, 1879, Anna Dike Blair. They had issue:

Virginia Blair Johnston, m. J. Frazer Harris and have issue.

MARY ESPY JOHNSTON: m. Dec. 27th, 1877, Prof. William Milligan Sloane of Princeton and New York City, b. Nov. 12th, 1850, son of James Renwick W. and Margaret (Milligan) Sloane, and have issue:

Mary Renwick Sloane, m. Joseph L. Delafield.

James Renwick Sloane.

Francis Johnston Sloane.

Margaret Milligan Sloane.

GEORGE BLAIR: Resident at Newcastle. He has issue:

Virginia Blair, m. Henry Thornton.

Cust Blair.

George Blair.

THOMAS BLAIR: Resident at Chicago, m. Emma Parker. They have issue:

Margaretta Blair.

Thomas Blair.

ANNA DIKE BLAIR: m. 1st Ross Johnston and 2nd Harvey Childs, of Pittsburgh, and has issue:

Virginia Blair Johnston.

Harvey Childs.

Blair Childs.

MARY COLEMAN LIVINGSTON: b. Aug. 17, 1847, m. Dec. 1st, 1868, Maturin L. Delafield, of New York City, b. Feb. 17th, 1836, son of Joseph and Julia (Livingston) Delafield, and have issue:

Maturin Livingston Delafield, m. Lettice Lee Sands.

Joseph Livingston Delafield, m. Mary Renwick Sloane.

John Ross Delafield, m. Violetta Susan White and have issue.

Julia Livingston Delafield, m. Frederick William Longfellow, and have issue.

Edward Coleman Delafield, m. Margaretta Stockton Beasley, and have issue.

Mary Livingston Delafield.

Harriet Coleman Delafield, m. Jarvis Pomeroy Carter, and have issue.

Eugene Livingston Delafield, m. Margaret Nevius Woodhull, and have issue.

PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES, ISSUED BY
GOVERNOR JAMES HAMILTON, 1748-1752.

BY HELEN JORDAN

(Continued from Page 236.)

- Jones, Ruth, and Isaac Coren, 1751, July 6.
Jones, Samuel, and Jane Kinderdine, 1751, August 6.
Jones, Samuel, and Rachel Thomas, 1751, August 19.
Jones, Thomas, and Hannah Gorsuch, 1751, December 21.
Jones, William, and Ann Moss, 1749, May.
Jordan, Jeremiah, and Mary Lewis, 1749, April 26.
Jugran, Susanna, and Abraham Lawrence, 1751, April 13.
Justice, Catharine, and William Penloon, 1751, November 18.
Justice, John, and Amy Morton, 1750, November.
Justice, Susannah, and Jacob Hollingsworth, 1749, March.
Justice, Swan, and Elizabeth Crosier, 1751, November 29.

Kale, Mary, and Neal Hart, 1750, October 3.
Kalm, Peter, and Anna Maria Sweman, widow, 1749, December.
Kaufman, Joseph, and Katharina Waterin, 1750, May.
Kearsley, Dr. John, and ——— Brand, 1748, December.
Keen, Daniel, and Elizabeth McCarty, 1752, January 7.
Kelles, William, and Catharine Nash, 1749, November.
Kelly, Catharine, and John Catringer, 1749, April.
Kelly, John, and Rebecca Sutton, 1752, April 10.
Kelly, Patrick, and Ann Doran, 1749, January.
Kemping, Catharine, and Abraham Barnhill, 1749, October.
Kennedy, Samuel, and Susannah Montgomery, 1750, June.
Kerle, Merey, and Salathiel Foster, 1749, November.
Key, Rachel, and John Gill, 1749, October.
Killpatrick, Frances, and Robert Dixon, 1748, March 17.
Kimpson, Samuel, and Susanna Thoman, 1750, May.

- Kinderdine, Jane, and Samuel Jones, 1751, August 7.
 King, Isaiah, and Margaret Irwin, 1749, October 25.
 Kinsey, Katherine, and William Pritchard, 1750, June.
 Kinsley, Catharina, and Henry Reichart, 1752, June 5.
 Kinzlee, Jacob, and Catharine Konering, 1749, October.
 Kirk, Samuel, and Mary Cooper, 1751, April 3.
 Kirke, James, and Mary Fitzgerald, 1749, March.
 Klein, Margaret, and Jacob Button, 1752, January 7.
 Knight, Henry, and Elizabeth Harding, 1748, December.
 Knight, Peter, and Elizabeth Wilkinson, 1752, June 20.
 Koch, Catharine, and John McEvers, 1750, June.
 Koch, widow of Peter Koch, and ——— McEvert, 1749,
 April.
 Konering, Catharine, and Jacob Kinzlee, 1749, October.
 Koppoch, Hannah, and William Junis, 1752, March 7.
 Kristman, Henry, and Mary Eliz. Schmeltzer, 1749, May.
 Krowser, Barbara, and John Lort, 1749, March 30.
 Kuhl, Mary, and Edward Scot, 1749, September.
 Kyser, Mathew, and Katharine Midwinter, 1750, November.
- Lacky, Thomas, and Elizabeth Cammell, 1749, October.
 Lampligh, Mary, and Richard Mopely, 1751, May 24.
 Lang, Thomas, and Elizabeth Sinclair, 1749, November.
 Lardner, Lynford, and Elizabeth Branson, 1749, October.
 Lasberry, William, and Sarah Paul, 1749, October.
 Latham, Mary, and John Floyd, 1750, June.
 Lawdirmae, Margaret, and Benjamin Harvey, 1751, April 13.
 Lawdon, John, and Mary Dindsey, 1749, September.
 Lawrence, Abraham, and Susanna Jugran, 1751, April 13.
 Lawrence, Elizabeth, and Mark Arnold, 1750, September.
 Lawrence, John, and Elizabeth Francis, 1749, April.
 Lawrence, Margaret, and Davis Malin, 1751, February 21.
 Lawrence, Martha, and Jenkins Price, 1751, January 19.
 Lawrence, Mary, and Edward Campbell, 1748, February 2.
 Lawrenson, Olive, and George Logan, 1751, April 15.
 Lea, John, and Christiana Trusse, 1749, March.
 Leacock, John, and Margaret Hamilton, 1749, October.

- Lee, John, and Catharine Stille, 1752, July 1.
Lee, Mary, and Patrick Wall, 1749, November.
Leech, Rebecca, and Henry Ash, 1749, March 25.
Leech, William, and Elizabeth Moor, 1751, September 4.
Lehman, Christian, and Elizabeth Fend, 1751, April 23.
Leidheisser, George, and Anna Margaret Paven, 1751,
June 19.
Lenington, Ann, and Abraham Carrear, 1749, May.
Leonard, Felix, and Jane Gilbert, 1749, May.
Leonard, Judah, and Thomas Lyneall, 1749, December.
Lessell, Mary, and Samuel Shaw, 1751, October 26.
Levin, Sebastian, and Susannah Schreider, 1751, May 8.
Lewes, Isaiah, and Mary Thomas, 1751, April 26.
Lewillin, John, and Rebecca Howard, 1751, March 20.
Lewis, Ann, and Thomas Green, 1749, April 5.
Lewis, Francis, and Hannah Clarke, 1749, January.
Lewis, James, and Elizabeth Iddings, 1752, March 23.
Lewis, Jane, and Isaac Warner, 1752, June 20.
Lewis, John, and Sarah Tatum, 1752, July 31.
Lewis, Martha, and James Shannan, 1752, March 25.
Lewis, Mary, and James McClure, 1751, August 28.
Lewis, Mary, and Jeremiah Jordan, 1749, April 26.
Lidnerd, Charity, and John Wheatley, 1751, August 6.
Linckom, Hester, and Patrick Tonin, 1748, February 2.
Lindsay, James, and Elinor Ronalson, 1748, January 10.
Lindsay, Robert, and Susanna Annis, 1751, December 13.
Lindsay, Jane, and Thomas Wilson, 1751, April 24.
Lisle, Hannah, and Robert Steele, 1751, December 14.
Littell, Jane, and Robert Shannon, 1749, September.
Little, Lawrence, and Bridget Peacking, 1749, October.
Lloyd, Elizabeth, and James Evans, 1750, May.
Lloyd, Evan, and Abigal Davies, 1748, December.
Lloyd, Joan, and James Davis, 1752, May 1.
Lockhart, Robert, and Jane McFarson, 1749, November.
Logan, George, and Olive Lawrenson, 1751, April 15.
Logan, Sarah, and James Cummings, 1751, June 3.
Long, Andrew, and Mary Smith, 1752, January 3.

- Long, John, and Mary Foster, 1750, August.
Long, Sarah, and John Robinson, 1752, May 25.
Longwell, Margaret, and John Fenby, 1749, May.
Lord, John, and Deborah Bankson, 1751, June 8.
Lowry, Andrew, and Mary Cather, 1751, January 15.
Lowry, George Henry, and Catharine Pening, 1749, May.
Lownes, Mary, and Edward Fitzrandolph, 1752, April 15.
Lowther, James, and Martha Breintnall, 1752, May 11.
Lubers, Jacob, and Anna Allarue, 1748, January 17.
Lunn, Joseph, and Alice Evans, 1751, November 26.
Lyneall, Thomas, and Judah Leonard, 1749, December.
- McBride, Daniel, and Jennet McCracken, 1751, October 29.
MacCall, Magd^a, and John Swift, 1749, May.
McCall, Robert, and Catharine Mulica, 1750, May.
McCammin, Elizabeth, and Alexander Parkes, 1751, April 9.
McCauel, Placius Daniel, and Julianna Holliday, 1751, November 4.
McCarty, Elizabeth, and Daniel Keen, 1752, January 7.
McCay, Wm., and Rebecca Smith, 1750, May.
McCleane, Michael, and Rachel Patterson, 1749, May.
McCleane, William, and Mary Stalker, 1749, May.
McClure, James, and Mary Lewis, 1751, August 28.
McCoskerr, Bernard, and Honour Brodricks, 1750, June.
McCoy, James, and Elizabeth Wilson, 1752, May 9.
McCracken, Jennet, and Daniel McBride, 1751, October 29.
McCracken, Martha, and Jeremiah Smith, 1750, October 13.
McCreary, Ann, and William Hart, 1749, July.
McCreight, Margaret, and John Mathews, 1752, May 14.
McCullough, Ann, and Peter Peel, 1751, November 30.
McDonnel, Isabel, and Bryce McFall, 1749, September.
McDowell, James, and Ann Harman, 1751, August 14.
McDowell, Mary, and Wm. Huston, 1749, September.
McDowell, Samuel, and Ann Saunders, 1749, September.
McDurmant, Margaret, and John Mann, 1749, April.
McEvers, John, and Catharine Koch, 1750, June.

- McEvert, ———, and ——— Koch, widow of Peter Koch, 1749, April.
- McFall, Bryce, and Isabel McDonnel, 1749, September.
- McFarland, Martha, and John Anderson, 1749, May.
- McFarlin, Jane, and Andrew Brown, 1751, April 13.
- McFarson, Jane, and Robert Lockhart, 1749, November.
- McGee, Abigail, and Robert Hughes, 1751, November 1.
- McGee, William, and Elizabeth Breading, 1749, November.
- McGittighan, Bryan, and Ann Toomy, 1751, November 4.
- McNealus, Isabel, and John Standeland, 1751, February 16.
- McIlvain, John, and Mary Roman, 1750, May.
- McKee, Margaret, and William Sittington, 1752, January 15.
- McKees, Ann, and James Harper, 1750, November.
- McKinley, Eliz., and John McKorkle, 1749, December.
- McKinley, Mary, and Samuel Muckledoff, 1751, June 18.
- McKnight, Margaret, and John Peel, 1750, July.
- McKorkle, John, and Eliz. McKinley, 1749, December.
- McMehon, Hugh, and Marg^t Henry, 1751, September 25.
- McMim, Jane, and William Sherlock, 1750, October 8.
- McMullan, Margaret, and Thomas Carry, 1752, January 8.
- McMurray, Sarah, and John Carson, 1750, December.
- Macky, Jannet, and Robert Darlington, 1751, January 29.
- Maddon, Mary, and John Wallace, 1749, August 19.
- Mann, W^m, and Hannah Elliot, 1748, January 21.
- Malin, Davis, and Margaret Lawrence, 1751, February 21.
- Malin, W^m, and Elizabeth Crosley, 1748, February 1.
- Mandlin, Ruth, and Thomas Banfield, 1750, May.
- Mann, John, and Margaret McDurmant, 1749, April.
- Marres, Mary, and James Barkley, 1749, April 19.
- Marren, Jane, and Peter White, 1749, November.
- Marshall, Joseph, and Rachel Scot, 1749, November.
- Marshall, Moses, and Susanna Harris, 1751, June 18.
- Marsttelson, Mary, and Sebastian Boyse, 1748, January 23.
- Martin, Anthony, and Ann Anderson, 1752, May 26.
- Martin, Hannah, and Patrick Anderson, 1748, December.
- Martin, Jonathan, and Hannah Evans, 1751, March 23.
- Martin, Rachel, and Samuel Battin, 1749, January.

- Martin, Susannah, and Edward Milner, 1751, February 13.
 Martin, Thomas, and Sarah Evans, 1751, December 20.
 Mason, Abraham, and Catharine Wyne, 1750, November.
 Mason, Ann, and Oneas Balter, 1750, November.
 Mason, William, and Mary Wood, 1752, May 28.
 Masters, George, and Mary Helmer, 1752, July 4.
 Mather, John, and Katherine Davis, 1751, May 27.
 Mathews, Agnes, and James Bell, 1749, January.
 Mathews, Edward, and Agnes Pummin, 1750, October 25.
 Mathews, John, and Margaret McCreight, 1752, May 14.
 Mathews, Rebecca, and William Gardner, 1749, March.
 Mathews, Thomas, and Rachel Young, 1752, May 18.
 Mathias, David, and Susannah Packer, 1749, January.
 Mayberry, Catherine, and Charles Jolly, 1752, January 8.
 Mayberry, Rachel, and Robert Field, 1749, March.
 Mayer, John, and Ann Sheed, 1751, December 12.
 Meredith, Mary, and Thomas Riley, 1751, March 11.
 Merek, Susannah, and Samuel Smith, 1749, May.
 Merg, Barbara, and Christian Fontasket, 1750, November.
 Mersden, Humphry, and Mary Heron, 1751, November 8.
 Mickle, John, and Hannah Cooper, 1752, July 25.
 Micklehenney, Ann, and Joseph Carter, 1749, April.
 Middleton, Martha, and Abraham Wilson, 1750, November.
 Midwinter, Katharine, and Mathew Kyser, 1750, November.
 Mifflin, Samuel, and Rebecca Edgil, 1750, August.
 Miles, Ann, and Samuel Thomas, 1751, February 17.
 Miles, Hannah, and William Ogburn, 1748, December.
 Miles, Margaret, and Jonathan Cook, 1749, May.
 Miles, Martha, and Silas Crispin, 1749, January.
 Miles, Sarah, and Samson Davies, 1752, May 20.
 Miller, Isabel, and John Craig, 1749, September.
 Miller, John, and Margaret Henry, 1752, March 18.
 Miller, Margaret, and Joseph Harris, 1751, October 25.
 Miller, Mary, and James Gibbins, 1750, August.
 Milligin, Philip, and Sarah Vaughan, 1748, January 30.

“ACCOUNT OF SERVANTS BOUND AND ASSIGNED
BEFORE JAMES HAMILTON, MAYOR OF PHILA-
DELPHIA.”

CONTRIBUTED BY GEORGE W. NEIBLE, CHESTER, PENNA.

(Continued from Page 249.)

September 9th.

Thomas Rutter, with the consent of his mother *Mary Catherine Pyewell* indents himself apprentice to *George Claypole* of Phila. joiner, for six years and four months from this date, to be taught the trade of a joiner or cabinet maker, and *William Pyewell* to find him in clothes.

William Coleman assigns *Honour Magrah* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *Martha*) to *John Jones* of Phila. innholder, for four years from August 24th 1746. Consideration £10: customary dues.

Martha Skinner assigns *Eva* her servant for the remainder of her time to *John George Shaver* for six years and six months from October 14th 1743. Consideration £8: customary dues.

September 10th.

Tobias Nile assigns *Anne Fitzgerald* his servant for the remainder of her time to *Anne Maltimore* of Phila. for four years from December 22nd 1743. Consideration £3: customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *John Slater* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *George*) to *John Hillbourn* of Phila., laborer, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: 10/ customary dues.

George House and other overseers of the poor bind *George Redman* (son of *Katherine Bowman*) an orphan an apprentice to *Robert Lowry* of Phila. laborer for eighteen years and a half from this date, to be taught to read and write and to have customary dues.

September 11th.

George O'Kell assigns *Andrew Heslep* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Griffin) to James Abraham of Phila. county, yeoman for six years from August 25th 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

Jacob Gerr with consent of his father Bernard Gerr and in consideration of eleven pistoles paid for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Samuel Shoemaker of Phila. merchant for nine years and five months from this date to be taught to read the Bible in the English language and when free to have customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Michael Gallagher* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Patrick Kelly of Maryland yeoman, for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

September 12th.

Thomas Knight in consideration £15: paid Joseph Turner for his use and at his request indents himself servant to Edward Brooks of Phila. victualler, for three years from September 1st 1746, customary dues.

September 13th.

Conyngnam and Gardner assigns *Mary Winsly* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig. Nancy) to Mathias Gamalise of Phila. county yeoman, for four years and a half from August 16th 1746. Consideration £5: customary dues.

George Gibson in consideration of £5: 8: 6 paid for his use and at his request indents himself servant to Jeremiah Warder of Phila. hatter for six months from this date, no freedom dues.

George Patterson assigns *Jane Reay* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Andrew Harris of Phila. county yeoman, for four years from August 3rd 1746. Consideration £13: 10/ customary dues.

Alexander Soles in consideration of £5: paid Stephen Paschal indents himself apprentice to Jonathan Humphreys of Phila. county, black-smith, for four years eight months and twelve days from this date to be taught the trade of a blacksmith and at the expiration of the said term to have five pounds paid him in money and the customary dues. ✓

September 15th.

John Erwin assigns *Anne Dallrymple* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Thomas Doyle of the Borough of Lancaster hatter, for four years from September 11th 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

John Erwin assigns *John Cunningham* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Samuel Austin of Phila. joiner, for four years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

John Greenway assigns *John Stockam* his servant for the remainder of his time, six years from Sept. 12th 1743 to John Garrigue of Phila. cooper, consideration £12: customary dues.

Samuel Vernor binds himself apprentice to John Bruno of Phila. blockmaker, for six years from this date, to be taught the trade of a blockmaker, to have two quarters schooling at an evening school, to learn to write and cypher and customary dues. ✓

John Erwin assigns *Jane McCambridge* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Brig. Sally) to Thomas Cuthbert of Phila. shipwright for three years and a half from Aug. 24th 1746. Consideration £11: to have customary dues.

John Erwin assigns *William McCall* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Thomas Hill of Bucks County yeoman, for seven years from September 11th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Owen Jones assigns *John Conrad Monk* his servant for the remainder of his time eight years from Sept. 3rd. 1743, to

Jacob Monk of Phila. County, yeoman, consideration £25 : customary dues.

John White assigns *Samuel Boon* his apprentice for the remainder of his time seven years and ten months from December 3rd 1745 to Zachariah Sims of Phila. cooper, consideration £5/ customary dues.

September 15th.

Rowland Judd in consideration of £28 : paid for his use and at his request indents himself servant to Thomas Stammers of Phila. County yeoman, for four years from this date to have the customary dues.

September 16th.

✓ *Joshua Fisher* son of Jabez & Maud Fisher deceased indents himself apprentice to Thomas Shoemaker of Phila. house carpenter for five years and five months from July 16th 1746, to be taught the trade of a carpenter and have customary dues.

George Patterson assigns *Mary Carlton* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Gunning Bedford of Phila. carpenter, for four years from August 3rd 1746. Consideration £14 : customary dues.

John Erwin assigns *Mary Wide* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to George Kelly of Phila. blacksmith for four years from September 11th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

✓ *Patrick Chambers* son of Mary Chambers with the consent of his mother indents himself apprentice to Hugh Hodge of Phila. tobacconist for thirteen years from this date, to be taught the trade of a tobacconist to have one years day schooling and when free the customary dues.

September 16th.

Conyngham and Gardner assign *George McConnel* (a servant from Ireland in the brig. Nancy) to George Sanderson

of the Borough of Lancaster, for seven years from Aug. 12th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

September 17th.

John Erwin assigns *Matthew McVeagh* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Henry Dalton of Phila. county yeoman, for seven years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £15: 10/ customary dues.

John Erwin assigns *Colon Logan* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Patrick McDonald of Phila. laborer, for four years and a half from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

George House and other overseers of the poor bind *Jacob Hartsell* an orphan, an apprentice to Frederick Dord of Phila. county yeoman for seventeen years from this date to be taught to read and write the German language, and have customary dues. ✓

George House and other overseers of the poor bind *Esther Hartsell* an orphan, an apprentice to Frederick Snyder of Phila. county yeoman for twelve years from this date, to be taught to read and write the German language and have customary dues. ✓

John Erwin assigns *Dominick McCulloch* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Stephen Jenkins of Phila. County for four years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £17: 10/ customary dues.

John Elliot assigns *Shadrick Lord* his servant for the remainder of his time four years from May 19th 1744, to Samuel Vanbirkilow of Phila. cordwainer. Consideration £12: 10/ customary dues.

John Erwin assigns *Richard Matchet* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to John Henderson of Monmouth County in East Jersey for seven years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

September 18th.

John Erwin assigns *Nathaniel Robison* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Paul Miller of Brunswick Esq.

for four years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

September 19th.

✓ Jacob Sowder adm. of Margaret Sowder deceased, assigns *Hans Hevelly* his servant to John Wistar of Phila. shop-keeper for the remainder of his time fourteen years from Dec. 30th 1742, to be taught to read and write and to have customary dues. Consideration £12:

September 20th.

John Erwin assigns *Anne Kerney* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to James Willson of Gloucester County, yeoman, for seven years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

John Erwin assigns *John Crossby* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to James Wakely of Lancaster County yeoman, for seven years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £14: 10/ customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *James Boncher* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Robert White of Bucks County yeoman, for seven years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £15: 10/ customary dues.

September 22nd.

Benjamin Burk assigns Morgan Shee (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Daniel Ashelman of Lancaster County yeoman, for six years from Sept. 21st 1746. Consideration £19: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Mary Moor* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t. Rebecca) to John Hallowell of Phila. shoemaker for five years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

David Wells assigns *Elinor Murphy* (a servant from Ireland in the ship William and Mary) to Jacob Leech of Phila. county gentleman, for four years from Sept. 16th 1746. Consideration £14: 15/ customary dues.

September 23rd.

William Hill assigns *John Reardon* his servant for the remainder of his time four years and seven months from April 29th 1746, to Dennis Reardon of Gloucester County yeoman. Consideration £20 : customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Margaret Francis* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Joseph Taylor of Chester County yeoman, for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £14 : customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *John Neal* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Henry Burr of West Jersey yeoman, for five years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

George Patterson assigns *George Mc Whirter* (a servant from Ireland in the snow Chester) to Francis Richay of Bucks County yeoman for four years from August 3rd 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Elinor Moor* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t. Rebecca) to William Hill of Chester County yeoman, for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

William & David McIlvaine assign *Patrick A. Demsey* (a servant from Ireland in the ship William and Mary) to John Pourdey of Bucks County yeoman, for four years from Sept. 16th 1746. Consideration £16 : customary dues.

September 24th.

Benjamin Burk assigns *James Gromell* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t. Rebecca) to John Horsobing of Lancaster County yeoman for seven years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues and to be taught to read and write. ✓

Benjamin Burk assigns *Mary Conely* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Joseph Colburn of Phila. innholder, for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

John Erwin assigns *Agnes Cowley* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *George*) to George Patterson of Lancaster County yeoman, for four years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £13:2/ customary dues.

John Erwin assigns *Robert Yeats* (a servant from Ireland in the snow *George*), to Abraham McConnor of Chester County, yeoman, for four years from Sept. 11th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Samuel Boon with consent of his mother Elizabeth Sims indents himself apprentice to Oswald Eve of Phila. mariner for six years from Sept. 20th 1746, to be taught to read and write, and the art of navigation and to have when free customary dues.

Anthony Magner, with consent of his mother Barbara Butterfield indents himself servant to Darby Cassiday of Chester County for eighteen years from this date, to be taught to read and write and have customary dues.

John Lochron in consideration of £12: paid Conyngham and Gardner for his passage from Ireland by Samuel Evans of Chester County indents himself servant to Samuel Evans for three years and a quarter from this date, no freedom dues.

September 25th.

William & David McIlvaine assign *James Woodside* (a servant from Ireland in the ship *William and Mary*) to Adam Farquhar of Phila. laborer for four years from Sept. 16th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Manuel Pereira in consideration £16: paid William Blair for his passage from Ireland in the ship *William and Mary* indents himself servant to John McFarran of Somerset County in East Jersey for four years from April 15th 1746, customary dues.

William and David McIlvaine assign *Arthur McNeal* (a servant from Ireland in the ship *William and Mary*) to Francis McConnell of Chester county yeoman, for four years and a half from Sept. 16th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Luke Sexton in consideration of £16: paid at his request to George Emlen jr. and James Benzet adm. of Robert Dawson deceased. indents himself servant to John Potts, Indian trader for four years from August 2nd 1746: customary dues.

Marian Henry in consideration £9: paid William Blair for her passage from Ireland indents herself servant to Joshua Humphreys of Phila. county yeoman for four years from this date, customary dues.

Charles Henry with consent of his mother who signs his indenture, indents himself servant to Joshua Humphreys of Philadelphia county yeoman for sixteen years from this date to be taught to read and write and have customary dues. ✓

September 26th.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Catherine Duggan* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John Eachus of Chester County yeoman, for four years from Sept. 21st 1746. Consideration £14: customary dues.

James Burke in consideration £14: paid Archibald Montgomery for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to George Willson of Chester County, weaver, for seven years from Sept. 21st 1746, to be taught the trade of a weaver and to have customary dues. ✓

James Burke assigns *Anne Francis* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Mathew Ingels of Phila. county Fuller, for four years from September 20th 1746. Consideration £14: 10/ customary dues.

September 27th.

Anne Ellis in consideration £15: paid Robert Wakely for her passage from Ireland indents herself servant to John Sessly of Phila. mariner for four years from August 2nd 1746, customary dues.

Anne Sleighty in consideration nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself

servant to Jacob Berr jr. of Lancaster County for three years from this date, to have freedom dues and one heifer.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Mary Grimes* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to William Wheldon of Phila. butcher, for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Sarah Manly* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Dennis Flood of Phila. taylor for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £6: customary dues.

George O'Kill assigns *Patrick Stewart* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Griffin) to James Craig of Bucks County yeoman, for four years from August 25th 1746. Consideration £14: 10/ customary dues.

George O'Kill assigns *Robert Russell* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Griffin) to William Wright of Huntedan County in West Jersey yeoman for seven years from August 25th 1746. Consideration £13: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Honour Howdrick* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John Detrick Bowman of Phila. county yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Michael Sullivan* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John Detrick Bowman of Phila. county yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

September 29th.

Anne Elizabeth Klevering in consideration of thirteen pistoles and a half paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland with consent of her father indents herself servant to Henry Van Aken his Exc. for seven years from this date to have customary dues.

John Henry Kalbfleish in consideration of nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Stephen Goodman of Phila. county his Exc. for two years from this date, to have customary dues.

Anna Elizabeth Derner in consideration fourteen pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself a servant to Joseph Redman of Phila. shop-keeper his Exc. for four years from this date to have customary dues.

Conrad Werner in consideration of nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Peter Reif of Phila. County his Exc. for four years from this date no freedom dues.

Catharine Dorothy Seeman in consideration nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Stephen Armit joiner her Exc. for three years from this date, customary dues.

John Baltzer Darner in consideration of fourteen pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents servant to John Witmer of Lancaster county his Exc. for three years from this date, customary dues.

Benjamin Burke assigns *Patrick Fitts Morris* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Humphrey Ellis of Chester county yeoman for six years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £14 : 10/ customary dues.

Benjamin Burke assigns *Lawrence Scandle* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Samuel Morgan of Chester County yeoman for six years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

Benjamin Burke assigns *Austis Sullivan* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Nicholas Rapine of Phila. County yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £14 : 10/ customary dues.

Magdalena Shontin in consideration ten pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Bernard ———, of Phila. County yeoman for three years and a half from this date, customary dues.

Benjamin Burke assigns *Julian Moor* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to George Rider of Phila. county yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £14 : 10/ customary dues.

Benjamin Burke assigns *Mary Scanlan* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t *Rebecca*) to William Rodman of Bucks County yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

Jacob Dowdle in consideration nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Valentine Crook of Lancaster tanner for two years and one month from this date, customary dues.

Gulip Wainer in consideration ten pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Valentine Crook of Lancaster, tanner his Exc. for two years and one month from this date, customary dues.

Christina Baisner in consideration six pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Valentine Crook of Lancaster tanner his Exc. two years and a half from this date, customary dues.

Burket Baisner in consideration ten pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Charles Miers of Lancaster County yeoman his Exc. for two years and one month from this date, customary dues.

Anne Elizabeth Brohtsmenning in consideration nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Jacob Cowdrop of Phila. shipwright his Exc. for three years from this date, customary dues.

Anna Maria Seal in consideration thirteen pistoles and a half paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to William Taylor of Phila. shipwright his Exc. for four years from this date, customary dues.

John Jurg Roht in consideration nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to William Kass of Hundedon County in West Jersey yeoman his Exc. for three years from this date, customary dues.

Eva Roht in consideration fourteen pistoles and a half paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Leonard Van ——— of Phila.

County yeoman his Exc. for four years and a half from this date, customary dues.

September 30th.

Benjamin Burke assigns *Sarah Hermitage* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to George Cling of Chester county yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Anna Barbara Blickley with consent of her father who signs her indenture binds herself a servant to Jacob Shermire of Germantown mason his Exc. for fifteen years from this date, to be taught to read the Bible, to knit and spin, and when free to have given her one spinning wheel and one woolen wheel. ✓

Maria Elizabeth Cleverin in consideration ten pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Elizabeth Holton of Phila. widow her Exc. for eight years from this date when free to have customary dues and half a pistole.

Christopher Danner in consideration fourteen pistoles paid for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Daniel Farree of Lancaster county yeoman his Ex. for three years and three quarters from this date, customary dues.

Peter Spence assigns *Mary McIntyre* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t John) to John Adams of East Jersey yeoman for four years from Sept. 15th 1746. Consideration £13: 15/ customary dues.

Jacob Tigle in consideration ten pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to George Widener of Phila. county yeoman for four years from this date to have customary dues and one two year old heifer.

John Henry Snyder, with consent of his father and in consideration £10: pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Dr. William Shippen of Phila. his Exc. for eight years from this date, customary dues.

Catharina Snyder with consent of her father and in consideration of four pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself a servant to Dr. William Shippen of Phila. his Exc. for thirteen years from this date, customary dues.

Catharina Boon in consideration twelve pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Joseph Marshall of Phila. bricklayer his Exc. for four years from this date, customary dues.

Jahn Jurg Gottschalk in consideration nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to John Ecker of Lancaster County yeoman his Exc. for two years and three months from this date customary dues.

October 1st.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Cornelius Connor* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John O'Daniel of Hunterdon County West Jersey for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15 : 10/ customary dues.

Benjamin Burke assigns *Ella Field* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Robert Shields of Hunterdon County West Jersey for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

Juliana Seftelsin with consent of her father who was present in consideration nine pistoles paid for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Aaron James of Chester County his Exc. for twelve years from this date, customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *John Rourk* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Isaac Knight of Phila. County yeoman for three years and a half from this date. Consideration £8 : sterling customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Patrick Fitzgerald* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to Nicholas Uplinger of Phila. County yeoman for five years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15 : customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Martin Lowry* (a servant from Ire-

land in the Brig^t Rebecca) to William Showler of Phila. county yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Michael Egolf in consideration fifteen pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Owen Jones of Phila. baker for five years from this date, customary dues.

Richard Vaughn in consideration £15: paid Archibald Montgomery for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Samuel Showler of Phila. County Miller his Exc. for five years from this date, to be taught the trade of a miller customary dues.

John Danner in consideration twelve pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Valentine Puff of Phila. County yeoman for seven years and three quarters from this date, to have customary dues and one dollar.

Benjamin Burk assigns Darby Dowling (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to James Cooper of Gloucester County yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Barnaby Lynch* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to James Cuddy of Fredericks' County in Virginia yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Thomas Shea* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to William Bird of Phila. county yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *James Fagan* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to William Bird of Phila. County yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *John Savage* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to William Bird of Phila. county yeoman, for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Buck assigns *Patrick Connor* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to George Smith of Chester County yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Thomas Lynch* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John Leshner of Philada. county yeoman for five years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns William Paltmer (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John Leshner of Phila. county yeoman for five years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *James Suill* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John Leshner of Phila. County yeoman, for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *James Purcell* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John Leshner of Phila. county yeoman for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Hugh Connor* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to John Leshner of Phila. County yeoman, for four years from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £15: customary dues.

Anna Lenter in consideration her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Josiah Forster of Burlington County West Jersey his Exc. for two years from this date to have customary dues.

Christina Lenter with consent of her mother and in consideration of her passage from Holland indents herself a servant to Josiah Forster of Burlington County West Jersey his Exc. for six years from this date to have customary dues.

Catharine Lenter with consent of her mother and in consideration of her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Josiah Forster of Burlington County West Jersey his Exc. for eight years from this date, customary dues.

John Lenter with consent of his mother and in consideration of his passage from Holland indents himself to Josiah Forster of Burlington County West Jersey for thirteen years from this date to have customary dues.

October 2nd.

Barbara Fetterlin in consideration nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Nicholas Custar of Phila. County yeoman for two years and a half from this date, to have customary dues.

Henry Claughan in consideration £15: paid Benjamin Burk for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Anthony Whiteley of Phila. tavernkeeper for six years from Sept. 20th 1746. to have customary dues.

Samuel Burden with consent of his parents indents himself apprentice to Isaac Lobdell of Phila. carpenter for six years and three months from this date to have two quarters schooling in the time of his apprenticeship, customary dues and the trade.

Anna Falkenstine in consideration ten pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Michael Hellingoff of Phila. potter for three years from this date, to have customary dues.

October 3rd.

Thomas Broom assigns *Mary Guerry* his servant for the remainder of her time to John Sanders of Phila. huntsman for two years three months and seventeen days from August 12th 1745. Consideration £3: 10/ customary dues.

Thomas Robinson assigns *Sarah Mahon* his servant to William Reynolds of Chester County yeoman for six years from this date. Consideration £17: customary dues.

October 4th.

William and David McIlvaine assigns *James Corry* (a servant from Ireland in the ship William and Mary) to Wil-

liam Chambers of Lancaster County yeoman for three years from Sept. 16th 1746. Consideration £16: customary dues.

Abraham Zimmerman in consideration of his passage from Holland paid to Benjamin Shoemaker indents himself servant to Casper Wistar of Phila. for five years from this date, customary dues.

Melchior Zimmerman in consideration of his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Casper Wistar of Phila. for eight years from this date to have customary dues.

Ursula Dieter in consideration of her passage from Holland paid by Casper Wistar of Phila. indents herself servant to the said Casper for seven years from this date, to have customary dues.

Ludwick Falkenstein in consideration of his passage from Holland paid by Richard Wistar of Phila. indents himself servant to the said Richard for eight years from this date, to be taught the trade of brass button making, customary dues.

Jacob Wetzell in consideration of his passage from Holland paid by John Williams of Monmouth county in East Jersey indents himself to the said John for three years from this date, customary dues.

Catharine Wetzell in consideration of her passage from Holland paid by John Williams of Monmouth county in East Jersey indents herself servant to the said John for three years from this date, customary dues.

Catharine Wetzell jr. in consideration of her passage from Holland paid by John Williams of Monmouth County in East Jersey indents herself servant to the said John for three years from this date to have customary dues.

James Maxfield assigns *Martha Hamilton* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Rundell) to William Allison of Lancaster County yeoman for four years from September 21st 1746. Consideration £14: 15/ customary dues.

William Lightfoot assigns *William Forster* his servant to Thomas Brown of Phila. brewer for the remainder of his time seven years from August 9th 1745, customary dues.

Darby Logan in consideration of £5 / paid for his use and at his request by William Hamilton of Phila. tanner indents himself servant to said William for three years and a half from this date, customary dues.

Robert Henry in consideration of £12: paid William Blair for his passage from Ireland indents himself a servant to Michael McClenen of Lancaster County yeoman his Exc. for eight years from September 15th 1746, customary dues.

Patrick McFagan in consideration of £15: paid William Blair for his passage from Ireland indents himself a servant to Samuel Sturgeon of Lancaster county yeoman his Exc. for four years from September 15th 1746, customary dues.

October 6th.

Maria Ramer in consideration of ten pistoles paid her father Christian Ramer indents herself apprentice to Isaac Roberts of Phila. bricklayer for seven years from this date, customary dues.

Alexander Boyd assigns *Abigail Edwards* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Pomona) to William Plackett of Trenton in West Jersey yeoman, for four years from Sept. 18th 1746, consideration £13: customary dues.

George House and other overseers of the poor, &c. bind *Alexander Reddy* an orphan, apprentice to Samuel Garrigues of Phila. barber for thirteen years and four months from this date, to be taught to read and write, the trade of a barber and perruque maker and to have customary dues. ✓

October 4th.

Mechior Zimmerman in consideration fourteen pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents himself servant to Casper Wistar of Phila. for nine years from this date, to have customary dues.

October 6th.

Martin Loughman in consideration of fifteen pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for his passage from Holland indents

himself servant to Andrew Bierly of Lancaster baker for four years from this date to have when free customary dues and six pounds in money.

Cathrin Shreder in consideration nine pistoles paid Benjamin Shoemaker for her passage from Holland indents herself servant to Hugh Hodge of Phila. for six years and nine months from this date to have customary dues.

✓ *John Darrough* in consideration £14: paid Neal McGowan for his passage from Ireland indents himself a servant to John Wood of Phila. county yeoman for eight years from this date to be taught to read and write, and have customary dues.

William Henderson assigns *Fardy Gallagher* (a servant from Ireland in the ship Pomona) to Joseph Potter of Monmouth County East Jersey yeoman for four years and a half from September 18th 1746. Consideration £14: 10/ customary dues.

October 7th.

Alexander Forster in consideration £15: paid for his passage from Ireland indents himself servant to Isaac Cooper of Gloucester County in West Jersey yeoman for eight years from this date, to have customary dues.

Benjamin Burk assigns *Mary Hancock* (a servant from Ireland in the Brig^t Rebecca) to William Arbour of Phila. tavernkeeper from Sept. 20th 1746. Consideration £13: 10/ customary dues.

Nathaniel Ambler assigns *Eustace Reddit* (a servant from Ireland in the snow George) to Archibald Douglas of Phila. taylor for four years from August 2nd 1746. Consideration £17: 10/ customary dues.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

PROGRAMME OF THE DEDICATION OF THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF MAJOR-GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF U. S. ARMY, MARCH, 1792-1796, Saturday, June 20, 1908. 1.30 P. M.

Music by the Phœnix Military Band.

Prayer by the Rev. J. H. Lamb, D.D., Rector of Old St. David's Church, Radnor, Pa.

Music by the Phœnix Military Band.

Unveiling of the Statue.

Salute by Battery "E," 3d U. S. Artillery.

Salute to the Statue with the Revolutionary Colors, by the Color Guard of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution.

"Star Spangled Banner," Beale's Philadelphia Band.

Transfer of the Statue to Thomas J. Stewart, Adjutant-General, representing the Governor of the Commonwealth, by John Armstrong Herman, Esq.

Reception of the Statue by the Adjutant-General of the Commonwealth.

Oration by the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, LL.D.

Music by the Phœnix Military Band.

Introduction of the Sculptor, H. K. Bush-Brown, by Richard M. Cadwalader, Esq.

Benediction by the Rev. Joseph E. Sagebeer, Pastor Great Valley Baptist Church.

Music by the Phœnix Military Band.

SOME UNKNOWN PORTRAITS OF FRANKLIN.—In *The Wilson Portrait of Franklin; Earl Grey's Gift to the Nation*, in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY for October, 1906, on p. 414, I give extracts from two letters from Franklin, one to his wife and the other to Dr. Thomas Bond, in regard to a later portrait of Franklin

painted by Benjamin Wilson, that the Doctor had sent to Bond, through Mrs Franklin, in exchange for an earlier one, and added, "Whether Dr. Bond kept the old or the new portrait, *we do not know.*" By the aid of the recently printed *Calendar of Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society*, we now know that Dr. Bond did keep the later one. No. 67, in vol. 3 of the Franklin Papers, is a letter from Thomas Bond to Franklin, written at Philadelphia July 6, 1771, in which he writes: "Good Mrs Franklin has presented me with a new Picture of you, which has been much visited and much admired. It is generally agreed a remarkable sensible meaning [*sic*] added to a most striking Likeness. I most sincerely thank you for the additional Instance of your Friendship."

This letter is a notable commentary on the slowness of communication between the old world and the new 137 years ago, when it cost three shillings to send a letter across the water from Philadelphia and four shillings from New York, that when Franklin wrote to Bond from London on February 5, 1772, the letter I first quoted, he had not received Bond's letter written on the 6th of the previous July. The same *Calendar* reveals other unknown portraits of Franklin, the notation of which, it is hoped, may discover the originals. I give the epitomes as printed in the *Calendar*.

1771. Nov. 6, Penuel Bowen of Boston thanking Franklin for picture of himself received through Samuel Franklin. (Vol. 3, No. 79.)
1777. Mar. 8, Elié de Beaumont introducing his friend M. de Villiers, who does not think it possible to put his talents to a more noble or patriotic use than in making a bust of Franklin. (Vol. 5, No. 99.)
1778. ? Mme. Melmoth writes M. Monié has executed a bust of Franklin in bronze, gilt with gold. (Vol. 48, No. 73.)
1778. Oct. 18, Mané has made a medallion of Franklin in ivory for the Royal Academy of Sciences and sends a duplicate to Franklin. (Vol. 12, No. 54.)
1783. ? Baronne de Bourdic acknowledges another precious possession in the little picture of Franklin drawn by Mlle. de Givonne. (Vol. 41, No. 139.)
- Mar. 30, Barbeau Dubourg requests Franklin to allow M. Gardeur to paint his portrait. (Vol. 70, No. 83b.)

In addition to these, it would seem that C. J. Notté, whose portrait of Paul Jones, engraved by Guttenberg, is well known, exhibited at the Salon de la Correspondence, Paris, 1779, "Portrait du docteur Franklin dessin au crayon." Cannot some reader throw some light on these *Unknown Portraits of Franklin?*

CHARLES HENRY HART.

LUTHER R. KELKER, CUSTODIAN OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS, Pennsylvania State Library, reports that in the Treasury Department there is a "Cash Book, December 1775 to March 1780," which contains (page 71) the following entry: "August 16, 1776, paid William Dewees for Chiming the Bells on the Declaration of Independency & Bill, 3 Pounds." The chimes referred to were evidently those of Christ Church.

EPITAPHS AT STROUDSBURG, PENNA.—In the old cemetery at Stroudsburg, Penna., are buried Indian fighters, Revolutionary heroes and

Quakers. The following are some of the epitaphs on the fast becoming illegible gravestones.

Peter Hollingshead,
A Native of Philadelphia,
Died at Stroudsburg,
May 16, 1827,
Aged 50 years and 10 months.

Peter Lander Esq.
Born Feb. 26, 1764,
Died March 4, 1847.

Sophia Dills,
wife of Peter Lander Esq.
Born June 18, 1775,
Died Feb. 16, 1839.

Jacob Stroud,
Original Proprietor of
Stroudsburg,
Born Jany. 15, 1735,
at Amwell N. J.
Died July 14, 1806.
Member of the Legislature of Penna.,
during the dangerous times of the
Revolution,
also of the Convention which
formed the Constitution of the State,
and in this part of the Country
one of the most useful men of his day.
Elizabeth Stroud,
his wife,
daughter of John McDowell,
Born July 9, 1745,
Died May 5, 1811.
She was one of the best and most
exemplary of women.

Hon. Jacob Brown,
Born Dec. 11, 1771,
Died Feb. 15, 1841.

John Musch Esq.
Oct. 1779—died 1854.

Eliza D. Stroud
wife of Daniel Stroud,
Born 4th month 17th day 1771,
Died 10th month 1809.

Susanna Redman,
June 22, 1771, died Aug. 1, 1840.

THE WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETY.—In his Field Book of the War of 1812, p. 854, Mr. Lossing said: "The Washington Benevolent Societies (Federalist associations) had made Napoleon's disasters the subject of orations and toasts on the anniversary of Washington's birthday (22d of February, 1814); and in Albany, where the Dutch element was very predominant in the population, the emancipation of Holland from his thrall was celebrated. Religious services were held in the Dutch church on the occasion, and a sermon was preached by the pastor, Rev. Dr. Bradford. These were followed by a dinner at the Eagle Inn. These Washington Benevolent Societies originated in Philadelphia very soon after the declaration of war in the summer of 1812. They were political organizations, with attractive social and benevolent features. The first organization was fully completed on the 22d of February, 1813, under the title of the Washington Benevolent Society of Pennsylvania, and each member was required to sign the Constitution and the following declaration: 'We, each of us, do hereby declare that we are firmly attached to the Constitution of the United States and to that of Pennsylvania, to the principles of a free republican government, and to those which regulated the public conduct of George Washington; that we will, each of us, to the best of our ability, and so far as may be consistent with our religious principles respectively, preserve the rights and liberties of our country against all foreign and domestic violence, fraud, and usurpation; and that as members of the Washington Benevolent Society, we will in all things comply with its regulations, support its principles, and enforce its views.' . . . These associations rapidly multiplied throughout the country during the war, but disappeared with the demise of the old Federalist party."

The above statement may apply to Pennsylvania but does not to New York. I gave a certificate of membership in this society to the Onondaga Historical Association, but the date and place were not filled in and the title page was gone. The frontispiece is a head of Washington, and the opposite page reads: "This certifies that Asa Woodruff has been regularly admitted a member of the Washington Benevolent Society; of the County of ——— instituted in the ——— on the ——— day of ——— 181—. Reuben Folger, president; William Hudson, secretary." To this succeeds Washington's farewell address.

Miss Charlotte Tyler, a member of one of the oldest Onondaga families, also sent me another article of interest, saying: "The inclosed has no date, but perhaps one can be found." The date is probably 1811. This badge of creamy silk ribbon bears the words "Pro Patria" near the top; in the center is a head of Washington, with a small figure of an angel above crowning him with laurel. Beneath are the words, "Washington Benevolent Society of Onondaga."

Next a friend showed me a full and perfect copy of the certificate, which he has in Syracuse. The title page is this: "Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States. Printed at the Balance Press, No. 80, State Street, Albany, 1811. The certificate reads: "No. 83. This certifies that Mr. Richard Adams, of the Town of Onondaga, has been regularly admitted a member of the 'Washington Benevolent Society of the County of Onondaga,' instituted on the 20th day of October, 1810. July 8, 1811. Gordon Needham, President. John D. Bissell, Secretary."

The two little books are alike in appearance, but the differences in the

form of the certificate show a second edition at least. As "The Balance, and New York State Journal" was published in Albany 1808-11, I am inclined to think the one with missing date was printed in 1810.

Syracuse, N. Y.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP.

BENJAMIN WEST'S FAMILY.—

The Editor,

PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

I have read with much interest the paper on "Benjamin West's Family," by Mr. Charles Henry Hart, published in your magazine for January, 1908. Mrs. West's father was the brother of my great-great-grandfather, Walter Shewell, and in compiling a family record, some years since, I collected much material relating to that side of the house.

On page 8 of Mr. Hart's paper he quotes from autobiographical notes of Matthew Pratt (one of West's pupils), referring to West's marriage, "They having been engaged to each other in Philadelphia three years before our leaving it, *to the entire satisfaction of all their friends and relatives.*"

Mr. Hart adds the following comment :—

"These words which I have italicized were plainly introduced by Pratt when he wrote up his autobiography, to negative the romantic story which has been told and retold until it is threadbare, of Betsy Shewell's escape by a rope ladder, with the aid of Franklin, Bishop White and Francis Hopkinson, to journey to her marriage with West. What originated the story, I do not know, but I do know that authentic history is silent on the subject."

It may be true that "authentic history is silent on the subject"—as she is on many other facts which have escaped official record—but the enclosed copy of a letter from the late Thomas F. Shewell to the undersigned, dated Bristol, Pa., February 17, 1887, may throw some light upon the matter. Joseph Kinnersley Swift, M.D., of Easton, Pa. (grandson of Joseph Shewell, a brother of Mrs. West), to whom Bishop White told the story of Elizabeth West's "elopement by proxy," was an eminent physician of unimpeachable veracity, who married Elizabeth Lorraine (granddaughter of Stephen Shewell and grandniece of Mrs. West).

That Benjamin West did not regard his brother-in-law Stephen with confidence is shown in his letter to his brother William (p. 19), in which he says :—

"I hope Stephen Shewell will act with dispatch and honor in terminating the account between him and his Sister, respecting that property she left in her Mother's hands, which from motives of delicacy, I never drew. This conduct of mine united to the assistance I have given his Daughter and Grandchildren in this Country, (which mounts to much more than the original property left in his hands) I was in hopes would have been felt by him as a mark of esteem of mine that connection which on my part has been ever honorable and friendly, and I must say merits other returns than those which I have perceived."

It would seem but fair that this affirmative testimony should receive equal consideration with the negative inference drawn by Mr. Hart upon

the matter in question, and its publication in your magazine would be appreciated by many of your readers and

Yours faithfully,

T. T. RODENBOUGH,

Brig. Gen. U. S. A. (retired).

[*Mr. T. F. Shewell to General Rodenbough.*]

"About the year 1833, Bishop White made his last diocesan visit to the interior of the State, and being entertained at the house of Dr. Joseph Swift, of Easton, was induced during the evening by Mrs. Betsy Swift to give the details of an occurrence happening so long before.

"Mr. West was a native of Delaware County, a gentleman of most genial manners, and very popular in society, both with the ladies and gentlemen; and at length the young merchants belonging to the wealthier families determined to raise a subscription of two thousand dollars to send Mr. West, who was poor, to Italy, for two years' study and improvement. Before his departure, however, evidently some love passages had occurred between the young people, for the Merchant brother, Stephen Shewell, who was a very proud man, took a violent prejudice against Mr. West, on his sister's account, calling him a 'pauper' and 'object of charity,' etc.

"West remained two years in Italy, much to his advantage, and was returning through England to his native country, when the King, having seen some sketches showing wonderful power of grouping, appointed him his painter. After some time, Mr. West wrote to Miss Shewell that it would be impossible for him to return to Philadelphia, but a certain brig was about coming to London, bringing his father to pay him a visit, and if she would accompany him, with her maid, they would be married as soon as she arrived in London.

"As soon as Mr. Shewell learned of this arrangement he became violently angry, declared that no pauper should marry his sister, and finally locked her up in her room until the vessel should have departed.

"As soon as this state of things became known to those friends of West who aided him to go to Italy, they determined, in the Bishop's words, that 'Ben should have his wife,' sending to Miss Shewell by her maid, concealed under her dress, a rope ladder, with a note saying that they would cause the vessel to drop down to Chester, sixteen miles, to obviate suspicion, and that on a given evening they would have a carriage round the corner at eleven o'clock at night, and if she would use the ladder to reach the ground, they would safely convey her to Chester and put her on board the vessel.

"The plan was entirely successful. The lady entered the carriage with two of the gentlemen, while one rode outside with the driver.

"The roads were abominably bad, and the eloping company only reached the vessel at daybreak, and the weary night came to an end. The party safely crossed the ocean, and a long and happy life awaited the happy pair.

"During the whole course of the story, the venerable Bishop spoke with great animation, and seemed to relish the adventure, saying, 'Ben deserved a good wife, and, old as I am, I am ready to do it again to serve such worthy people.'

"I believe you are aware that the party consisted of Benjamin Franklin, then about fifty-six years old; Francis Hopkinson, author of "The

Battle of the Kegs" (a humorous ditty of Revolutionary times); and Bishop White. Mr. West became President of the Royal Society, and was noted for his genial character. Both Mr. and Mrs. West were most intimate with the King and Queen, with whom both were great favorites. Mrs. West was the aunt of Mrs. Hunt, the mother of Leigh Hunt, both having been Misses Shewell. My father, the late Thomas Shewell, was in London from 1796 to 1799, and frequently called upon Mrs. West, also attending Mr. West's famous Sunday dinners. One day a footman brought in a plate carefully covered with a napkin, when Mrs. West remarked to my father, 'You must not laugh, Cousin Tommy, at my attempt to raise some Indian corn in a hot-house. I only succeeded in raising *cobs*, but I have had them boiled so as to get the perfume.'

"I have thus endeavored to give you the statement as related to me by Dr. Swift, as the story of the Bishop. Mrs. West was the first cousin of my grandfather, Robert Shewell."

THE MYTHICAL LEGEND OF ELIZABETH SHEWELL'S ELOPEMENT.

—As General Rodenbough has attacked my relegation of the above story to the realm of myths, while he admits that "authentic history is silent on the subject," basing his belief wholly upon a tradition which has been retailed to dilution among the members of the Shewell family upon the faith of a *supposed* account of the affair *supposed* to have been given by Bishop White, one of the *supposed* participants, permit me to state a few undeniable facts that stamp the story on its face as absurd and well nigh impossible if one will but for a moment reflect and consider the period when it must have occurred, the social conditions of the time and the distance that then and for many years afterward—indeed, until well on to the present—existed between extreme youth and matured manhood. In 1764, the year of Benjamin West's marriage to Elizabeth Shewell, Bishop White, the mainstay of the legend, was a *boy of 16*, Francis Hopkinson a young man of 27 and Doctor Franklin *within two years of threescore*. Fancy, then, Benny Franklin of 58 having a tryst with Billy White of 16, and taking him by the hand to lead him to help in an elopement, with Frank Hopkinson of 27 as an accessory. Does anything have to be added to this picture to show that it is the baseless fabric of a dream? If it does, I am in a position to add it. I knew intimately for twenty years before their deaths Miss Rebecca White, the grand-daughter, and Miss Elizabeth Nixon, the grand-niece, of Bishop White. The first died in 1889, in her 81st year, and the latter in 1890, in her 82nd year; so that these ladies were each 28 years old when the Bishop died, in 1836, and they had held the closest possible relations to him. I interrogated both of them as to this episode in the Bishop's life, but neither of them had ever heard a word of it from him; and yet such a story would have been of the first interest to two young and romantic girls, and the Bishop the very man to have entertained them with it, had it really occurred. There are many other circumstances that show the improbability of the occurrence, and until some one produces contemporary evidence strong enough to disprove the statement of Matthew Pratt, a participant of the marriage, that the union was "*to the entire satisfaction of all their friends and relatives*," the legend will have to take a back seat along with Betsy Ross and the Flag, and the ringing of the bell for liberty on July 4th, 1776.

CHARLES HENRY HART.

FORT HUNTER, N. Y., AS WILLIAM'S FORT.—In "The Life and Times of David Zeisberger," by Edmund De Schweinitz, p. 55, it is said: "One of the chief towns of the Mohawks was Canajoharie. Between it and the plantations of the Palatines lay William's Fort, which was both an English post and a village of natives." The reference is to Zeisberger's journal of 1745, and on pp. 122-123 the name appears again. It was evidently the only name used in this journal. The missionaries went only to Canajoharie and were brought back thence. In their examination the following occurs:

"Were you not at William's Fort? Why did you not stay there?"

"We were there, but finding no Indians, as they had all gone hunting, we went farther."

Another Moravian party went up the valley in 1752, and Mack wrote, under date of August 12: "We came this afternoon to William's Fort, a Magua town, where many Indians live, who were baptized by a minister of the church of England, by name Ogilby. We found but few at home. Conrad Weisser's son resided here last summer, to learn their language." They remained but a short time, reaching Canajoharie Aug. 15. On Mack's return, under date of August 29, he wrote: "Toward night I passed through Canajoharie and came

"Wednesday, Aug. 30.—to William's fort. Here I learned that Conrad Weisser's son had returned to learn the Indian language."

It is of course evident that this was Fort Hunter, and not the later Fort Williams at the Oneida portage, and equally clear that the name was well known. Indeed, it appears at a much later date. Thus, when Col. Woodhull's troops left Schenectady in 1760, going west, he said: "We encamped about two miles below Fort William." Thence they went on to Little Falls. How Fort Hunter got this name does not appear, but as King William had ordered a fort built in the Onondaga country, which was not done, it may have been intended this fort should bear his name. Though built in 1713, Gov. Hunter first mentioned it as Fort Hunter in 1720.

Incidentally I may say that De Schweinitz errs in making Anajot and Zeninge Tuscarora towns. The former was Old Oneida, and the latter Otseningo, north of the site of Binghamton, N. Y. This included some Onondaga and Nanticoke villages. Geanatisgoa and Sganatees were names for one Tuscarora village, in the latter the terminal *great* being dropped. Cayuga was not on the site of the present village, but south of Union Springs. The local notes are generally good.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP.

TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS AWARDED ART STUDENTS.—With the closing for the year of the schools of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, the oldest and most widely known art school in America, the announcement was made on Thursday, May 28th, of the award to eighteen of its students of travelling scholarships of \$500 each for four months' travel and study in Europe.

These scholarships, known as the William Emlen Cresson Memorial Scholarships, are each year available by the Academy, which has already sent forty-three pupils abroad under the Cresson foundation.

The effect upon the art of this country of the policy adopted by the Pennsylvania Academy is bound to be far reaching, and, indeed, is already noticeable in our current exhibitions wherever held.

The scholarships this year were awarded : two in the department of Architecture, two in the department of Illustration, two in the department of Sculpture, and ten in the department of Painting. The fortunate students who proved successful in the competition were :

Emily C. Bishop, of Smithsburg, Maryland ;
 Albin C. Polasek, of La Crosse, Wisconsin ;
 Clyde C. Bathurst, of Mt. Union, Pennsylvania ;
 Louis Millions, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania ;
 H. Willard Ortlip, of Norristown, Pennsylvania ;
 Mrs. Ella S. Tiel, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania ;
 Lazar Raditz, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania ;
 Paul W. Smith, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania ;
 Annie T. Lang, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania ;
 Edwin C. Slater, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania ;
 Lytton B. Buehler, of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania ;
 Frederick N. Donaldson, of Denver, Colorado ;
 Lawrence B. Saint, of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania ;
 Edgar L. Pearce, of Manasquan, New Jersey ;
 Nina B. Ward, of St. Louis, Missouri ;
 Henry Lawrence Wolfe, of Providence, Rhode Island ;
 Livingston Smith, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania ;
 Robert R. McGoodwin, of Bowling Green, Kentucky.

In addition to the Travelling Scholarships, the Academy's prize list is large in all of its departments, the principal prizes being the Edmund Stewardson in Sculpture of \$100, awarded this year to Beatrice Fenton, of Philadelphia ; the Henry J. Thouron in competition of \$50 each, awarded to Nathaniel J. Pousette and Lawrence B. Saint ; Henry J. Thouron prize of \$25 each awarded to Henry L. Wolfe and Juan N. Arellano, who comes to the Academy from the Philippine Islands ; Charles Toppan prize of \$400, to H. Willard Ortlip, of Norristown, Pennsylvania, and the Charles Toppan prize of \$300, to Adolph W. Blondheim, of Philadelphia.

The Faculty of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts is composed of the following distinguished artists: Herbert M. Howe, M.D., Chairman ; Thomas P. Anshutz, Hugh H. Breckenridge, William M. Chase, Henry McCarter, Paul Phillippe Cret, George McClellan, M.D., Cecilia Beaux, Frank Miles Day, Henry R. Poore, W. Sergeant Kendall.

Queries.

INFORMATION WANTED OF EARLY MEDICAL GRADUATES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Information in regard to any of the following named graduates in Medicine of the University of Pennsylvania is desired by the Alumni Catalogue Committee. Specially wished is exact information as to full name, date and place of death, Academic degrees received, and public offices held. Address Dr. Ewing Jordan, University Club, Walnut Street, Philadelphia.

1811.

Abbott, Robert, St. Croix.	Horn, M. B., N. C. (?)
Alexander, William Sigismund, Va.	Hughes, William, Ky.
Austin, John, Md.	Keer, John, Miss.
Ayer, Samuel, N. H.	Lansing, John Yates, N. Y.

- Ballard, Benjamin, N. C.
 Batte, Green Hamlin, Va.
 Briscoe, John, Va.
 Buchanan, William, Va.
 Cabarras, Thomas E., N. C.
 Chambers, Henry, Va.
 Clarke, Micajah, Va.
 Coleman, Hawes N., Va.
 Crump, Abner, Va.
 Davis, Ashley, Va.
 Davis, Stephen, N. C.
 De Leon, Abram, S. C.
 Edwards, Charles Grey, Va.
 Flood, Joel W., Va.
 French, William, Va.
 Garden, Alexander W., S. C.
 Gilliam, John, Va.
 Glover, Henry Charles, S. C.
 Grant, Edward, Tenn.
 Graves, Peter E., Va.
 Hammond, William, Md.
 Hays, Adam, Pa.
 Holmes, Henry M., S. C.
 Lewis, Joel, Del.
 McCaw, William, S. C.
 McMurtrie, Joseph, Ky.
 Marye, James, Va.
 Meny, Samuel, Va.
 Mettauer, Francis Joseph, Va.
 Murdock, Jonathan, Pa.
 Napier, Elias Wills, Tenn.
 Nixon, Samuel, Pa.
 Perkins, John D., Md.
 Purnell, William, Md.
 Readell, John Didier, Md.
 Reynolds, John (B^r), Pa.
 Roanes, John, Va.
 Sheppard, Joseph Mosby, Va.
 Shute, Samuel, N. Y.
 Starke, Newman, S. C.
 Stewart, James, Md.
 Tindall, Powhatan B., Va.
 Trent, James, Va.
 Van Lear, Matthew, Md.
 Whitlow or Whitlaw, James, Va.
 Wooldridge, Archibald L., Va.

1812.

- Allen, Thomas, Va.
 Bantz, William, Md.
 Barnes, John, Pa.
 Bozeman, George, N. C.
 Brown, Thomas S. R., N. J.
 Brown, William Henry, Va.
 Buck, Marcus C., Va.
 Campbell, Charles, Md.
 Chandler, Thomas, Pa.
 Crockett, Joseph, Jr., Ky.
 Erwin, John, Pa.
 Fauntleroy, Moore Gardiner, Va.
 Fisher, Joshua, N. Y.
 Foster, Andrew, Mass.
 Furman, Richard B., S. C.
 Garland, Samuel, Va.
 Goldsborough, Howes, Md.
 Gray, Young A., Tenn.
 Gresham, Andrew, Va.
 Hadley, John L., N. C.
 Hart, Derrill, S. C.
 Hyland, Henry, Md.
 Jennings, Austin, Va.
 Jones, John Ashby, Va.
 Jones, William, Va. or Md.
 Latham, Richard L., S. C.
 Lincoln, Benjamin, Mass.
 Luckett, Townshend P., Va.
 Lynn, John Morris, Pa.
 Magoffin, James C., N. Y.
 Mercer, William Newton, Md.
 Miller, John L., Va.
 Mitchell, Thomas D., Pa.
 Moore, John Wilson, Md.
 Morton, William S., Va.
 Mosby, Littleberry H., Va.
 Mosby, James, Jr., S. C.
 Noel, James H., Va.
 Pleasants, Samuel, Va.
 Quesenbery, William S., Va.
 Rogers, John, Del.
 Sappington, William Brown, Md.
 Skipwith, Henry, Va.
 Starke, Robert B., S. C.
 Stevens, James I., Va.
 Stewart, Josiah, Pa.
 Strath, St. Clair, Md.
 Sutherland, Joel B., Pa.
 Taylor, Parran, Del.
 Todd, Henry I., Ky.
 Walke, John Robertson, Va.
 Walker, Robert (R.?), —
 Waring, Horatio Smith, S. C.
 Weard, Samuel, —
 West, Charles Whitehead, Ga.

THE SIX NATIONS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—Messrs. J. C. Martin and Seth Newhouse of the Six Nations' Reservation, Grand River, Canada, seek information about a supposed "Pledge, desirable on the part of the Five Nations (now Six Nations residing on the Grand River Reserve) to become fully attached to the British Crown, in order to take sides on the British of the coming storm by the Revolutionary War." They state that this paper, in Johnson's correspondence, "has been in possession by the chiefs of the Six Nations, but had become lost for want of better place to store valuable papers in."

They also ask information concerning "a Pledge given by Sir Guy Carleton previous to the above-mentioned war, and afterwards ratified by Sir Frederick Haldimand in April, 1779. These documents are desirable just to show how staunch the Five Nations were to the British Crown."

There is no doubt as to the fidelity of the larger part of the Five Nations in the struggle. Every one knows that it was not unanimous. The Indian councils of Sir William Johnson show how faithful they were to him and the colonies, but their pledges to him were not against the latter, but against hostile Indians. In all these councils, up to the baronet's death in 1774, there is no allusion even to difficulties between the King and the colonies. Their interests are supposed to be identical. In a council with Col. Guy Johnson, Sept. 17, 1774, about the Shawnee troubles, he said to the Five Nations: "I view with much pleasure the Great Belt of the Covenant Chain, which binds you fast to the English," without distinction. A little later the Oneidas began to hear about the Boston troubles, and asked Col. Johnson about them. Jan. 27, 1775, he charged them "not to hearken to any persons who misrepresented Government," and evidently did not think the situation serious. In March he advised some concessions to them, having "discovered that measures are now in agitation to draw the Six Nations into the schemes of the disaffected."

That they had as yet made no pledge and taken no sides, is evident from the letter of the Earl of Dartmouth to Guy Johnson, July 24, 1775, the former having already "hinted that the time might possibly come when the King, relying upon the attachment of His faithful Allies, the Six Nations of Indians, might be under the necessity of calling upon them for their aid and assistance in the present state of America. . . . It is therefor His Majesty's pleasure, that you do lose no time in taking such steps as may induce them to take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America. . . . Whether the engaging the Six Nations to take up arms in defence of His Majesty's Government, is most likely to be effected by separate negotiation with the Chiefs or in a general Council assembled for that purpose, must be left to your judgement," but the matter was of great importance. The Five Nations were not subjects but allies of the English, as yet unpledged to either side. So at the Albany council, Aug. 25, 1775, the Five Nations said: "We shan't take notice of any hostile propositions that may be made to us, for we bear an equal proportion of love to you, and the others over the great waters, in the present dispute; and we shall remain at peace and smoke our pipes." A Mohawk chief at this council, speaking of the desire of the Americans that the Indians should take no part, said: "Our great man, Col. Johnson, did the same thing at Oswego; he desired us to sit still likewise. . . . This then is the determination of the Six Nations, not to take any part, but as it is a family affair, to sit still and see you fight it out."

In 1777 Guy Johnson thought all were on the royal side except the Oneidas, but it is certain the Onondagas and Tuscaroras must be added to these. In fact, as a body, the Onondagas remained neutral till their towns were burned in 1779. Major Butler wrote to Carleton, Dec. 14, 1778, "that the Onondagas, Tuscaroras and Oneidas had taken sides with the rebels." This was contradicted later, but the Onondaga position was in doubt to the last. As late as Feb. 25, 1779, a message came to Canada from the Indians, "that a large body of rebels had left Albany to take post at Oswego, and that half of the Onondagas intended to join them." Many, however, were with the loyalists, who were delighted with the burning of Onondaga, after which its people abandoned all efforts for neutrality.

Respecting Carleton and Haldimand, there is in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, from the latter, a "Guarantee to the Mohawks of Canajoharie, etc., that their property, ruined by the rebels, should be put in the same state as before the war." This was dated April 7, 1779, and seems one paper mentioned. A settlement was made with these in 1784. Haldimand held conferences with the Five Nations at Quebec in 1779, On Oct. 25, 1784, he proclaimed that "the said Mohawk Nation and such other of the Six Nation Indians as wish to settle in that quarter, might take possession of and settle upon the banks of the river commonly called the Ouse or Grand River."

Carleton wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth from Quebec August 14, 1775: "Col. Johnson has come with chiefs of the Six Nations and been followed by more; they have promised great things. It is necessary to gain them, but they are not to be depended on." He probably made large but indefinite promises, made plainer by Haldimand afterward.

W. M. BEAUCHAMP.

EDITOR PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

With reference to the discussion as to the Quaker standing of Benjamin West, I send the following statement, said to have been made by himself and copied by me two years ago in London, in a book entitled "A Book for a Rainy Day," p. 90.

"Sir, I was once a Quaker and have never left their principles."

ISAAC SHARPLESS.

BRYAN.—Wanted to know the *full* name and ancestry of the wife of William Bryan, who lived in Bucks County 1738, died 1784. On her tombstone it states: Rebecca—— wife of William Bryan. born 1718—died 1796.

Their children were Josiah—William (born 1739), James, Joel, Jesse, Rebecca (who married John Morrison), and Guy, who married in Philadelphia, Martha, daughter of Colonel Timothy Matlack.

MRS. J. A. PETRIE,
Phillipsburg, N. J.

Book Notices.

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA: CHARTER, CONSTITUTION, BY LAWS, OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, MEMBERS, &c., MCMVIII. 8vo. pp. 171.

This Society, incorporated in April of 1896, was formed for the purpose of celebrating anniversaries of events connected with the settlement of Pennsylvania prior to 1700, and collecting, preserving and publish-

ing records and documents relating to the early history of that Colony. It has adopted March 15, the anniversary of the granting of the Charter to William Penn, and November 8, the anniversary of his landing in Pennsylvania, as occasions for holding social gatherings. Among its publications are the *American Weekly Mercury*, Vols. I, II, III, IV, in fac-simile; *Records of the Court of New Castle on Delaware, 1676-1681*, and *Bulletin Nos. 1 and 2*. The work under notice is very attractive in its get up, and the pedigrees of its members valuable to genealogists.

PROCEEDINGS AND PAPERS READ BEFORE THE LEHIGH COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. Allentown, 1908. 8vo. pp. 232. Illustrated.

The Lehigh County Historical Society was organized in January of 1904, and its members have shown marked energy in the development of the history of their county. The papers read before the society and published in the volume before us are entirely local in character and have been prepared with great care. Among the principal ones are William Allen, the Founder of Allentown, and his descendants; *History of the Reformed and Lutheran Congregations of Egypt Church; Allentown Sixty Years Ago*; *Some Indian History of the Lehigh Valley*; *The Mayors of Allentown*; *Revolutionary Patriots of Allentown*, with the roll of members and officers of the faculty, and minutes of meetings.

VAN RENSSELAER BOWIER MANUSCRIPTS: Being Letters of Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, 1630-1643, and other Documents relating to the Colony of Rensselaerswyck. Translated and edited by A. J. F. van Laer, Archivist. Albany, 1908. 8vo. pp. 909. Illustrated.

The State of New York, through its Commissioner of Education, Hon. Andrew S. Draper, has recently published a collection of interesting documents connected with the early history of the Dutch colonies in that State, translated by its Archivist. It comprises a great variety of papers, including journals of voyages, deeds, leases, contracts, accounts and inventories of cattle, and many copies of letters, memorials and instructions written between 1630 and 1643 by Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, the founder of the colony of Rensselaerswyck, to his colonists, to officials of the West India Company, to his co-partners and to the States General. Nearly all the papers relate primarily to the establishment and early development of the colony of Rensselaerswyck, but incidentally they touch on many matters relating to settlement in other parts of the province of New Netherland as well. A translation by Mrs. Alan H. Strong, of Nicolaas de Rower's sketch of Kiliaen van Rensselaer and his Colony of Rensselaerswyck is an appropriate preface to the work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHINGTON COUNTY, PENNA.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, in 1907, proposed the preparation of a Bibliography of Pennsylvania, under the supervision of the county historical societies. The first part of the bibliography of Washington County, compiled by Boyd Cumrine, Esq., has been issued in "In Our Early Days," published by the Historical Society of that county, and embraces all books and regularly published magazines and newspapers. Librarians are requested to supply the compiler with additions or corrections in names of authors or titles.

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY, 1906. A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS AND ARTICLES ON UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN HISTORY, PUBLISHED DURING THE YEAR 1906, WITH SOME MEMORANDA ON OTHER PORTIONS OF AMERICA. Compiled by Grace Gardner Griffin. New York, 1908. 8vo. pp. 186.

The need of an annual bibliography in which shall be registered all books and articles, of any value or importance, relating to American history and published in a given year, is one that has been acutely felt by many investigators, and the present publication will be found of the greatest utility by persons engaged in historical research. A very full index will be found helpful. Copies for sale by the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. Price, \$2.50 net.

Date	Size	For whom painted	Price Paid
18	Head	Cap Guinn limited Street. Navy	150 Oct 22
27	Head	Mary, Young of Downing's Mill	150 Oct 31
Nov 20	Bust	Miss E. Bates, Painted in London. 459 Duke	250 Nov 26
Dec 5	Bust	John T. Hunter Merchant. 446 1/2 Market	250 Oct. 26
1838	Bust	Sam. Lawson Esq for Capt. Portman	200 Feb 13
Jan 9	Head	Mrs. M. Stearns Price	300 Feb 11
11	Head	Mrs. M. Stearns Price	300 Expensed
March 13	Bust	"Sleeping Girl" copy from Reynolds.	300 Same
22	Head	Queen Victoria, Queen of England - the head only	500 May 15
April 5	Head	"Strawberry Girl" copy from Reynolds. Regent	300 April 20
21	Head	"Girl with Bird" copy after Reynolds - 21st	300 May 21
May 25	Bust	Queen Victoria for Hodgson & Co. Genl.	1000 June 24
June 30	Bust	Queen Victoria for the S. Georges Society	1000 Jan 14
October 2	Bust	Queen Victoria for myself	2000 Dec 20
Dec 27	Head	"Second Girl" copy after Rembrandt's "Boy with a Dog" painted during the last year 1837-38. is 2 1/2 inches in each direction. Subject: "Mother & 2 Children" Group of 2 figures for S. Georges Society. "William & Anne" Mrs. Elting. The names of these set down at pp. 12, 394. The last received, "The 'Second' Girl", sent for the names of persons to whom the work was delivered, see "Journal".	150 Jan 21

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No. 4.

THOMAS SULLY'S REGISTER OF PORTRAITS,
1801-1871.

Arranged and Edited with an Introduction and Notes.

BY CHARLES HENRY HART.

Thomas Sully did for posterity that, for which many other artists would have received the blessings of posterity had they done. He kept a register of his work day by day, noting the name of the subject, the size of the canvas, the dates when each was begun and when finished, for whom painted and his price for the same. At the end of each year he added up the total number of his works during the year and their total value; and as his artistic career covered the span of three score and ten,¹ he has recorded the painting of 2520 pictures, of a value of \$246,744.00, or an average of 36 paintings a year, of an average annual value of \$3525.00, a very comfortable income for the greater part of his life, during the period he lived. But these figures do not show precisely the entire number of his works, for, difficult as it is to understand,

¹ His first entry is "May 10, 1801. Began miniature of Chester Sully, in Norfolk, Va., being my first attempt from life, for Mary Lee"; and his last entry, "January 26, 1872. Copy of Michael Angelo's from a print."

when he seems to have followed this apparently exact method of entering his works from the very commencement of his professional career, he did not record all of the portraits that he painted. This lack of completeness takes away from the register its authority as a final means of identification of those he did paint or of condemnation of those he did not paint but are attributed to him. These omissions may be accounted for in part from his custom, as his great-nephew and step-grandson, Mr. Garrett Cross Neagle,¹ informs me, of writing "his memoranda on a slate which he kept hanging over his desk, in his study, upon which he would, each day, enter the occurrences of the day, and when a portrait was ordered he would in that way make a memorandum of it. These he transcribed into monthly memoranda of portraits he painted, and at the expiration of each year he would enter the memoranda into his Register. In transcribing the same he may have omitted entering, in some cases, such portraits as had not been finished at the end of the year, intending to do so on their completion, as at the end of each year he notes the unfinished work on hand." It is of course to be regretted that there are any omissions of portraits known to have been painted by Mr. Sully, but such is certainly the case, and while those so known have not been inserted in their proper places in the list as prepared for publication, they will be given at the end of the list, as "Portraits not in the Register."

The register is written throughout in Mr. Sully's minute chirography, in a book seven inches square, and so little did his handwriting change that it is difficult to judge from it when the entries may have been transcribed, excepting that toward the last the tremor of advancing age becomes apparent. As was not unnatural in writing unfamiliar proper names, they are often set down phonetically, and Mr. Sully's spelling has been followed in printing, the correction being given in the notes. To many names he has added some description, as means of identification or for other purposes,

¹I am also indebted to Mr. Neagle for the records from the Sully Family Bible printed here for the first time.

and all of these notes are printed after the names, within quotation marks. Mr. Sully made his "I" and "J" alike, above the line, so that in some instances they may be incorrectly transcribed, which of course was unavoidable; with this exception the list is believed to be a faithful transcript of the names as he recorded them, only arranged alphabetically for convenience of reference. Some very few entries had to be omitted for lack of means of identification, such as "A lady from description"; "From a sketch of a gentleman"; "A whole-length of a child"; etc. Although his work was chiefly in portraiture, Mr. Sully did paint some other pictures, but they are not included in this publication; a few, interesting for their history, are, however, noted in this introduction. This original register, on the death of the painter, became the property of his daughter, Miss Blanche Sully, who presented it in May, 1896, to Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer, and it became the property of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania through Mr. Dreer's munificent gift of his invaluable collection of manuscripts. Owing to its chronological arrangement, the only possible one consonant with its contemporary character, the register was almost useless as a work of reference, although one frequently referred to, and at the request of the learned librarian of the Historical Society I undertook the present publication, so as to make it generally accessible, and it has been a great pleasure for me to do so, as I remember the author of it among my earliest recollections.

When a mere lad, just entering my teens, I became possessed with the desire to have the autographs of distinguished artists, and with that end in view addressed letters to Rembrandt Peale, Asher Brown Durand, S. F. B. Morse, better known as the inventor of the electric telegraph than as an artist, Thomas Sully, and others, to secure theirs. But even in that incipient stage of the disease, I was not content with a mere signature, so that instead of respectfully soliciting an autograph I concealed my immaturity by asking some personal question of each, the answer to which would have an abiding interest. In this way came to me the following note from Mr. Sully:

PHILADELPHIA 25 Sept. 1860.

DEAR SIR;—

I have no objection to comply with your request. I was born in Horncastle, Lincolonshire, Great Britain, 1783. Have resided in Philadelphia since 1808.

Respectfully your obd. Servt

MR CHAS. H HART

THOS. SULLY

Later on I had the privilege to become acquainted with the venerable painter, and made several visits to his historic painting room on the east side of Fifth Street, between Chestnut and Market Streets, the site of his house being the bed of the present Ranstead Street, at Fifth Street. This house belonged to the Girard Estate and was specially built for Mr. Sully, by Stephen Girard, with a suitable painting room (vide 10), expressly for the purpose in the back part of the house. This room was very large and lofty, lighted by a single window, extending from floor to ceiling and large enough to make half a dozen windows of ordinary size, which gave the painter a flood of light which he regulated of course by easily adjusted curtains. The *pièce de résistance* upon the walls was his original life study of Queen Victoria, painted in Buckingham Palace, signed "T. S. London, May 15th 1838" and which was the first portrait painted of the young Queen after her coronation.¹ Some years before Mr. Sully's death an

¹The Register reveals a very curious history of the whole-length portrait of the Queen painted for the St. George's Society of Philadelphia, which is directly contrary to the commonly accepted history of that picture. Instead of its being the original portrait painted from life, as generally supposed, it is the last of four that Sully painted. It was possibly begun in England but was actually finished in Philadelphia after his return. These facts are shown by the dates he has set down for the beginning and the finishing of these portraits. The life study of Victoria (1749) was begun March 22, 1838, and finished May 15th; the Bishop's half-length for the engraver (1750) was begun May 25th and finished June 24th; the whole-length "for the St Georges Society" (1751) was not begun until September 30th, 1838, or finished until January 14, 1839—indeed, at the close of the year 1838, he notes among his unfinished work "Victoria for St George Society"—while the whole-length he painted for himself (1752) was begun after and finished before that for the St. George's Society. This accounts too, for 1751, being signed and dated "1839," which heretofore has been considered a mistake.

ordinance of Philadelphia City Councils was passed providing for the opening of Ranstead Street from Fourth to Fifth Streets. To accomplish this the demolition of Mr. Sully's house was necessary, but upon the representation to Councils, by some influential citizens, that Mr. Sully was an octogenarian and had occupied the house for nearly forty years, the ordinance was held in abeyance until after his demise, so that he should not be disturbed in the enjoyment of his old home. Mr. Sully was very diminutive in stature and frail in appearance, but with that courtly manner that is properly termed "of the old school," now, alas, seen no more. He was always pleased to talk, in his quite gentle way, of the days that had gone and of the people he had known and painted, and he was always ready to give attention and counsel to any one really interested in his life pursuit.

Thomas Sully was born June 19, 1783, and was the youngest son of Matthew (1769-1815) and Sarah Chester Sully (d. 1793), who were actors and came to this country, from England, with their family in 1792, settling in Charleston, S. C. They had a number of children, at least four sons and five daughters, Lawrence, Matthew,¹ Chester, and Thomas; Harriet (m. Prof. Porcher of South Carolina), Elizabeth (m. Middleton Smith of Charleston, S. C.), Jane (m. J. B. Le Roy), Mary, and Sarah (one of these m. Mons. Belzons, a French miniature painter in Charleston). Lawrence Sully, the eldest child, named for his grandfather, Dr. Lawrence Sully (d. 1775), of Exeter, England, was born in Kilkenny, Ireland, December 28, 1769. He was a miniature painter and soon removed to Richmond, Va., where on the last day of 1793 he married Sarah Annis, of Annapolis, Md. He was a dissipated man, and in a street brawl with some drunken sailors was murdered toward the close of 1803 and thrown into the James

¹He married Elizabeth Robertson, of Virginia, and their son was Robert Matthew Sully, born in Petersburg, Va., July 17, 1803, and died in Madison, Wis., October 16, 1855. He studied art with his uncle and later in England from 1824 to 1826. His portrait of Chief Justice John Marshall is in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., but wrongly attributed to Thomas Sully.

River, leaving his widow to survive him with three little daughters:—

- (1) Sarah Chester Sully, b. October 1, 1796; d. December 15, 1856.
- (2) Elizabeth Chester Sully, b. January 7, 1799; d. October 13, 1821.
- (3) Mary Chester Sully, b. September 18, 1802; m. May 28, 1826, John Neagle;¹ d. March 4, 1845.

Thomas Sully was sent to the same school in Charleston as was attended by Charles Fraser, later the well-known miniature painter, and the similar tastes of the two boys made them fast friends. Sully was eager to follow the profession of his brother Lawrence, and Fraser gave him his first lesson in art, but he was balked in this desire and placed in an insurance office, where he paid no attention to the drudgery of business, devoting all of his time to sketching, until he was apprenticed to his brother-in-law, M. Belzons, to learn the art of miniature painting. But Belzons not only was an insignificant painter, but he had a violent temper which resulted in the severance of the relation of master and pupil, and Thomas joined his brother Lawrence in Richmond. In 1801, the two brothers removed to Norfolk, and here on May 10, Thomas Sully painted his first miniature from life, the portrait of his brother Chester. He soon determined to abandon painting in little for oil portraits, and his first sitter was William Armistead, whose portrait in oil he began November 23, 1802. The next year Sully went to Richmond to join his brother Lawrence, who had returned there the previous season, and he had been there but a short time when

¹John Neagle was born in Boston, Mass., during the temporary sojourn of his parents from Philadelphia, November 4, 1796, and died in Philadelphia, September 17, 1865. He was among the most eminent of the early portrait painters of America, easily standing second only to Gilbert Stuart. He was a powerful colorist, a skilful delineator of character, and a vigorous draughtsman. A register of his portraits would be as interesting as this of his friend and kinsman Sully. What is curious, neither of these fine portraitists painted the portrait of the other.

the tragedy happened to Lawrence, whose widow and helpless family, being unprovided for, he undertook the burden of supporting, a burden that was changed into a pleasure and a duty on June 27, 1805, when he married Mrs. Lawrence Sully, in Warren County, North Carolina. Mrs. Sully, who was born November 24, 1770, died in Philadelphia July 25, 1867, having had nine children by him:—

- (1) Jane Chester Sully, b. May 7, 1806; d. May —, 1814.
- (2) Jane Cooper Sully, b. January 14, 1807; m. February 16, 1833, William Henry Westray Darley;¹ d. March 3, 1877.
- (3) Thomas Sully, Jr., b. April 29, 1809; d. January —, 1810.
- (4) Thomas Wilcocks Sully,² b. January 3, 1811; d. April 18, 1847.
- (5) Blanche Sully, b. August 13, 1814; d. April 30, 1898.

¹Son of John and Eleanora (Westray) Darley (407 and 408), two well-known English actors, and brother of Felix O. C. Darley, the eminent illustrator. Mrs. Darley painted some portraits and her son is Francis Thomas Sully Darley, the well-known organist.

²He was born in Sansom Street above 7th, Philadelphia, and followed his father's profession with no little ability. His portraits of William E. Burton as Bob Acres, of Edwin S. Conner as Romeo, of Edwin Forrest, of Robert Hamilton, of Robert Campbell Maywood as Tam O'Shanter, of John R. Scott as St. Pierre, of Francis C. Wemyss, of William Henry Harrison, and of Governor Francis R. Shunk, were lithographed by Newsam, but by some unaccountable carelessness the affix "Jr." after the name of the painter, as it appears on each of the Newsam lithographs, just mentioned, has been with marked unanimity omitted from the titles as printed in the *Catalogue of the Lithographic Portraits of Albert Newsam*, published in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY for October, 1900, January and April, 1901, so that persons have been misled into attributing these portraits to Thomas Sully the elder, instead of to his son Thomas Wilcocks Sully, or, as he was commonly called, "Thomas Sully, Jr." A portrait that he painted of John Tyler, with the White House in the background, is an excellent virile piece of work.

- (6) Ellen Oldmixon Sully, b. January 22, 1816; m. November 8, 1838, John H. Wheeler¹; d. August 6, 1896.
- (7) Rosalie Kemble Sully, b. June 3, 1818; d. July 8, 1847.
- (8) Alfred Sully,² b. May 22, 1820; 1st m. May 28, 1850, Manuella Zimeno of Monterey, Cal. She d. March 27, 1851. 2nd m.,—, 1864, Henrietta Wilson of England. He d. Apr. 27, 1879.
- (9) Virginia Isabella Sully, b. April 22, 1824; d. August 22, 1825.

Soon after his marriage Sully at the suggestion of Thomas Apthorpe Cooper (356), the tragedian, removed to New York, where he sought instruction from John Trumbull, who however was loath to teach one who he easily found would soon outstrip him, so to acquire some technical knowledge, that he felt he needed, Sully paid Trumbull \$100 to paint the portrait of his wife and thus by being present gained what he was seeking. From New York he went to Hartford, in 1807, and thence to Boston, where he painted a portrait of Isaac P. Davis (421), the warm friend of Gilbert Stuart, which introduced Sully's art to the master painter of America, who was most unusually generous in his criticism. At the instigation of Benjamin Chew Wilcocks (1870), whose portrait he had painted in New York, Sully visited Philadelphia

¹ Colonel John Hill Wheeler was b. in Murfreesboro, N. C., August 6, 1806, and died in Washington, D. C., December 7, 1882. He was the author of the *History of North Carolina*, published in 1851.

² Was graduated at West Point in 1841 and assigned to the 2nd Infantry then engaged in the war with the Seminole Indians, and participated with credit in the attack on Hawe Creek Camp, January 25, 1842. In 1853 he was engaged in the operations against the Rogue River Indians and in 1860 in those against the Cheyennes. In the Civil War he participated at Fair Oaks, Malvern Hill, and Chancellorsville, receiving brevets for each of these engagements. In 1863 he was assigned to the command of the department of Dakota, where he soon gained note for his expeditions against hostile Indians. At the close of the war he was brevetted Major-General of Volunteers and Brigadier-General in the regular army.

in December, 1807, and early in 1808 took up his permanent residence there, then and for a dozen years after the metropolis of the country, and the first portrait he painted here was of Mr. Wilcocks's sister Ann (1872), afterward Mrs. Joseph R. Ingersoll. At the end of eighteen months he went to England for a year's study and like most American painters sought instruction from Benjamin West. Upon his return his improvement was so marked that he at once became the most prominent portrait painter in Philadelphia, a position he never had to relinquish, and strange as it may seem his best work was done at this early period. His unquestioned masterpiece, a full length of General Jonathan Williams (1878), was painted in 1815, while his exceptionally fine portraits of George Frederick Cooke (346), Samuel Coates (318), and James Ross (1448) were painted earlier.

I do not intend to follow Sully's career in detail. That is shown by his work as entered in his register and can be found, down to 1835, his best period, with autobiographical minuteness, in Dunlap's *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*, Vol. 2, pp. 101-141. But it is important to bear in mind the various places where he painted portraits during his art life. In Richmond and Norfolk, Va., 1801 to 1805; New York 1805 to 1807; Hartford and Boston 1807; Philadelphia 1808 until his death, with the exception of his two visits to England, 1809-10 and 1837-38; and visits to Baltimore in March and April, 1820, and again November, 1820, to August, 1821, June to September, 1840, and October, 1852, to June, 1853; to Boston, July to September, 1831, August, 1836, December, 1840, and July, 1848; to Washington, D. C., April to June, 1840; to Charleston, S. C., December, 1841, to end of 1842 and winter of 1845-46; to Providence, R. I., June, 1847, and to Richmond, Va., April to June, 1849, and October, 1850, to June, 1851. This itinerary will account for the wide distribution of Sully's portraits over the entire country and the reason for his name's being so well known and respected.

Besides portraits it may be worth noting that Sully, like so many eminent artists, was not above sign-painting in the early part of his career. In March, 1805, he enters in his Register a large "Sign of an Eagle," (8 ft. x 5 ft.) for the Eagle Tavern, Richmond, Va., for which he was paid fifty dollars.

This is however the only entry of the kind, unless with it may be classed his painting, ten years later, a "Frontispiece to the Chestnut St. Theatre" (8 ft. x 8 ft.) of the "Genii of Comedy and Tragedy." Just what a "frontispiece" for a theatre means, I am unable to say. Perhaps it was a stage curtain, although of rather small dimensions. In September, 1824, he painted in a week, for William Strickland, the architect, the Arms of the City of Philadelphia to be placed over the triumphal arch for the reception of La Fayette. It is still intact in possession of the city. The only history pieces he painted were in 1812, a *Capture of Major André*, for Kearney, the engraver, who doubtless intended to make a plate from it, but I cannot ascertain that he did so, and *Washington Crossing the Delaware*, the study for which he began in 1816, for the state of North Carolina, on a canvas 36 x 48. He completed the next year the large picture (17 ft. x 12 ft.), when the state refused to accept it and it was thrown on the painter's hands. He was to have been paid the insignificant sum of \$1000 for it, but was glad to sell it to Doggett, a frame maker of Boston, for \$500, who turned it over to the Boston Museum, where it was when the museum was broken up in 1892. Its present whereabouts are unknown. He later made a finished picture from the original sketch, and of the same size, for Sir James Wright, of Edinburgh, and it was in the old Scotch capital until recently and may still be there. In the same category belongs the huge equestrian picture of Washington (12 ft. 6 in. x 9 ft. 6 in.), painted in 1842, which now is owned by the Union League of Philadelphia but which adds nothing to the painter's fame.

Mr. Sully was in his ninetieth year when he died on November 5, 1872, and his last portrait (1053) was finished October 31st, 1871, just a year and a few days before his death. This canvas I have seen recently and it is wonderfully good, both as a likeness and as a painting, considering the great age of the painter, far better indeed than the work that generally proceeded from the artist's easel in his later years, as though he had determined to make his valedictory worthy of his art and of his reputation. It is always sad to see the decadence of a great man's powers, in whatever field he may have tilled, but with an artist, perhaps more than in any other

vocation, the change from strength to weakness is so apparent, that one can have only the feeling of regret that the brush had not fallen from the hand in its fulness of power, rather than in its final struggle.

NOTE.

The sizes given in the Register for portraits are the *standard sizes* of the several canvases used and not necessarily the size of the picture upon the canvas. These *standard sizes* are, in inches, HEAD, 17 x 20; BUST, 20 x 24; HALF-LENGTH, 25 x 30; KIT-KAT, 29 x 36; THREE-QUARTER, 40 x 50; BISHOP'S HALF-LENGTH, 44 x 56; WHOLE-LENGTH, 58 x 94. In describing portraits, a *head* includes the shoulders, but not the arms; a *bust*, the arms, but not the hands; a *half-length*, the hands and may also include the legs above the knee; *kit-kat*, the same as half-length, only larger; *three-quarter length*, includes the legs below the knee; *Bishop's half-length*, the same as three-quarters, only larger; and *whole length*, includes the feet. There may of course be variations in sizes of canvas and in the placing of the portrait upon the canvas, at the pleasure of the artist, but the above are the standard sizes and descriptions of life size portraits. Sully's signature was a cypher of T. S.

NAME	A	SIZE	DATE
1. ABERCROMBIE DR.		Kit-kat	1810
Presumably the Rev. James Abercrombie, D.D. (1758-1841), who was for more than thirty-eight years one of the ministers of the United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peters, Philadelphia and the head of the Philadelphia Academy, 1800-1817.			
2. ABERCROMBIE DR., "for his son in Baltimore."		3.6 x 2.10	1826
3. ABERT COL., "of Topo Engineers Washngn."		S. Half-length	1839
John James Abert (1788-1863), Colonel of Topographical Engineers, 1811, was painted at the request of his corps and presented to the U. S. Military Academy at West Point, where it now is.			
4. ADAMS JOHN. "P. U. S. small whole length (Morgan)."		2 f. 9 x 2 f. 1	1825
This was a portrait of John Quincy Adams, President of the United States, which Mr. Sully painted for W. H. Morgan, a			

NAME	SIZE	DATE
printseller of Philadelphia, and which was engraved by A. B. Durand, who received \$700 for the plate, or nearly three times what Sully was paid for the painting. The head in this picture was after Stuart. Vide 5 and 6.		
5. ADAMS PREST. "Study in chalk to finish Stuart's whole length."		1829
6. ADAMS PREST. "The back-gd. and drapery to Stuart."	Whole length	1829
Stuart painted John Quincy Adams in 1818. From this the Hon. Ward Nicholas Boyleston ordered a whole length, but Stuart never painted more than the head although repeatedly urged to finish it, and left it unfinished at his death, in 1828, and Sully was engaged to complete it. It was then given to Harvard and is now in Memorial Hall. These items, 4, 5, and 6, are confusing. The plate by Durand, published by Morgan, is of the same picture as that in Harvard, yet it was painted and engraved in 1825. Why then four years afterward Sully should have made a "study in chalk" to finish Stuart's whole length when he had already four years before painted a like picture it is impossible to tell, unless it were difference in size, as also why the next item should read as though he had only painted in "the background and drapery to Stuart," when he painted everything but the head, for which he charged \$350, and in his summary of unfinished work at end of the year he writes "Whole length of J. Q. Adams, head painted by Stuart, half finished."		
7. ADAMS MISS MARY, "for Mrs Adams."	Bust	1834
8. ADAMS MRS., "for Mrs Washington M. V."	Bust	1836
9. ADAMS MRS., "of N. Orleans, late Miss Mc Call."	Kit-kat	1840
10. AITKIN DR., "1st work begun in Girard's house."	Head	1828
"In Girard's House" means the house on the east side of Fifth Street above Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, that was built by Stephen Girard for Mr. Sully and where he died forty-four years later. This portrait was begun October 24, 1828.		

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
11. ALEXANDER ELIZABETH, "about 2 years old."	Whole length	1851
12. ALEXANDER MR. M., " & hand as one of the group of five."	Bust	1851
13. ALEXANDER MRS., "deceased. Copied from miniature."	Kit-kat	1851
14. ALEXANDER PAULINE, "for Mrs T. Biddle."	Head	1828
15. ALIBONE MRS., "of Walnut St." Sarah Alibone, widow, had a boarding house at 139 Wal- nut Street in 1830.	Bust	1830
16. ALLEN PROF. GEO. "For his Son."	Bust	1855
George Allen (1808-1876) was professor of ancient languages and then of Greek in the University of Pennsylvania from 1845 until his death. He was the most profound scholar who has ever held a chair in that college, a noted chess player and author of the Life of Philidor.		
17. ALLEN MRS. "For her hus- band Professor Allen."	Head	1864
18. ALLEN MRS. GEORGE.	Head	1865
19. ALLEN HERMAN, "for his father."	Head	1864
20. ALLEN HERMAN, "copy for, of his Father-in-law."	Head	1866
21. ALLEN MISS TOOLULA, "of Savannah."	Head	1846
22. ALLISSON MISS MARIA, "for T Armistead Richmd."	Miniature	1802
23. ALLSTON MRS., "great grand mother R W Allston."	Head	1842

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
24. ALLSTON MRS. R., "of Georgetown" [South Carolina].	Head	1842
25. ALLSTON MRS. "Copy from Morse of Mrs Allston's portrait."	Bust	1846
26. ALLSTON MR. "Copy from Morse of Mr Allston."	Bust	1846
27. ALSTON MR., "of Georgetown, S. C."	Bust	1825
28. ALSTON MRS., "from Georgetown."	Head	1837
29. ALSTON THOS., "for his father, at Georgetown."	Bust	1826
30. ALSTON, "for his father, study for whole lt."	Head	1826
31. ALSTON, "a whole length. 300 charge 200."	5 f. 3 x 3 f. 8	1826
32. ALSTON WM., "for his father Col J. A. A. of Georgetown."	Bust	1826
33. ANABLE MISS H. I. "For her relations."	Head	1853
34. ANDERSON MRS., "of New Orleans."	Small half length	1851
35. ANDREWS DR.	Head	1813
Doubtless the Rev. John Andrews (1746-1813), Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, 1810-1813, whose portrait was engraved by David Edwin, after Sully, for the Portfolio, 1813.		
36. ANDREWS MISSES, "2 heads on one canvas."	Head	1832
37. ANDREWS MR. "Cashier Bank of U. S."	24 x 20	1836
38. ANNALY MISS AMELIA.	Head	1842

	NAME	SIZE	DATE
39.	ANNALY MISS MARIA.	Head	1842
	Portraits of Amelia and Maria Annely are owned by Mrs. Blake, Charleston, S. C.		
40.	APPLETON REVD., "of Trenton."	Head	1865
	Reverend Edward T. Appleton, D.D.		
41.	APPLETON MRS. SAMUEL, "of De Lancey St."	Head	1865
	Wife of Rev. Samuel E. Appleton, D.D., twin brother of 40, for many years rector of the P. E. Church of the Mediator, Phila.		
42.	ARMISTEAD GENERAL, "for West Point."	Bust	1829
	Walker Keith Armistead (1785-1845) was third on the list of West Point graduates and chief engineer in the war of 1812. This portrait is at U. S. Military Academy, West Point.		
43.	ARMSTEAD THOMAS, "from a Sketch Richmond."	Miniature	1801
44.	ARMSTEAD WILLIAM, "being my first attempt in oil colours."	12 x 10 in.	1802
	Brother of 43. Begun Nov. 23, finished Dec. 1.		
45.	ARROT MR.	Bust	1819
46.	ASHE T.	Bust	1807
47.	ASHURST ELIZABETH "Ather- son?"	Head	1834
	Under "Atherston" there is a portrait painted the same year for Mr. Ashhurst. Vide 54.		
48.	ASHURST ELIZABETH, "pend- ant for Atherston's."	Head	1834
	Owned by Mrs. Catharine Bowie, Philadelphia.		
49.	ASHURST LEWIS, "for his mother."	Bust	1833
	Lewis Richard Ashhurst (1806-1874), son of 50 and 51.		
50.	ASHURST MR.	Kit-kat	1826
	This was of Richard Ashhurst. Vide 51.		

- | NAME | SIZE | DATE |
|--|-------------------|------|
| 51. ASHURST MRS. "Arch St. (Mrs. Hughes)." | Kit-kat | 1832 |
| Mrs. Richard Ashhurst lived at 263 Arch Street. She was Elizabeth Croto, widow of Captain Hughes. | | |
| 52. ASHURST MARY, ELIZH and CATHERINE. "Group." | 44 x 34 | 1830 |
| Mary Jane Ashhurst m. Charles McEuen (1110); Elizabeth m. Charles D. Arfwedson (54); and Catharine Helen m. Thomas Latimer Bowie. 51 and 52 owned by Mrs. Catharine Bowie, Philadelphia. | | |
| 53. ASTOR MISS MARGRET. "For her Father." | Bust | 1807 |
| John Jacob Astor had but three daughters, Magdalen, Dorothea, and Eliza, so that "Margret" must be an error. | | |
| 54. ATHERSTON MR., "of Stockholm for Mr Ashurst." | Head | 1834 |
| This name should be "Arfwedson." See 52 n. Owned by Mrs. Catharine Bowie, Philadelphia. | | |
| 55. AYERS MR. "Copy from an old picture for Mr Savage." | 4 ft. 3 x 3 ft. 4 | 1850 |
| B | | |
| 56. BACH JOHN SEBASTIAN. "By Kaussmann" [Hausemann]. | 17 x 12 | 1862 |
| 57. BACHE CAPT. | Head | 1824 |
| Hartman Bache (1797-1872), a great-grandson of Benjamin Franklin, was graduated at West Point in 1817 and for forty-seven years was in the engineer department of the U. S. Army, receiving the brevet of Brigadier-General, the highest grade in the engineer corps, in 1865. | | |
| 58. BACHE CAPT. HARTMAN, "for Mother." | Head | 1828 |
| 59. BACHE MRS., "deceased. Hoppner's. Copy for myself." | Bust | 1834 |
| Sarah Bache (1744-1808), daughter of Benjamin Franklin. The original portrait by John Hoppner, from which this copy was made, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. | | |

NAME	SIZE	DATE
60. BACHE MRS. S., "for her grandson. Copied from Hopper." ner."	30 x 25	1865
61. BACHE MRS. LIZZIE, "from Brooklyn, N Y."	Head	1864
62. BACKER I.	Bust	1805
63. BACKMAN MISS SARAH. This name should doubtless be Beekman, as Sully was employed about this time by the Beekman family of New York.	12 x 10	1806
64. BACON MRS., "painted in 1808; retouched in 1835." Vide 1082.	Bust	1835
65. BACON MRS. "Formerly Miss Fry."	Head	1850
66. BACON MR., "companion to his wife's portrait."	Head	1851
67. BADGER MRS., "for Alderman Badger."	Head	1835
68. BALDWIN JUDGE, "for his son."	Bust	1833
69. BALDWIN JUDGE. Henry Baldwin (1780-1844), Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1830.	Bust	1834
70. BALL MR., "copied from Canter for Mrs Simmons." Joshua Cantir was a Dane who painted in Charleston, South Carolina, circa 1800.	Bust	1846
71. BALTIMORE LORD, "copy of Sir G. Kneller pt." Sir Charles Calvert, 5th Lord Baltimore, by Sully, after Kneller, is in the Maryland Historical Society.	Whole length	1853
72. BANCKER MR. Charles N. Bancker (1776-1869), for many years President of the Franklin Insurance Co., of Philadelphia.	Head	1812

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
73. BANCKER CHARLES, "in place of a former."	Bust	1830
74. BANCKER CHARLES, "for his son James."	18 x 14	1846
75. BANCKER SENR., CHAS., "in lieu of the condemned."	Head	1855
76. BANKS J.	Bust	1805
77. BARBER MR., "deceased. From a Daguerreotype."	Bust	1853
78. BARBER MRS., "of George- town D C."	Bust	1853
79. BARBER MRS. "Sister. From a Daugerreo."	Bust	1855
80. BARCLAY MRS.	Bust	1828
81. BARKER MRS. ABRAHAM.	Bust	1817
82. BARKER MRS. "For Major Barker."	Head	1829
83. BARKSDALE MR., "of Virginia."	Bust	1830
84. BARKSDALE MR., "deceased. For his father, at W."	Head	1840
85. BARKSDALE MR. JUNR., "for his father."	Head	1851
86. BARKSDALE MRS. "From one by J Worrall."	Head	1853
87. BARKSDALE MRS., "copy of port by J Worrell."	Bust	1860
88. BARKSDALE MISS HANNA. "In- fant less than 8 months."	Bust	1850

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
89. BARNES MISS, "for Dr. J. Rush."	20 x 17	1849
90. BARROW MR. ROBERT L. W., "N. Orleans."	Kit-kat	1844
91. BARROW MRS., "of New Orleans."	Kit-kat	1844
92. BARTON DR. W. Doctor William Barton, of Lancaster, Pa., was a nephew of David Rittenhouse, whose biography he published, Philadelphia, 1813.	Bust	1809
93. BATES MRS. E. "Painted in London 46 G. Marlb." First work painted in London. Begun Nov. 29th.	Bust	1837
94. BAYARD A., "copied from Eicholtz." Andrew Bayard (1761-1832), President of the Philadelphia Saving Fund, to which institution the portrait belongs.	Bust	1832
95. BAYARD MR.	Bust	1822
96. BAYARD MRS., "of Wilmington N J-Delaware."	Bust	1822
97. BAYLEY MR., "of Maryland."	Bust	1815
98. BAYRARD WILLM., "of Edisto Isl. hand introd."	Bust	1825
99. BEARD CAROLINE & FANNY LEA. "Children neces E. Carey."	Bust	1836
100. BEARD CAROLINE. Ditto for Ed. Carey. Subscribed at low price \$50. The surname in numbers 99 and 100 should be "Baird."	Head	1842
101. BECK PAUL. Sully's portrait of Paul Beck (1757-1844) was engraved by Samuel Sartain, for <i>Eminent Philadelphians</i> .	Kit-kat	1813

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
102. BECK MR. "copied from one I painted in 1813."	Bust	1860
103. BECK MRS. Mary Harvey, second wife of 101.	Kit-kat	1813
104. BECKMAN MISS ANN, "hand introduced." Ann Beckman married George Hoffman. Owned by George Hoffman, New York.	Bust	1807
105. BECKMAN I. "For B. Wil- cocks."	Bust	1807
106. BECKMAN MISS SARAH. The surname of the three numbers 104, 105, and 106 should be "Beckman." The christian name of 105 was "James."	Bust	1807
107. BEETHOVEN, "by a German artist. One of the series."	17 x 12	1862
108. BEETHOVEN. "Erased the first."	Head	1863
109. BELL DR. "For the Coloniza- tion Society." This portrait of Dr John Bell (1796-1872) is in the hall of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.	Head	1860
110. BELL MR. S.	Bust	1816
111. BELLOWS MR., "of North- umberland."	Bust	1830
112. BENDER MAJOR. "Corps Engi- neers." George Bender (d. 1865) entered army in 1812 and was made Major 5th Infantry, April 23, 1830.	Bust	1830
113. BERNARD MRS. "Copy of Vanderlyn's portrait for Tennent."	Head	1852
114. BETTON MRS., "of German- town deceased."	Kit-kat	1815
115. BEYLARD MR.	Head	1827

	NAME	SIZE	DATE
116.	BEYLARD MRS., "formerly Miss Du Barry."	Kit-kat	1825
117.	BEYLARD MRS. "For her relations in Bordeaux."	23 x 18	1826
118.	BIDDLE MASTER ALEXANDER, "for his mother." Dr. Alexander Williams Biddle (1856-), eldest son of Colonel Alexander and Julia Williams Biddle.	Head	1861
119.	BIDDLE MISS ANNE, "for her mother." Doubtless afterward Mrs. Francis Hopkinson (785), daughter of Mrs. Charles Biddle.	Head	1827
120.	BIDDLE MRS. C., "for her son Thomas Biddle." Mrs. Clement Biddle was Rebecca Cornell and her son Thomas was the founder of the banking house of Thomas A. Biddle and Co.	Bust	1824
121.	BIDDLE MRS. C. "Copy for James Biddle Esq."	10 x 8	1824
122.	BIDDLE MASTER HENRY, "for his Mother." Henry Rush Biddle (1858-1877), younger brother of 118.	Head	1861
123.	BIDDLE CAPT. JAMES C., "for Mrs Craig Biddle." This portrait must be of Commodore James Biddle (1783- 1848), who had no middle name, and for Mrs. Nicholas Biddle, who was Miss Craig, as there was no Mrs. Craig Biddle in 1826.	Head	1826
124.	BIDDLE COM., "for his brother Nicholas." Belongs to Judge Craig Biddle, Philadelphia.	Bust	1839
125.	BIDDLE LIEUT. JAMES, U. S. N. "for Meta Biddle." This portrait was of James Stokes Biddle, who entered the navy in 1833 and resigned in 1856. He married in 1846 his cousin Meta Craig Biddle, for whom the portrait was painted.	Bust	1846

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- | NAME | SIZE | DATE |
|---|---------|------|
| 126. BIDDLE JAMES C., "deceased
from Inman." | Kit-kat | 1841 |
| 127. BIDDLE MAJOR JOHN, "U. S.
Army." | Bust | 1818 |
| 128. BIDDLE MRS. J., "Miss Brad-
dish of New York."
Major John Biddle (1792-1859) married Eliza Bradish. | Bust | 1821 |
| 129. BIDDLE MASTER J. CRAIG,
"for his mother." | Head | 1839 |
| This portrait is of Judge Craig Biddle at the age of sixteen years, who dropped the name of John, and is owned by Mrs. James S. Biddle. | | |
| 130. BIDDLE MISS MARY, "and her
cousin Meta." | Bust | 1836 |
| This portrait was of Miss Annie E. Biddle, not Mary, and is owned by Mrs. James S. Biddle, who was the "Meta" in the painting. | | |
| 131. BIDDLE Miss, "for her
mother." | 17 x 12 | 1863 |
| This portrait was of Julia Rush Biddle (1859-1885), sister of 118 and 122. | | |
| 132. BIDDLE MRS., "of 4th St
for her son William." | Head | 1826 |
| The Philadelphia Directory gives Lydia Biddle, "dry goods and fancy store," at 52 South 4th Street, and William Biddle, druggist, at S. W. corner 4th and Race. This may have been Lydia Spencer, who married William McFunn Biddle and removed to Carlisle, Pa., circa 1828, where she died in 1858 æt. 92. She had a son William. | | |
| 133. BIDDLE NICHOLAS. "Prest
Bank U. S." | Bust | 1826 |
| This is the well known portrait of Nicholas Biddle (1786-1844) that was so beautifully engraved in mezzotint by Samuel Cousins. The painting belongs to Judge Craig Biddle. | | |

NAME	SIZE	DATE
134. BIDDLE MR. NICHOLAS. "Hand introduced."	Bust	1828
This is 133, but is signed and dated "1828," the year of the introduction of the hand, and not of the painting of the portrait.		
135. BIDDLE NICHOLAS. "Presd Bank U. S."	Bust	1830
136. BIDDLE NICHOLAS, "copy of my likeness of 1826."	Head	1837
137. BIDDLE NICHOLAS. "Copy, painted in 1826, for Coperthwait."	Head	1839
138. BIDDLE MRS. N. "For her brother J Craig."	Head	1826
139. BIDDLE MRS. NICHOLAS.	Bust	1827
This portrait of Mrs. Biddle, who was Jane M. Craig, was beautifully lithographed by Newsam, and is owned by Judge Craig Biddle, Philadelphia.		
140. BIDDLE MAJOR T., "United States Army."	Kit-kat	1818
Major Thomas Biddle (1790-1831) was killed in a duel. The portrait is owned by Miss Annie E. Biddle, Philadelphia.		
141. BIDDLE MAJOR T., "copied by Tom. Retouched."	Kit-kat	1832
142. BIDDLE THOMAS C.	19 x 15	1828
This portrait was of Thomas Biddle (1776-1857), not Thomas "C."		
143. BIDDLE MRS. THOMAS.	Head	1828
144. BILLS CAPT.	Miniature	1801
145. BINNEY MISS HESTER.	Bust	1836
This portrait was of Esther Binney, who married Judge J. I. Clark Hare.		

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
146. BINNEY HORACE, "for Law Library."	Kit-kat	1833
This portrait of Hon. Horace Binney (1780-1875) was engraved by John Sartain and belongs to the Law Association of Philadelphia.		
147. BINNEY HORACE, "for Genl. Cadwallader."	Bust	1833
Vide 261.		
148. BINNEY MRS. H., "grand-child Elizabeth."	Head	1835
149. BIRCH DR.	Bust	1807
150. BISPHAM MRS. JUNR., "for her husband."	Head	1834
Martha Laurie, wife of John B. Bispham and daughter of 338. Owned by William Bispham, New York.		
151. BLACK MR., "deceased from a portrait by Otis."	24 x 20	1847
152. BLACK MRS. "For her grandson-Young."	24 x 20	1850
153. BLACK MRS. "Deceased a copy from a Photograph."	30 x 25	1862
154. BLACKBURNE WM. "Merchant."	Head	1829
155. BLACKMORE REV. "From a miniature for Mr. Wallace."	Bust	1853
This name must be a mistake for Rev. Robert Backwell, D.D. (1748-1831), one of the ministers of the United Churches, whose only daughter Rebecca m. George Willing, whose daughter Dorothea Frances m. John William Wallace.		
156. BLAIR MISS E., "of Washington."	Head	1840

NAME	SIZE	DATE
157. BLAIR FRANCIS P., "formerly editor of the Globe."	Bust	1845
This portrait of F. P. Blair (1791-1876) was engraved by John Sartain.		
158. BLAIR MR. JAMES. "For his father at Washn."	Head	1843
159. BLAIR MR. "Son of Fr Blair (Montgomery)."	Head	1845
This portrait was of Judge Montgomery Blair (1813-1883).		
160. BLAIR JUDGE MONTGOMERY, "2d Portrait."	Head	1845
161. BLAIR MRS., "painted at Washington."	Bust	1840
162. BLAIR MRS., "formerly Miss Woodbury."	Head	1846
163. BLAIR MRS., "copy from the former."	Head	1846
164. BLAKELEY MISS UDNEY, "for Mrs Abbot, St. Croix."	Bust	1830
165. BLAMYER MISS, "of Charleston S. C. for Mrs P. Smith."	Head	1854
166. BLOGET MRS. "Copy from Stuart for H Smith."	Head	1855
This was the portrait of Mrs. Samuel Blodget (1772-1837) of which the original is in the Penna. Academy of Fine Arts.		
167. BLOOMFIELD MRS. GEN., "of Burlington."	Kit-kat	1822
Presumably of the wife of General and Governor Joseph Bloomfield, of New Jersey.		
168. BLYTHE MRS., "then dying of consumption."	Miniature	1802

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
169. BOGGS MR. "Merchant."	Bust	1815
170. BOGGS MRS.	Bust	1815
171. BOILEAU MR. "Secy. State Penna." Nathaniel B. Boileau, Secretary of State under Governor Snyder.	Bust	1809
172. BOLLING ROBERT, "of Peters- burg Va."	Head	1825
173. BOLLING MRS., "of Peters- burg."	Bust	1832
174. BOLLING MR., "of Peters- burg."	Bust	1832
175. BOONE MRS., "for her son in Baltimore."	30 x 25	1868
176. BORIE MR., "a picture begun by J. Robinson." John Robinson was a miniature painter who came here from London, in 1817, with introductions from Benjamin West.	Bust	1825
177. BORKEL MRS. "Daughter of Dr. Mc Cauley. Not ap- proved."	Head	1853
178. BOSLEY COL. NICHOLAS.	Bust	1823
179. BOSLEY MRS. NICHOLAS.	Bust	1823
180. BOUDINOT DR., "of Burling- ton as a study for whole length."	Bust	1816
181. BOUDINOT ELIAS, "of Bur- lington." This whole length portrait of Elias Boudinot (1740-1821) belongs to the American Bible Society, New York, of which he was President, and has been for years attributed erroneously to Waldo and Jewett.	Whole length	1817
182. BOWDEN MR., "of Virginia."	Bust	1816

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
183. BOYCE MISS.	Head	1835
184. BOYD MR., "colored man from Liberia. Colona."	Head	1864
Edward James Roye, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Liberia. In the hall of Hist. Soc. of Penna.		
185. BOYER MRS., "for Dr. Deweese."	Bust	1811
186. BOYLAND LILIE. "For her Father."	Group	1857
187. BOYLAND LOUISA. "For her Father."	Group	1857
188. BOYLAND MASTER WALTER. "For his Father."	Head	1857
189. BRACKENRIDGE MR., "from a miniature."	Head	1814
190. BRADFORD MR.	Bust	1807
191. BRADLEY DR., "for Mrs. Badger his daughter."	Head	1835
192. BRATTLE MR., "deceased for his son from a Dauger."	Bust	1855
193. BRAZER P. "Alderman."	Kit-kat	1807
194. BRINTON MISS & MASTER, "one canvas."	Bust	1808
195. BRINTON MRS.	Bust	1808
196. BRODBENT MR. "For his Father."	Head	1864
197. BROOKS MRS., "Miss Shep- herd."	Bust	1831

Mrs. Gorham Brooks, owned by Shepard Brooks, Boston.

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
198. BROUJERE MADAME.	Bust	1814
199. BROUJERE MR.	Bust	1815
200. BROUJERE MRS., "and child."	Bust	1815
201. BROWN A. G., "Govr. of Missippe from Congress."	Bust	1849
Albert Gallatin Brown (1813-1880) was Governor of Mississippi, 1843 to 1848, member of Congress, 1848 to 1854, and U. S. Senator, 1854 until 1861, when he resigned to take part in the rebellion. He was the colleague of Jefferson Davis in the Senate.		
202. BROWN MRS. ALEXANDER, "for Mr Hunter."	Kit-kat	1839
Owned by Mrs. Howard Potter, New York.		
203. BROWN DIXON.	12 x 10	1804
204. BROWN GENL., "for a medal ordered by Congress."	Head	1816
General Jacob Brown (1775-1828), commander in chief of the army of the United States, was given the thanks of Congress and awarded a gold medal for his services in the war of 1812.		
205. BROWN JAMES.	12 x 10	1805
206. BROWN MASTER JNO. G., "Whole length."	Bust	1842
207. BROWN MR., "late brother of Mr C. Ingersoll."	Head	1845
Vide 830.		
208. BROWN MR., "deceased. com- panion to the former."	Whole length	1847
"The former" was portrait of Mr. Butler, No. 253.		
209. BROWN O. "From portr. by King. To present to Wheeler."	Bust	1848

NAME	SIZE	DATE
210. BROWN MRS. "Wife of the Governor of Miss." Vide 201.	Bust	1848
211. BROWN MR. WM., "of Chest- nut St."	Bust	1833
212. BROWN MRS. W.	Bust	1833
213. BROWN MRS. WILLIAM, "Miss Norris."	Bust	1833
214. BRUCE MR. CH. "Painted in Richmond Va."	Bust	1849
215. BRUCE MR. CHAS.	Head	1849
216. BRUCE SEN. MRS.	Bust	1849
217. BRUCE SEN. MRS., "a copy of my first."	Bust	1849
218. BRYAN GUY.	Bust	1825
219. BRYAN GUY, "copy, begun by Jane."	Bust	1826
220. BRYAN GUY, "the 2nd copy, hand introduced (son)."	Bust	1826
221. BRYAN GUY, "the 3rd copy."	Bust	1826
222. BRYAN GUY, "the 4th copy."	Bust	1826
223. BRYAN GUY, "for his son Timothy. Copy 6th."	Bust	1830
224. BRYAN GUY, "the 7th copy for G. Bryan, Jr."	Bust	1830
225. BRYAN GUY. "Copy the 8th for his son Tom."	Kit-kat	1832

A portrait of Guy Bryan, by Sully, is in the New York Historical Society.

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
226. BRYAN MRS. J., " & son Francis in group."	Kit-kat	1839
227. BRYAN MRS., "deceased of Texas. From Daguer."	Head	1851
228. BRYAN THOS.	Head	1829
229. BRYAN TOM, "copy begun by Jane."	Head	1831
230. BUCCANON REVD., "omitted in list."	Miniature	1804
231. BUCK MRS., "from a Photo- graph. She being ill."	Kit-kat	1857
232. BUCKLER DR. JOHN, "at Balti- more." Owned by Thomas H. Buckler, Baltimore.	Bust	1840
233. BUCKLEY MRS., "for her son Edward."	Bust	1854
234. BUCKLEY SEN. MR. "For his son."	Bust	1854
235. BUDD HARRY. "For his grand- mother Mrs Burgh."	Head	1856
236. BUDD IDA. "For her grand- mother Mrs Burgh."	Head	1856
237. BUDD MRS. M., "for Blanch."	16 x 20	1870
238. BUERTON MISS MARY.	Head	1853
239. BULLOCK MR., "of Savannah."	Bust	1816
240. BURD ED., "for Mr Cox his step son."	Bust	1828
241. BURK MISS CAROLINE, "for Miss North."	Head	1864

NAME	SIZE	DATE
242. BURK MRS. "Gothic Mansion."	Kit-kat	1827
The "Gothic Mansion" built by John Dorsey, was on the north side of Chestnut Street between 12th and 13th, the site of the present Public Library of Philada.		
243. BURK MRS., "copy of. ordered by Miss North."	Kit-kat	1862
244. BURK Mr.	Kit-kat	1835
245. BURK MRS., "of New Orleans (Miss Rogers)."	Kit-kat	1835
246. BURKE MRS., "of New Orleans formerly Miss Carline."	Kit-kat	1844
247. BURKHEAD SENR. MR., "of Baltimore. For's son."	Head	1853
248. BURNETT MRS., "of Philadelphia."	Head	1844
249. BURR D.	Miniature	1805
250. BURR DAVID, "of Richmond Va."	Bust	1834
251. BURR MRS. D., "wife of D Burr."	Bust	1834
252. BURROWS MRS., "for her father Mr Mitchell."	24 x 30	1863
Mrs. Horatio Nelson Burroughs, daughter of Samuel Augustus Mitchell, the publisher of Mitchell's School Atlas.		
253. BUTLER MR. "For the Insane Hospital."	Whole length	1847
This portrait, as also 208, was painted in Providence, R. I.		
254. BYRON LORD. "Copy begun in 1826."	Bust	1828

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	C		
NAME		SIZE	DATE
255. CABBEL MRS. DR. "For her father Mr Caskie." Vide 283 and 284.		Head	1849
256. CABEL MRS. COLTER, "formerly of South Carolina."		Head	1850
257. CABOT MRS., "deceased from a sketch by Jarvais."		Bust	1819
258. CADWALLADER DOCTOR. "Late copy for Mr Read of Albany."		Bust	1864
259. CADWALLADER'S GENL. "Father deceased from Peale."		Bust	1818
260. CADWALLADER GENL., "2nd copy from Pl."			
261. CADWALLADER GENL., "for H. Binney." Thomas Cadwalader (1779-1841), eldest son of General John Cadwalader of the Revolutionary War. Vide 149.		Bust	1833
262. CAGE MR., "of Cincinnati."		Kit-kat	1828
263. CALDWELL MR. "From a miniature." Elias Boudinot Caldwell (1776-1825) was clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States, 1801 to 1825. In the hall of Hist. Soc. of Penna.		Head	1849
264. CAMAC MRS., "for Mrs. Markoe her mother."		Head	1839
265. CAMEL MISS, "of Charleston S. C. (Campbell)."		Head	1842
266. CAMEL MRS., "daughter of Dr Patterson Mint."		Bust	1843

NAME	SIZE	DATE
267. CAMPBELL MISS EMMA, "for Dr. Patterson. 2nd attempt."	Bust	1843
268. CAMPBELL GEO., "deceased. For M F."	30 x 25	1855
269. CAMPBELL MRS., "of Pottsville."	24 x 20	1862
270. CANIETOR SEGNOR.	Bust	1831
271. CANIETOR SEGNORA.	Bust	1831
272. CAPERTON MRS., "of Georgetown D C., Formerly Miss Mosher." Vide 1238.	Head	1853
273. CAREY E. "From a drawing by Myers."	Head	1856
Edward L. Carey (1806-1845) was at the time of his death President of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and one of the earliest collectors of paintings in this country. His collection, including several by Sully, is now owned by the Academy. Hoppner Meyer, a nephew of John Hoppner, visited this country shortly before Mr. Carey's death and made the water color from which this was painted, now also belonging to the Academy.		
274. CAREY E., "for H Carey from my first."	Bust	1857
275. CAREY E., "copy of the late, for Henry Carey."	30 x 25	1859
276. CARROL MRS.	Bust	1822
277. CARROL CHS. OF CARROLTON, "a study for a whole length for the Marquess Wellsley. Panel."	Bust	1826

A copy of this head of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (1737-1830), the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of
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NAME	SIZE	DATE
Independence, signed "C S 1836," is in the hall of the Historical Society of Penna., and is noted here on account of its having been attributed to Sully. It, with like portraits of President Monroe, copy of 1209, and of Bishop White, copy of 1855, are signed in the same way and are recorded as "Painted and presented by the Sully family" to the Penna. Colonization Society.		
278. CARROL CHS. OF CARROLTON, "for Wellesley, \$500."	Whole length	1827
There is a whole length of Carroll attributed to Sully in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore.		
279. CARROLL CHS. OF CARROLLTON, "Mrs Carroll."	Bust	1827
280. CARROL CHS. OF CARROLTON, "for State of Maryland.	Whole length	1833
The price of this was \$1000, the highest to this date.		
281. CARROL MR. HENRY. "For Mr. Winchester."	Bust	1853
282. CARTER MISS, "of Virginia for Mr Hopkinson." Vide 1328.	Kit-kat	1812
283. CASKIE MR., "of Richmond Va."	Bust	1835
284. CASKIE MRS.	Bust	1835
285. CASSIDY MRS. "For her hus- band."	Head	1864
286. CHAFFER MRS.	Bust	1846
287. CHAMBERLIN MR.	Bust	1810
288. CHAMBERLIN MRS.	Bust	1810
289. CHAMBERS MRS.	30 x 25	1862
290. CHAPMAN DR., "a small half length." Owned by Dr. Henry C. Chapman, Phila., son of 294.	4 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 33	1817

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
291. CHAPMAN DR., "for his class of Students."	Half length	1848
This portrait of Dr. Nathaniel Chapman (1780-1853) belongs to the University of Penna.		
292. CHAPMAN ELLA, "for Dr. Chap- man."	Head	1837
Gabriella Chapman, grand-daughter of Dr. Chapman, married Luis de Potesdad. Vide 1328.		
293. CHAPMAN EMILY, "for Mrs T Biddle."	Head	1828
1810-1852. Vide 298.		
294. CHAPMAN GEORGE, "for the Dr. his father."	Head	1833
George William Chapman (1816-1853) m. Emily, daughter of John Markoe. He was in the U. S. Navy.		
295. CHAPMAN JOHN, "for Mrs. Brockenborough."	Head	1833
John Biddle Chapman (1812-1845), eldest son of 290.		
296. CHAPMAN MRS. JN., "for her mother Mrs Randolph."	Head	1833
John Biddle Chapman married Mary Randolph of Va.		
297. CHAPMAN MASTER, "for Dr Chapman."	Head	1829
298. CHAPMAN MISS, "Gordon, son of, that was. Copy."	Head	1846
This curious entry is explained by the fact that Emily, 293, eldest child of Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, married John Montgomery Gordon of Virginia.		
299. CHASE MRS., "for Mrs Bis- pham."	Head	1840
Gulielma Maria Collins, sister of 150, m. Philip Brown Chase.		

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
300. CHAUNCEY CHS., "for his students."	Kit-kat	1833
This portrait of Charles Chauncey (1777-1849), of the Philadelphia bar, was engraved by John Sartain and belongs to the Law Association of Philadelphia.		
301. CHAUNCEY ELIHU, "for Mr Dillingham."	Bust	1834
302. CHAUNCEY MISS, "deceased. Copy from Otis."	Head	1836
303. CHAUNCEY MISS, "daughter of Charles Chauncey."	Head	1836
304. CHAUNCEY MRS. NATHANIEL.	Head	1837
305. CHAUNCEY NATHANIEL, "for Mr Dillingham."	Bust	1834
306. CHEVALIER MONS.	12 x 10	1804
307. CHEVALLIER MISS, "daughter Peter C. Rich."	Bust	1832
"Peter C. Rich" means Peter Chevalier of Richmond, Va.		
308. CHEVALLER MISS, "copy for Mr Barksdale."	Bust	1860
309. CHEVALLER MISS, "copy No 2. Mrs Warnock."	Bust	1860
Sally Chevalier of Virginia was one of the trio known as the Richmond Graces, another of whom, Fanny Taylor, also was painted by Sully, No. 1667. She married Abram Warwick, not Warnock. Owned by Col. Thomas Harding Ellis, Richmond, Va. Vide 499 and 500. Reproduced in Peacock's <i>Famous American Belles of the 19th Century</i> , p. 122.		
310. CHISSEM MISS, "of Charleston S C for her Mo ^r ."	Kit-kat	1826
The surname is doubtless a phonetic spelling for Chisholm, a well known South Carolina family name.		

NAME	SIZE	DATE
311. CLARK COL. I., "of the Ar- moury."	12 x 10	1806
312. CLARK MISS, "of Baltimore."	Head	1834
313. CLARK MRS. "Mother Mrs Alexander."	Head	1851
314. CLEMENT CHARLES W., "of New Orleans."	Bust	1825
315. CLIFFORD MISS, "both hands included."	Bust	1810
316. CLOPPER MR., "hand intro- duced."	Bust	1810
317. COATES MR., "a present to the Colonization Sy." Benjamin Coates (1808-1887). In the hall of Hist. Soc. of Penna.	24 x 20	1863
318. COATES SAMUEL, "Pres Penna Hospital." This portrait of Samuel Coates (1748-1830) is one of Sully's finest works. It was engraved by Samuel Sartain and belongs to the Pennsylvania Hospital. The price was \$400, the high- est to this time.	Whole length	1812
319. COCKRAN MR., "of Baltimore."	Bust	1815
320. COCHRAN MRS., "for Mrs Brady."	10 x 8	1815
321. COGNIET LEON, "copy of, from the 'Arts Union'."	18 x 14	1849
322. COLE MRS. GOVERNOR, "of Virginia." Sally Logan Roberts, wife of Edward Coles, Governor of Illinois, 1823-26. Vide 333 and 334.	Head	1836
323. COLEMAN MISS. "Sketch for whole length."	10 x 8	1828

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
324. COLEMAN MISS ANNA AND MISS HARRIET.	Half length	1846
325. COLEMAN MISSES MARGARETT AND ISABELLA, "a group."	Half length	1844
326. COLEMAN MARY, "whole length for J Ross."	Kit-kat	1828
327. COLEMAN MARY, "copy of foregoing for myself."	Kit-kat	1828
328. COLEMAN MARY. "Design for a whole length Present to Dr Morton."	12 x 8	1833
329. COLEMAN MARY, "whole length Mrs J Coleman."	49 x 36	1833
330. COLEMAN MR. "Father of Mrs Alexander deceased."	Bust and hand	1851
331. COLEMAN MISS, "of Lancaster deceased."	Bust	1820
332. COLEMAN MR., "of Lancaster. Copied from Peale."	Bust	1821
333. COLES MR., "of Albermarle Va."	Bust	1835
334. COLES MRS. Vide 322.	Bust	1835
335. COLES MISS MARY, "a sub- scriber."	Bust	1809
Mary Abby Willing (1789-1831), daughter of Dr. Samuel Stringer and Anne Hopkinson Coale; m. 1813, William Town Proud of New Bedford, Mass.		
336. COLLET MRS., "of Patterson N. J. formerly M. Wallace."	Bust	1836

NAME	SIZE	DATE
337. COLLINS MASTER, "deceased for Mrs Biddle of 4th." Lydia Biddle, daughter of James and Frances Marks Biddle, married James Collins. Vide 132.	24 x 16	1826
338. COLLINS MRS., "for her son Mr Bispham." Margaret Morris (1792-1852), wife of Isaac Collins, whose daughter Martha (150) married John B. Bispham.	Head	1834
339. COLLINS MRS., "of Pittsburg. copy."	Bust	1837
340. COLT MR., "of Baltimore." Lithographed by Newsam.	Bust	1832
341. COLVERT MR., "of Bladens- burg."	Bust	1824
342. COLVERT MRS., "of Bladens- burg, hand also." The surnames in 341 and 342 are undoubtedly phoneti- cally spelled for "Calvert."	Head	1843
343. CONNELLY H., "cabinet maker."	Bust	1808
344. CONNOLLY J., "for Mrs Eyre." John Connelly (1752-1827), an auctioneer of Philadelphia. Owned by Manuel Eyre Griffith of Philadelphia.	Kit-kat	1813
345. COOK GEORGE, "of Covent Garden Theatre."	Bust	1811
346. COOK G. F., "as Richard 3rd."	Whole length	1811
347. COOK G. F., "for B. Wilcocks Esq."	Bust	1811
348. COOK G. F., "comedian copied from my 1st."	Head	1816

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
349. COOK G. "Actor from a picture painted 1st."	Bust	1819
George Frederick Cooke (1755-1812), an eminent English actor, of very dissipated habits, who came to this country in 1810 and died in New York two years later. 346 is a life size portrait and exceedingly fine as a work of art. It was finished January 18, 1812 and sold for \$300 to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts where it now is. I have been unable to locate 345 and 347, one of which was engraved by D. Edwin for <i>The Mirror of Taste</i> . For a full account of Cooke's visit to Philadelphia and his several sittings to Sully, see Dunlap's <i>Life of Cooke</i> , Vol. 2, pp. 222-294. Dunlap says that 345 was painted for William B. Wood, the manager of the theatre where Cooke played.		
350. COOK MRS. REBECCA. "In Richmond Va."	Miniature	1801
351. COOK MRS. WM., "of Richmond."	Head	1813
352. COOK MRS., "deceased of Richd from Min*."	Head	1813
353. COOLIDGE MISS A. S., "of Boston."	Head	1845
354. COOLIDGE MRS., "deceased for her daughter."	Head	1845
355. COOPER MRS., "where we boarded."	Miniature	1802
356. COOPER T., "of the Theatre for Mrs Nicholas."	12 x 10	1805
357. COOPER T. "Begun when in Richmond."	12 x 10	1807
358. COOPER MRS. "For T Cooper Esq."	Kit-kat	1807
356 and 357 are of Thomas Apthorpe Cooper (1776-1849), a distinguished actor who came from England to America		

- | NAME | SIZE | DATE |
|---|---------|------|
| <p>at the age of twenty and for many years was lessee of the Park Theatre, New York. Cooper was a remarkably handsome man and his wife, 358, was the beautiful Mary Fairlie, noted for her mental as well as her personal attractions. Their daughter, Priscilla, married Robert Tyler, a son of President Tyler, and for a time presided over the White House.</p> | | |
| 359. COPE CALEB. "For the Horticulture Socy." | Bust | 1852 |
| <p>Caleb Cope (1797-1888) was the seventh President of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1859-1871, and President of the Philadelphia Saving Fund from 1863 until his death. Owned by Horticultural Society of Phila.</p> | | |
| 360. COPE MISS, "for her cousin Caleb Cope." | Kit-kat | 1837 |
| <p>Abbie Ann Cope (d. 1845) married Caleb Cope in 1838.</p> | | |
| 361. CORNISH CAPT., "English East India service." | Kit-kat | 1817 |
| 362. COX MRS. DR. | Kit-kat | 1813 |
| <p>Sarah, daughter of Col. John Cox of New Jersey, married Dr. John Redman Coxe, of Philada. Owned by Mrs. Edward Parke Custis Lewis, Hoboken, N. J. Reproduced in Wharton's <i>Salons Colonial and Republican</i>.</p> | | |
| 363. COX MR. | Bust | 1829 |
| 364. COX MRS., "formerly Miss Martha Lyman. 2nd Portrait. 1st condemned." | Bust | 1829 |
| 365. CRAIG MRS. JOHN. | Bust | 1836 |
| 366. CRAIG JOHN, "son of Mrs J. Craig." | Head | 1839 |
| <p>365 was of the beautiful Jane Josephine Sarmiento, whose first husband Mr. Craig was a brother of Mrs. Nicholas Biddle and whose second husband, Edward Biddle, was a son of her first husband's sister. This portrait as well as 366 was burned at the fire of Marquand's storage house in New York a few years since.</p> | | |

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
367. CRAWFORD MRS. JUDGE, "of Mobile."	Kit-kat	1837
368. CRESSON C., "copied from one by Leslie for's Nepw."	Head	1824
369. CRESSON ELLIOTT.	Head	1824
370. CRESSON ELLIOTT, "size 24x20."	Head	1849
371. CRESSON ELLIOTT, "copied from a former Portrait."	Head	1855
Elliot Cresson (1796-1854) was an American Philanthropist, and 370 belongs to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society and is now in the hall of the Historical Society of Penna.		
372. CRESSON MISS, "for J. B. Smith."	Head	1828
373. CRESSON SARAH, "for her brother Caleb."	Head	1826
374. CROSIER MR., "Presd Coloni- zation S'y Pennsylvania."	30 x 25	1862
There is no such portrait in the Colonization Society's collec- tion in the hall of the Hist. Soc. of Penna.		
375. CROSMAN COL. "For Mr. Fitzgerald."	30 x 25	1861
376. CROSMAN MRS. "For Fitz- gerald."	30 x 25	1861
Doubtless of George H. Crossman (1798-1882), U. S. A., and his wife. General Crossman was for many years Chief Quarter Master for the Department of the East with his head-quarters at Philadelphia, where he died.		
377. CROSS B. "From a daugerreo- type. For M. F."	Bust	1861
378. CROSS B., "deceased. A copy for his Edward."	30 x 26	1866
Benjamin Cross (1786-1857) was a well known Philadelphia organist and musician. "M. F." to 377 means Musical Fund Society.		

NAME	SIZE	DATE
379. CRUGER MRS. H. D., "copied from Sir W Beechey." Vide 456, 458, 1211.	Kit-kat	1844
380. CUMMINGS MISS.	Bust	1847
381. CUNNINGHAM MR.	Bust	1807
382. CUSHMAN CHARLOTTE, "of Walnut St Theatre."	Head	1843
383. CUSHMAN CHARLOTTE, "for Mrs Gardette. Very bad —obliterated."	Head	1843
384. CUSHMAN C., "in lieu of one expunged." Charlotte Cushman (1816-1876) was one of the most famous of actresses.	Head	1843
385. CUTHBERT MR., "of Beaufort S. Carolina."	Bust	1825
386. CUTHBERT MRS., "deceased copied from a miniat."	Bust	1826
387. CUTHBERT MRS. "Copy for Mrs Biddle."	30 x 25	1862
D		
388. DABNEY MR. J.	Miniature	1806
389. DACLAY MISS.	Head	1810
390. DALE COM ^E , "deceased copied from Eicholtz." Richard Dale (1756-1826) was Paul Jones's first lieutenant in the fight between the <i>Bonhomme Richard</i> and the <i>Serapis</i> .	Bust	1833
391. DALE LIEUT., "United States Navy." John Montgomery Dale (1797-1852), son of 390. Attained the rank of Commander.	Bust	1818

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	NAME	SIZE	DATE
392.	DALL MRS., "Austin Dall."	Head	1853
393.	DALLAS ALEXANDER.	Kit-kat	1811
	This was of Alexander James Dallas (1791-1844), son of Alexander James and Arabella Maria Dallas. He entered the navy in 1805 and attained the rank of Commodore. The portrait was owned by Mrs. Carl Morrell, Philadelphia.		
394.	DALLAS G., "copied from Stuart for's son."	Head	1834
395.	DALLAS HON. G., "deceased copy for Alex. D."	Head	1835
	394 and 395 should have been Alexander James Dallas after Stuart.		
396.	DALLAS HON. G.	Bust	1844
	George Mifflin Dallas (1792-1864) was son of 394 and brother of 393. He was Vice President of the United States when Polk was President and Minister to England under Buchanan. Sully painted an earlier portrait of Mr. Dallas that was engraved by T. B. Welch, which is not entered in Sully's Register. It is thought to have been painted in 1830 when Sully painted Mrs. Dallas the same size. This was owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Dallas Tucker and 396 by Mrs. Carl Morrell.		
397.	DALLAS MRS. GEORGE.	Head	1830
398.	DALLAS MRS. G., "the second attempt."	Head	1830
399.	DALLAS MRS. G.	Bust	1844
	397 to 399 were of Mrs. George Mifflin Dallas (1798-1869), who was Sophia Ann, daughter of Philip and Juliana Chew Nicklin. 398 was owned by Mrs. Tucker and 399 by Mrs. Morrell.		
400.	DALLAS J., "Secy. to Russian Legation."	Kit-kat	1813
401.	DALLAS JUNR., MR.	Bust	1810
	Alexander James Dallas, Jr., eldest child of 396. Died Sept. 30, 1826. Was owned by Miss Sophia Dallas.		

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	NAME	SIZE	DATE
402.	DALMATIA MRS., "the 1st on my return to Phila."	Bust	1810
	Begun April 24, 1810, and finished May 30th, 1810.		
403.	DANIEL JUDGE, "of the Supreme Court U S."	33 x 26	1858
	Peter Vivian Dannel (1784-1860) of Virginia was made Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States in March, 1841.		
404.	DANIEL MRS., "deceased for Judge Daniel U S C."	33 x 26	1858
	Was Lucy Nelson Randolph, daughter of Edmund Randolph of Washington's cabinet.		
405.	DANNENBERG MR.	Head	1815
406.	DANNENBERG MRS.	Head	1815
407.	DARLEY MR., "of the Theatre for Cooper."	Head	1807
	John Darley (1765-1853) was an Englishman who first appeared on the American stage in 1794. He afterward entered the U. S. Marines, but returned to the stage.		
408.	DARLEY MRS., "of N. York Theatre for Cooper."	Bust	1806
	Eleanora Westray (1780-18), wife of 407 and mother of F. O. C. Darley the illustrator and of William Henry Westray Darley, who married Jane Chester, daughter of Thomas Sully.		
409.	DARLEY JANE. "Whole length & her son Francis."	4 ft. 9 x 3 ft. 9	1839
	Jane Sully married William Henry Westray Darley and "her son Francis" is Francis Thomas Sully Darley of Philadelphia, the well known organist, who owns the painting.		
410.	DARLEY JANE SULLY.		1840
411.	DARLEY JANE AND FRANCIS.		
	"Small copy for Stanfield."	18 x 14	1866
	For other portraits of Mrs. Darley see Jane Sully.		

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NAME	SIZE	DATE
412. DARLEY FRANCIS.	18 x 14	1866
413. DAVID FERD. "4 years. Study for a group for J David."	Head	1826
414. DAVID JOHN.	Kit-kat	1813
415. DAVID MRS. J.	Kit-kat	1813
416. DAVID JULIA. "6 years. Study for a group for J David."	Head	1826
417. DAVID JULIA, FERD. & STEVEN, "David's three children."	Half length	1826
418. DAVIDGE MRS. F., "and child. Mrs Scot Eding."	Bust	1822
419. DAVIS COL. "Whole length for State of Delaware."	7 ft. 2 x 5 ft.	1819
<p>Samuel B. Davis (1776-1854), Colonel U. S. A., was in command of the coast defences of Delaware and the Eastern shore of Maryland and Virginia in war of 1812. Sully painted a replica of this portrait, owned by a grandson, Sussex Delaware Davis, of Philadelphia, which is not in Sully's Register. Head lithographed by Newsam.</p>		
420. DAVIS I.	Miniature	1804
421. DAVIS I. P., "as a specimen to show Stuart."	Head	1807
<p>Isaac P. Davis (1771-1855) of Boston, was an early patron of American artists and meeting Sully at Stuart's, when Sully made his first call, offered to sit for his portrait to Sully, that Stuart might see what Sully could do. Accordingly Davis sat, as entered in the Register, and the picture was shown to Stuart. After looking at it attentively for some time he said, "Keep what you have got and get as much as you can," which was high praise from Stuart, who usually advised to forget what you knew and not try again.</p>		
422. DAVIS MASTER, "grandson of Mrs Florence."	Head	1853

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	NAME	SIZE	DATE
423.	DAVIS MR. "Collector of the Port of Norfolk."	Miniature	1803
424.	DAVIS MR., "of 256 Chestnut opposite Markoe." Samuel Davis lived at above address.	Bust	1839
425.	DAVY MRS., "deceased. From a photograph for Miss D." The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts owns a portrait by Sully of "Mrs. Elizabeth Davy, of Dover, Delaware," presumably 425.	30 x 25	1862
426.	DAY MRS., "of New London. For Her son Thos."	Bust	1849
427.	DAYTON MR., "of N. York for M. Levy."	Bust	1813
428.	DECATUR COMMODORE, "for City of N. York." In the City Hall, New York. The price of this portrait, \$500, was the highest to this time.	Whole length	1814
429.	DECATUR COMMODORE, "small whole length of above as a study."	38 x 30	1814
430.	DECATUR COMME., "for S Price."	Bust	1814
431.	DECATUR COMMODORE, "for a medal ordered by Congress." Stephen Decatur (1779-1820), one of the most distinguished officers of the U. S. Navy, whose career is too well known to require notice here.	Head	1816
432.	DE CUESTA SIGNORA E., "for her daughter."	Bust	1831

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	NAME	SIZE	DATE
433.	DELAPLAINE BROCKHOLST L.	Head	1817
344.	DENNY JOSEPH. "Copied from R Peale."	Head	1835
	Joseph Dennie (1768-1812) was editor of the Portfolio from its beginning in 1801 until his death, and was the head of the literary coterie that made Philadelphia famous at this period.		
435.	DE SILVER ANTINETTE, "de- ceased from a mask."	Head	1837
436.	DEWEESE DOCTOR.	Kit-kat	1811
437.	DEWEESE DOCTOR, "for B. Carr."	Head	1814
438.	DEWEESE DOCTOR. "From Neagle's University Port."	Bust	1856
	William Potts Dewees (1768-1841), a distinguished Philadelphia physician and first President of the Musical Fund Society, 1820-1838.		
439.	DEWEESE MRS. DOCTOR. Owned by Mrs. H. M. Dewees, New York.	Kit-kat	1808
440.	DEWEESE MISS ADELINE, "for Dr. Dewese."	Kit-kat	1824
441.	DEWEY CAPT., "for Wetherill."	Chs Bust	1834
442.	DIBBLEE MR. "Lawyer."	Bust	1807
443.	DILLARD DR. THOS. "For his wife (Khuln)."	Head	1854
	Mrs. Dillard was a daughter of Henry Kuhl, 973.		
444.	DOBBIN MISS, "from a Dauger- reotype. For her Father."	Head	1854

(To be continued.)

SELECTIONS FROM THE MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE OF COLONEL HENRY BOUQUET, 1757-1764:

BY HELEN JORDAN.

[The sesqui-centennial anniversary of the destruction of Fort Duquesne and the flight of its French garrison, on the approach of the expedition in command of Brig. Gen. John Forbes, 25th November, 1758, is to be celebrated by the citizens of Pittsburgh, in a manner befitting so important an event in the history of Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, Gen. Forbes, who was in failing health when he assumed command of the little army, died in March of the following year and was buried at Christ Church. (For an account of his burial see PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, vol. xi, p. 120.) In Col. Bouquet he had a brave and efficient officer, and the following letters relate to military matters connected with the expedition and subsequent events. (The originals of these letters are in the Manuscript Division of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.) The expeditionary force was composed of one battalion of the Royal American Regiment, one regiment of Highlanders, two battalions from Virginia, the three battalions of the Pennsylvania Regiment, to which two troops of light-horse were attached, three companies from the Lower Counties on the Delaware, a number of companies from Maryland and North Carolina, some artillery and Indian allies, numbering about 6300 men. For a biographical sketch of Col. Bouquet, by George Harrison Fisher, Esq., see PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY, vol. iii., pp. 121-143.]

(Col. Bouquet to Richard Peters.)

CHARLES TOWN 22^d. of 8ber 1757

DEAR SIR

Since my arrival here, I designed to write to you but on considering the multiplicity of affairs that you must have had this last Summer, I found that you had not time left for an insignificant Correspondence.

I Suppose you at present more at leisure, and hope that you will let me hear what you do. I am far from being Indifferent to what happens in your Province. I look upon it as my mother Country in America, and feel myself Still prejudiced in its favour. I cannot Say that the Soil has any Share in it, for I never Saw anything but dirt and dust in and

about your Town, and certainly in regard to Prospect this Place has the advantage, but falls very Short in all the rest.

The heat is now over. The Therm: from 86°. the whole Summer is fallen down to 61°. I have kept my health very well, tho' the whole Country is Sick; Our men die very fast and we have lost more in one month, than in the whole Winter at Philad*.

I am Sorry to find by the News Papers that your Faction Subsistes Still, and that neither time nor Circumstances can bring union among you.

The disagreeable Share that your office gives you in these eternal Squabbles, makes me more Sensible how much they are vexatious to private Gentlemen, and hurtful to the Public. I expect that the deputation from your Assembly to London, will bring matters to a Crisis, and make an End of the present Divisions.

We are not exposed here to those Political Storms, but the circumstances are ticklish and I would not answer for the future. There is one Thing in which I am perfectly clear, that I would be again with you, being not pleased in the least with anything here.

Having had occasion to make use of the Mathemat: Instruments you Saw at Philad*. I found I missed the feet of the Theodolite, and Astronomical Quadrant. I hope that they have been left at the Surveyor's house, if not, at Mr. Elliot's. I Should be obliged to you to inquire about it, as likewise of a little Dog which my Servant left behind, that used to go at Mr. Allen. If these things can be found, I beg the favour of you to send them by the first good Wessell for this Place. My respect to the Governor and all friends about you: If I could be of any Service to you, I hope you would employ me.

I am with the Most Sincere Regard

Dear Sir

Your very obedient
humb^l Servant

HENRY BOUQUET.

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.¹)

LANCASTER 21st May 1758

SIR

As the Battoes that have been employed to supply Fort Augusta,² are no longer wanted there I beg you will order them all at Harriss' ferry to remain there untill they receive further orders.

They are to be employed in ferrying over the Troops and Provisions, which are going towards Carlisle,

I intend to set out Tuesday morning for that Place, and should be very glad to met you at Harriss'; as soon as your men are paid you will send them agreeable to your orders to Carlisle,

I am wth great Regard

Sir

Your most obed^t humble
servant

HENRY BOUQUET

(Order to Capt. Ashton.³)

Whereas His Majesty's service requires that a Detachment of the new Levies be stationed at Harris's Ferry;

¹ Col. James Burd, who commanded the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, was a son of Edward Burd of Ormiston, near Edinburg, Scotland, and his wife, Jane Halliburton, daughter of the Lord Provost of Edinburg. He was born March 10, 1726, and came to Pennsylvania. In 1756 he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, and in 1757, Colonel of the Pennsylvania Regiment. During the Revolution he warmly espoused the cause of the Colonies, and in 1775 was commissioned Colonel of a Lancaster County regiment of Foot, but resigned in December of 1776. He married, May 14, 1748, Sarah, daughter of Edward and Sarah (Plumly) Shippen, born Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1730-31. He died at "Tinian," near Harrisburg, Oct. 5, 1793, and his wife Sept., 1784.

² Fort Augusta, erected in 1756, stood on the east bank of the Susquehanna, just below the junction of the North and West branches, in what is now the upper end of Sunbury.

³ George Ashton, Captain, Third Battalion, Pennsylvania regiment, Col. Hugh Mercer.

You are hereby required and directed to march Your Company immediately to the said Post, where you will be joined by Cap^t Singleton's Company¹ You are to relieve the Detachment actually there under the Command of Capt Garraway,² who is to march to Carlisle with his men. You are to follow such Orders & Directions as he shall give you for the Guard & Escort of the Beeves & Waggon's passing towards Carlisle.

And as a sufficient number of Arms cannot yet be provided for your men, you are hereby desired to engage them to take their own Fuzees or Rifles (with Ammunition) which Fuzees or Rifles shall be appraised & in Case they shall happen to be lost or destroyed on real service, they shall be paid by the Crown.

Given under my Hand at Carlisle May the 25th 1758

HENRY BOUQUET

Colonel in the R. A. R. & Commanding
his Majesty's Forces to the Westward.

(Col. Bouquet to Edward Shippen of Lancaster.)

CARLISLE 3^d June 1758

SIR

I expected to meet with some difficultys in getting Waggon's from Berks & York County, but never imagined to be disappointed in Lancaster:

Everything is ready for us to march and take Post at Reastown [Bedford] but by want of a sufficient number of Carriages, I am obliged to stay here, and to loose a precious time that I could employ in securing our frontiers; This is very hard for me, and I do not know how your People will answer for the consequences.

Tho' your Pains to forward this Important Service have

¹ John Singleton, Captain, Second Battalion, Penna. regiment, Col. James Burd.

² Charles Garraway, Captain, First Battalion, Penna. regiment, Col. John Armstrong.

been so ill rewarded, I am not less obliged to you, and I hope that you will not be discouraged by this bad success, but take the most vigorous Measures to recall your People to their duty and true Interest.

I must have Waggon without delay, and either by Contract, or impressing I beg you will leave nothing untry'd to provide me wth a sufficient number.

They will go twice from Carlisle to Reastown and be paid ready Cash and discharged if they don't Choose to stay in the Service for the Expedition. It is an affair of three weeks to remove all our Magazines, and if they want money on account, I will advance it. After the ten days forrage are exhausted, they shall be supplied by us.

I never knew better Conditions nor worst Subjects

I am with sincere Regard Dear Sir

Your most obedt Hble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

DEAR SIR

This is a private Letter for yourself but I will write another to the Magistrates to desire their assistance to fill up the Contract.

I have empowred your Sheriff to fill up such contract & advance if necessary some money to the People; I desire only in the meantime that you send me the 18 Waggon wanting to make up the 60 I had requested, Exclusive of those that are contracted for.

H. B.

(Instructions for Colonel Burd.)

SIR,

You are to march from Reas Town Camp the 23^d Aug: wth the R[oyal] A[mericans],

Highland Batt., 6 Companies,

Your own Batt.,

One division of Artillery,

Entrenching Tools,

Waggon loaded with Provisions.

You are to proceed to Loyal Hannon,¹ leaving your Waggon where the road is not open wth orders to join you wth all possible Expedition

When the three days Provisions taken by your men are consumed (they are served for the 25th inclusive) you will take Provisions out of the Waggon of your Convoy, and make them carry part of the other Waggon's load :

The Horses are to be tyed every night upon the mountain, as they would otherwise be lost; *Locus* is to be cut for them; They could perhaps be left loose at Edmund Swamp and Kickeny Pawlins.

Lieut. Chew ² wth a Party are to be detached from the Top of the Allegheny to reconoitre in a straight Line the ground betwixt that place and the Gap of Lawrell Hill, he is to cross that Gap, observing the course of the Water, and the Path; and is to join the detachment at L. H. All the detachments of the R. A. R. those of the 5 Comp^s of Highlanders, and of your own Battⁿ are to march with you to Loyal H. Col. Stephens is to march wth you and his six comp^s with 3 or 4 days Provisions for the whole. At the place where you leave the Artillery and Waggon your men are to carry the Tools themselves, Packing on the Horses the Saws Grindstones &c.

You are to employ all the Pack Horses of the first Batt. and those that you may find on the Road to carry your Provisions untill the Waggon can come to you, and load the 5 Barrels of Cartridges; Drive also some Bullocks.

As soon as you arrive at L. H. Mr. Basser is to lay out your Incampment at the Place assigned by Mr Rhor,³ wth two small Redouts at 200 yards; All hands are then to be employed entrenching the camp; Those who have no Tools

¹ Loyalhanna, in present Westmoreland County, where Fort Ligonier was built.

² Lieut. Colby Chew, First Virginia regiment, killed in the action near Fort Duquesne, Sept. 14, 1758.

³ Ensign Rohr, Royal Americans, killed in the action near Fort Duquesne, Sept. 14, 1758.

will pitch the Tents, cook and the rest relieve one another in the work.

Before night the Ground must be reconnoitred and your advanced guards posted; The Centrys are to relieve every hour in the night without noise.

No Drum is to beat as long as you judge that the Post has not been reconnoitred by the Enemy.

Suffer (in the beginning chiefly) no hunters or stragglers, to prevent their being taken—No gun to be fired.

A Storehouse of 120 feet long and at least 25 wide is to be built immediately to lodge your Provisions and Ammunition, in the place where the Fort is to be erected, and covered wth Shingles.

All the artificers are to be put to work; the Sayiors and Shingle Makers with the Smiths first: an hospital is to be built near the Fort, and ovens, Mr. Rhor is to give the direction for the Fort,

If there is any possibility of making Hay, no time is to be lost, and the clear grounds are to be kept for that use, and not serve for Pasture. Send proper People to reconnoitre where sea Coal could be got, if there is none, Charcoal must be made.

The houses of office to be kept clean and covered every day.

The ammunition and arms carefully inspected, the arms loaded with a running Ball.

The Tools to be delivered to each Party upon Receipt of their Commanding officer, who is to see them returned to the Stores before night.

The Intrenchm^t is to be divided by tasks, and all the officers are to inspect the Work.

If you send any Party forward, Don't permit them to take scalps, which serves only to render the Ennemys more vigilant. No Party is to be sent untill you hear from Major Armstrong¹ and Cap^t Shelby.

It would perhaps be proper to change every day the place of your advanced Posts: secure all avonies.

¹ Major George Armstrong, Third Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

If any difficulty should occur to you, Consult Major Grant, whose Experience and perfect knowledge of the service, you may rely intirely upon.

I give you the above instructions by way of memorandum and you are at Liberty to make any alterations that your Judgment and the Circumstances may direct.

Let me hear from you every two days. You know that some of the Provincial officers are not vigilant upon guard, Warn them every day. They could ruin all our affairs, Keep a Journal of your Proceedings.

I am

Sir

Your most obed^t hble serv^t

HENRY BOUQUET.

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.)

REAS TOWN CAMP

26 Aug^t 1758

DEAR SIR

The dobbble disappointment of the Post at Loyal Hannon, and of the Road to it, overthrow's all my Plan and stopps short our operations.

I can not take upon me to advance you so far without the General's Consent, and the Communication wth you being not cut, I could not supply you with Provisions, ammuni-tions, Liquors, Tools, &c.

Therefore you will leave the Artillery and Wagons either at Kickeny Pawlins or further, and proceed with all your Detachment to Loyal Hannon. Your men carrying wth them the necessary Tools. All the Pack Horses must follow you, and be sent back.

You will entrench your Camp at L. H. immediately, and at the same time make two Detachm^{ts} of 300 Each. One to open the Road for your Wagons thro' Lawrell Hill, and the other to go reconoitre the new Post proposed by Mr. Rhor, and come back to you.

I order all the detachments from Sir John [St. Clair], to join him again and work with all possible dispatch to cut the Road to you.

You will remain at Loy¹ H—, until I send you new orders, and keep the most vigilant Lookout on all sides, and chiefly endeavour to prevent the Enemy Indians to reconnoitre your Post, by several ambuscades all about you.

You should not have prevented Rhor from coming here being so near, you may remember that I explained myself fully on that Head. A Post of that Consequence cannot be build without the directions of the Chief Ingeneer he would have been here today, and could have overtaken you at Loy¹ Hannon, you make me loose 5 or 6 days again. I beg you will send him here as soon as his proposed Post is reconnoitred wth all possible dispatch.

If you go yourself with Major Grant¹ to see that Post, L^t Col. Stephens is to remain in the Camp, to carry on the Intrenchment, and Major Lewis² to open the Road over Lawrell Hill to incounter Sir John³ [St. Clair].

The Road must be at first made passable for the artillery & Wagons, and finished afterwards.

The Bottoms mentioned by Mr Rhor must be well considered, and the softest Places bridged if necessary. The Road is to be cut there very wide.

The Party who goes to the Westward could leave a Cap^t and 50 good men in ambuscade then if they can carry Provisions enough, and stay as long as they will last, to prevent the Enemy of perceiving our design to occupy that Post. They must be relieved in time by others, but in that case, employ careful People vigilant and who know how to

¹ Major James Grant, captured in the action near Fort Duquesne, Sept. 14, 1758, and later known during the Revolution.

² Major Lewis, 1st Virginia, was captured in the action near Fort Duquesne, Sept. 14, 1758.

³ For a biographical sketch, see PENNA. MAG. HIST. & BIOG., Vol. ix, p. 1.

obey their orders. There must be no fire made at that Place; but if they can not do without They must send half a mile in the Woods or further to dress their Victuals, that the smoke does not discover them, and make no noise, nor even speak; The Indians having so acute a hearing, would soon find them out.

We have nobody out except the two Parties of Major Armstrong and the volunteers of Maryland Any other they must attack without counting and aim at a Prisoner if there is white People But for Indians let them all be knocked on the head.

I send you fifty Heads of Cattle, make your Pen near your Intrenchments, and if you are obliged to have the Bullocks further make always a Redout near the Pen. The Horses must all be in at night and their Bells stoped under a Severe Punishment. The Partys advanced must have no Horses—

My Compliments to our friends wth you

I am wth great truth

Your most obed^t hble servant

HENRY BOUQUET

P. S. Place some Light Horse
from Post to Post to carry
Letters and let me hear from you
at least every two days.

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.)

REAS TOWN CAMP

29th Aug: 1758.

DEAR SIR

I hope to hear soon from you and your safe arrival at Loy^t H— One of my Letters has I suspect been intercepted by the Ennemys, Therefore I recommend you to do your utmost to put your Post in safety making the Intrenchm^t a little higher than ours, and if the Post or Part of it is commanded, Desire Mr Rhor to make Traverses to cover your men.

As soon as Major Armstrong returns send me an Express wth his account, and forward immediately a Party of 4, or 5 men to the fort to spy the dispositions of the Ennemy; Keep your arms and ammunition in good order, and your officers vigilant. I refer you to several particulars in Major Grant's Letter being in a great hurry.

Send me as soon as you can, an Exact Return by Corps and Companies, of all the Troops wth you

I am D^r Sir

Your most obed^t hble Servant

H. BOUQUET

We have a Reinforcem^t
of 52 Indians. The whole
will soon march to you.

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.)

REAS TOWN CAMP

1st Sept. 1758

DEAR SIR

The General having approved of the post proposed by Mr. Rhor, you will take Possession of it in the following manner

I suppose this Letter will find you at Loy^l Hann. where you are to stay untill by the united Labour of the Troops on both sides you can bring the artillery and Waggons to you.

You will then march 1000 men to the intended Post and leaving a sufficient guard for the artillery and waggons in your intrenchment, divide the rest in four Partys to cut the 9 miles remaining to open a communication for Waggons to you.

While they are cutting that Road you will make an In-trenched Camp for 2000 men at the New Deposit, and Mr. Rhor is to lay out the Rout in the best situation.

As soon as the Road is cut, your artillery & waggons are to come to you under a strong Escort, the Waggons are to

be unloaded and immediately sent back here, as are all the Pack horses including those of the Regiment as soon as you can spare them, keeping only a few Teams for the Works of the Fort.

I have kept here a number of horse drivers to take care of the Horses distributed to the different Corps. You will be pleased to send me an exact list of the number delivered up by each Corps that I may see how many have been lost and by whom.

If it is possible let me have a Return of the _____ you have that I may supply you in time

As it is very necessary for the General to know what number of effective men, he can depend upon, I beg you will order a separate Return of each Corps with you, to be made by Companies, giving a distinct account of all their men and where they are.

The 3000 men of your Province are reduced to 1000 here and I cannot account for the rest

The Indians wth the good old man have given me a full account of the French situation which seems very despicable, as long as they receive no Reinforcements.

The behaviour of Major _____ is so extraordinary that he has [illegible] all the Provincial Troops. If the picked officers and men act in that scandalous manner, what can I expect of the Rest. This makes me very uneasy as I have answered to the Gen^l that they would give him satisfaction.

I expect him daily. Send me an exact account of all your steps that I may inform him fully.

I am entirely

My dear sir

Your most obedt hble servant

H. BOUQUET.

Make a fire of all your
artillery & musketry, for
the Rejoycing of Louisburg!

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.)

STONEY CREEK,

12th October 1758.

DEAR SIR

I differred answering your Several Letters in Expectation of joining you every day. The Rains, broken Roads, and Several other contingent Causes have kept me back. To morrow I hope to dine w^h you, but don't retard your dinner for me.

The Lawrell being impassable, I Sent Cap^t Callendar¹ and Shelby to look for another ascent, and they have had the good Luck to find one greatly preferable; We cut quite a new Road from this Post to the top of the Lawrell Hill, which will be 4 miles Shorter, and 8 miles better; I set out this moment to reconoitre it and Shall encamp at the foot of the Hill to have sufficient time to view it tomorrow morning.

We want 100 falling axes for 3, or 4 days which I beg you will get grinded to day and Send as early as possible to morrow morning (setting out even in the night) upon Pack Horses, with 2 two Inches augurs,—one Inch Shizzell, and another two Inches, and one hand Saw to build a bridge over Queemahony Creek.

Your Horse driver will find at the Top of the Hill a branch cut a Cross the Road, and the blazes at his Right Hand, which blazes he is to follow to the foot of the mountain, where he will see our Encampment and deliver his Tools.

The 2^d division of the artillery will Stay here untill the new Road is cut, and the last division Set out from Reas Town to day wth 50 Waggons.

I beg you will get an Exact Return ready—of all the Troops on the West of the Lawrell Hill that we may make the necessary dispositions to move immediately forward.

¹ Robert Callender, Captain, First Pennsylvania Battalion, Col. John Armstrong.

I am very impatient to See you, my compliments to
Cap^t Gordon and friends I hope the General's Hutt is
ready as he will Soon be wth us, he mends a Pace; Farewell

I am entirely

D^r S^r

Your most obed^t

hble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

Room must be made and
ground cleared for the
50 Waggons of the artillery.

P. S. If you have no falling axes well grounded
or no time to grind them, Pray let it be done
to morrow morning As we have no grind
Stone, The Work would not go on.

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.)

FORT DUDGEON 12 P. M

13th October 1758

DEAR SIR

I received this afternoon your favour of this day and am
glad you have cleared the ground about you: I intended
to join you this night but a Party of Indians which we
discovered in the afternoon on this Side of the Lawrell
Hill—makes me Suspect Some views to infect our Com-
munication: I have therefore thought proper to return
to Stoney Creek wth the whole Party, which will answer
Several ends.

I am very easy about you, the Post is Strong and in good
hands, I beg you will let me hear from you, and Send me
all the detail you can collect to be transmitted to the
General.

My best Compliments to Cap^t Gordon, his Extraordinary
zeal and activity on this occasion does not Surprise me, I

am glad to hear every officer praise him : I hope to have
Soon the Satisfaction to See you, Farewell.

I am entirely
D^r Sir

Your most obed^t
hble Servant
HENRY BOUQUET

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.)

STONEY CREEK

16th october 1758

DEAR SIR

I received yesterday morning your last of the 14th and transmitted to the General all the—Intelligences you sent me : I am very sorry you could not make a Prisoner. I suppose you have orderd some Parties out to endeavour to get Some Straggler.

I don't believe a Word of their pretended reinforcemen^t. in Provisions and men, but to know the truth Be Pleased to Send two Small Parties to Spy on the opposite Sides of mononghehela, and ohio, if there are more Batteaux than before.

The General desires that all the Parties sent out to reconoitre the country betwixt the old Path and Braddocks Road, to know where we could fall in said Road. The Path discovered by Capt Trent seems to be the best, but as he could not go to the End of it, There is little dependency upon it,

Col. [George] Washington will be here this day wth the rest of his Regiment. The new Road will be cut in 3 days (if good weather) to the top of the Lawrell. All our Wag-gons, Provisions, &c are coming up and nothing. I hope will prevent our marching forward immediately.

The General grows better and better he has fired a feu de joye for your affair. The Little Carpenter is there with

30 Cherokee, and 30 Catawba. King Hegler is expected every day, and the General hopes to engage them to come up with us. The news of the King of Prussia beating Marshall Daun is confirmed by all the Vessels.

I have forwarded all your Letters, as soon as I can I shall be with you

I am

Dear Sir

Your most obed^t hble servant

HENRY BOUQUET

(Col. Bouquet to William Allen.)

FORT DUQUESNE 25 November

1758

DEAR SIR

I take with great pleasure this first opportunity of informing you of the Reduction of this important place, persuaded that the success of his Majesty's Arms on this side will give you a great satisfaction, and reward you for all *the pains you have taken for the difficult supply of this army.*

We marched from Loyal Hannen with 2500 picked men without Tens or Baggage, and a light-train of Artillery in expectation of meeting the Enemy and determine by a battle who should possess this Country.

The distance is about Fifty miles which we marched in five Days, a great diligence considering the Season, the Uncertainty of the Roads intirely unknown and the difficulty of making them practicable for the artillery.

The 23 we took post at 12 Miles from hence and halted the 24 for Intelligence, In the Evening our Indians reported that they had discovered a very thick smoak from the Front extending in the bottom along the Ohio: a few hours after they sent word that the Enemies had abandoned their Fort after having burnt everything. We marched this morning and found the Report true,—they have blown up and destroyed all their Fortifications, Houses, Ovens and

Magazines; all the Indian Goods burnt in their Stores which seems to have been very considerable.

They seem to have been about 400 men, part is gone down the Ohio, 100 by land supposed to Presque Isle, and 200 with the Governor, Mr. de Lignery, to Venango; where he told the Indians he intended to stay this Winter, in intention to dislodge us in the Spring; We could soon make him ship his Quarters, had we only provisions, but we are scarcely able to maintain ourselves a few days here to treat with the neighboring Indians who are summoned to meet us; The Destruction of the Fort, the want of Victuals and the impossibility of being supplied in time at this distance and season of the year, obliges us to go back and to leave a small detachment of 200 Men only, by way of keeping possession of the Ground. This successful Expedition can be of great service to the Provinces, provided they will improve and support it; It is now the time to take vigorous Measures to secure this Conquest, and unless Virginia and Pennsylvania can agree upon an immediate assistance, all our pains and advantages will be loss.

An immediate supply of provisions, Cloathing and necessaries should at any rate be sent up for the support of the Troops, and Measures taken for the formation of Magazines on the Frontiers (Rays Town and Cumberland) for the supply of an army to act early in the Spring.

The succours and directions from England would be too late, and if the Colonies do not exert themselves to the utmost of their power, I am afraid they will have occasion to repent it.

Indian Goods ought to be provided without delay with a Commissary or proper person to dispose of them either for Trade or presents, as our New friends cannot remain long unprovided and would soon return to the French, was we to let them want.

Some artificers are also greatly wanted, such as Carpenters, Smiths, Masons, Gunsmiths & chiefly Ship builders &c
A number of Cows and Bulls, Mares and Stallions, Gar-

den seeds &c. every moment is precious and the Land so rich, and the pastures so abundant that everything would thrive, and the Garrison would soon be able to support itself.

Fish Netts and Hooks would likewise be of great use for people reduced to Salt Meat, and some Rice, Barley &c. to prevent the Scurvey among the Men. I enter in all those Details with you because I think the safety of this post depends of it, and in the plenty you are used to live, they would not so readily occur to you, as to us who are deficient of every necessary of life. Could you diffuse in the Assembly the publick Spirit which directs all your actions, I would be very easy upon the Consequences, but I know the disposition of people in general always indolent and ready to fall asleep on the smallest glance of ease and quiet. You must rouse them, and make them sensible that this business is but half done. We have acted our part, let you do yours; *It is now in your power to enjoy in peace and quietude your Lands and possessions*, if you will only lay out in time some money, which may save you ten times more, and the lives of thousands of your poor Inhabitants.

After God the success of this Expedition is intirely due to the General, who by bringing about the Treaty of Easton, has struck the blow which has knocked the French in the head, in temporizing wisely to expect the Effects of that Treaty, in securing all his posts, and giving nothing to chance; and not yielding to the urging instances for taking Braddock's Road, which would have been our destruction; In all these measures I say that he has shown the greatest prudence, firmness and ability; Nobody is better informed of the Numberless difficulties he had to surmount than I am, who had an opportunity to see every step that was taken from the beginning and every obstruction that was thrown in his way. I wish the Nation may be as sensible of his service as he really deserves and give him the only reward that can flatter him; The pleasure of seeing them pleased and satisfied.

I expect the satisfaction to see you this winter and to talk more at large upon the subject. I beg you will present my Compliments to Mrs. Allen and believe me with great truth

Dear Sir

Your most obedient
humble Servant
HENRY BOUQUET.

(Col. Bouquet to Edward Shippen of Lancaster.)

PHILADELPHIA 25th May, 1759

DEAR SIR

I receiv'd your favours of the 22^d & 24th Inst^s I was glad to see that the disappointment you met wth from the menonists was not owing to their want of zeal for the service & I hope you have by this time settled matters wth them to your satisfaction.

I send you more advertisements, and wish they may have the desired Effect, being supported by your Letters to the magistrates of each Township

Please to forward to Mr. [George] Stevenson at York 100 of the advertisements not signed, with stuff to make 400 Baggs, Mr Seamans has received enough from Cap^t [Arthur] Sinclair to make 3000 Baggs.

400 hundred should also be sent to Col. [Conrad] Weiser at Reading, or more if they can collect forrage, 1000 to Carlisle wth 50 advertisements directed to Col. Armstrong.

Forrage must be collected wth all possible Speed without raising the Price, either oats, spelts or Rye. I beg you will employ without noise as many People as you think proper, allowing them a Dollar Commission for every hundred Bushells they purchase.

The £250. of Mr. Hubley have been pay'd, when I have the Pleasure to see you. We shall include that Sum in your Receipts.

The General waits only for Waggon to move the Troops forward Therefore I beg that no means be lefft untried to dispatch a Brigade or two immediately with forrage;

Flour will be carried for the present by Mess^s Scott, Stoner, Leshner & others.

I shall be glad to hear of your success and remain

Dear Sir

Your most obed^t

hble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

P. S. As cash continues to be scarce here, Please to draw upon J^r Neilson, giving him advice for any small sum you can raise at Lancaster and pay in Bills upon him any body who will receive them to save your money. You have a Credit upon him for £1000 Currency. H. B.

26th May 1759

The General has orderrd that one hundred of the Waggon Horses bought by Captⁿ Hambright¹ be sent to Bedford with large Baggs of forrage and no Saddles.

They are to replace at Carlisle what they are to consume upon the Road.

A waggonmaster will be sent to Lancaster to take charge of them, wth Drivers.—I beg you would give orders that these Horses be shod and if Drivers can be got in your County to engage them at 3/ p. day besides the Provisions.

Mr. Price must see this done and the Horses properly formed in teams.

The Geers and Waggons will be provided at Bedford.

I send you by Lieut. McDougall of the R. A. R. £400 Currency, for which you will give him a Receipt.

Money being wanted at Carlisle I beg you will send £500 Curr^r to Col. Armstrong²; I shall forward more money by the first opportunity.

HENRY BOUQUET

The Baggs for oats are to contain seven Bushells.

¹ John Hambright, Captain of Light Horse, attached to Second Penna. Battalion, Col. James Burd.

² Col. John Armstrong, First Pennsylvania Battalion, General in the Revolution, and later Secretary of War.

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.)

PHILADELPHIA 25th May, 1759

MY DEAR COLONEL,

Your letter gives me great satisfaction, as I hope you will not be disappointed by your Waggoners; I desire Mr Shippen to send the printed advertisements by Express to York & Cumberland Countys, wth Part of the Stuff for Baggs, not forgetting Reading.

Forrage must be had at all Rates, and if any Persons monopolizes it, The General intends to take it paying the Market Price but this between us.

Sam Aidy shall be employed.—The Gov^r told me this morning that he expected a Report from you of the Troops you had reviewed: The 6 Comp^s in Town will march to Carlisle. Please to Inquire if their Tents have been forwarded from Lancaster,

My best Compliments to your Ladies Forgive my shortness owing to want of Time, I am

My dear Sir

Your most obed^t

hble Serv^t

H. BOUQUET

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd.)

PHILAD^a 31st May 1759

DEAR SIR

I have before me your favour of the 28th Inst. The bad account from the Frontiers Spread through the whole Town, and will surely discourage the [torn] from going up.

The General has ordered his own Batt. to march to Bedford, and the four Comp^s. are to Set out from Lancaster on Monday next.

Please to procure them the necessary Carriages to Bedford contracted to be paid by the day and at their Return by M^r. Shippen.

It is a great disappointment for me to See your [illegible] So backward; The Gen^l expects that the assembly will

renew the Law to oblige the People to carry Provisions to Bedford, without which I can not well See how we would be sure of anything.

Two Waggon masters are Sent to Lancaster to take charge of the king's Horses, one must set out with the first hundred, and the drivers that can be got the rest of the drivers must be got from the new Levies, who shall have an additional pay of 18 d. a day for said service.

Please to pick them up when you See the Comp's (People used to drive Waggon) and to keep their names, and in what Brigade they are. I Send you Col. Stephen's Letter for the particulars of the last Skirmish.

As you See the necessity of Supporting with vigour our Communication and furnish Escort for the Convoys. I hope that all possible diligence shall be used to accelerate the raising and Equipping the new Levies to enable them to march directly from Carlisle to Bedford.

The Pack Horses and Waggon Horses must be sent up with forrage in order to form a strong [torn] for Ligonier, and not harras the Troops by escorting Small ones.

I shall soon be wth you, and remain

My dear Sir

Your most obed^t

hble Servant

HENRY BOUQUET

(Col. Bouquet to Col. Burd at Lancaster.)

PHILAD^a 2^d June 1759

D^r SIR

I received your two Letters by Ab. Bare¹ and Tho^o Hughes; Thank you for both; We are disappointed in our Expectations from all sides, which gives me the Spleen

The Virginians have not raised yet 300 of their new Levies.

Yours go on very slowly.

The Assembly has refused to lend us money upon

¹ Abraham Baer, Wagonmaster.

Security for the Payment of the Waggon for last years services, and to renew the Law they passed for obliging the People to carry to Reastown

Therefore we are reduced to shift for ourselves. I fear the Consequences for our Conquests.

I shall order the 200 Setts of Horse shoes & Nails, please to forward the Waggon Horses as soon as it will be possible, and that you can get Drivers.

The want of forrage will again ruin us if we can not raise a sufficient quantity to replace what will be consumed from Carlisle to Bedford.

I am Dear Sir

Yours &c

H. BOUQUET

Please to inquire from
M^r Bentinck, where he
leaves my Baggage.

(Col. Bouquet to Edward Shippen of Lancaster.)

PHILADELPHIA 2^d June 1759

DEAR SIR

Your favour of the 30th May lays before me, I communicated the contents to the General, who is very thankfull for the Pains you take to forward the Service. I can not express to you how much I am disappointed in my Expectations of your County. The Terms are so advantageous for the People, that nothing can excuse their backwardness; Do they imagine that they shall force the General to pay them an hour sooner by their unwarrantable behaviour? If it had been in his power every shilling would have been paid already; He has taken all possible steps to raise the Money, but hitherto uneffectually, He apply'd at last to the Assembly for a loan of £100,000 upon Security, The Bill was rejected, Therefore the People must have Patience till we can receive Money from England, as all the Cash that circulates in the Province would not be sufficient to pay the old accounts; I mention all this to you that you may let the People know, that it is not the Generals Intention

to keep them out of their money, but that they shall be paid as soon as it is possible. In the meantime the Emergencies of the Service are such, as will oblige us to take proper measures to constrain them to do their Duty for their King & Country, being so well paid for it,

No more Waggon's should be hired to carry forrage to Carlisle only, as we shall not be able to load all the Waggon's that are to go there, and it would be so much money lost.

Since the forrage cannot be got, I beg you will make Inquirys, who are the People who have any to spare, that we may come at it by some means or others.

Would it not be well to propose the People who enter their Waggon's for Bedford to load at their own houses 90 Bushells of forrage and leave at Carlisle what they may not want for their first Trip to Bedford, and be supplied again with their own forrage or the same specie for a second and third Trip, without paying anything for storage ?

And if they had any left when they chose to be discharged, to be paid for it at the current price they could sell it for at home.

I leave this to your consideration and beg that without any further Directions you would take any measure that you will judge most conducive to our purpose.

We shall get Horse shoes made here and sent to Lancaster with Nails, in the meanwhile your Horses must be shod and sent away as soon as possible and when Drivers can be collected either by agreement with the country People or by Soldiers used to drive Waggon's

Hambright has brought a good number of Horses, I expect him in Town tomorrow he has received money from me.

All the Waggon's going to Carlisle are to be directed to Mr. Clarke, who will see them loaded and dispatched ; Mr. Ourry¹ will give them at Bedford their Certificates of delivery.

¹ Louis Ourry, Captain-Lieutenant Royal Americans, was A. D. C. and D. Q. M. G. at Fort Bedford in 1760.

I shall take care to supply your chest with what money will be wanted. This is all that occurs to me at present: Two men one *Bare*, recommended by Col^o Burd and one *Monny* will apply to you to raise Brigades. If they succeed they are to be Waggon Masters, as I beg you will do for any one who is able to form one by his Interest with the People

I am My dear Sir

Your most obed^t
humble serv^t

HENRY BOUQUET

(Col. Bouquet to Edward Shippen of Lancaster.)

PHILAD^A. 4th June [1759]

I received your two last, and have just time to write you two Words, Setting this minute out for Bucks County, to put the management of the Waggons there in proper hands. I have settled for all the rest of the Province, and hope we shall succeed at last.

I hear from Mr. Richardson, that a number of people in your County did no service last year and are still as unwilling to furnish their Waggons. It would be necessary to have a list of their names in each Township and require the Magistrats to oblige them to bear their Proportion of the common Load and upon refusal impress them directly for Bedford, as it would not be just that the People who have always expressed the greatest zeal for the Service Should suffer all the Hardships, The Magistrats who are well disposed to help us effectually will readily support this measure, provided they have sufficient authority for it.

As I propose to be at Lancaster by the End of this Week, I shall then in Concert wth you take the necessary steps. In the meantime endeavour to get their names, and impress (by the General's orders) as many as will be wanted for the present service.

Mr. [Joseph] Simon had no business to make all the Baggs at Lancaster and Stop the Service. If he had sent

according to my directions the stuff to York, Carlisle and Reading, they would have been sooner ready, and I would not have complaints every day for want of Baggs at those Places.

I send you Cap^t Hambright who is to equip and send off the rest of the Horses bought (upward of 200 in all) with drivers and Wagonmasters; When that is done, he will continue to buy more.

We do everything to procure drivers, but fear we shall be reduced to take soldiers.

Your Bill in favor of Mr Hubley shall be paid as any you will draw to the amount of the Credit given you at Neilson.

I receive this moment Col. Burd's Letter of the 1st ins^t. Have no time to answer it, but Beg you will let him know that the measure he has taken is the best, and much approved of.

The General will reinforce his Letter, by a circular one from the Governor throughout the Province I am afraid that we shall be ruined for want of forrage. We buy Rye here at 3/ you must have some *Bran* secured at the mills to mix with the Rye.

I am D^r Sir

Your most obed^t hble servant

HENRY BOUQUET

The new Levies must go to
Carlisle as soon as possible,
This for Col. Burd

P: S: Upon heavy complaints from Reading of the misbehaviour of some soldiers employed in recruiting there; The General desires Col. Burd to send order to Lieut. Kern,¹ or any other concerned to suppress any further occasion of complaint in employing better People for that service.

¹ Lieut. Jacob Kern, Adjutant, Second Penna. Battalion.

PIRATES AND PRIVATEERS IN THE DELAWARE
BAY AND RIVER.

BY WILLIAM M. MERVINE.

The Atlantic Coast, adjacent to the Delaware Bay, has for years been associated with the pleasures of summer recreation, but during the Colonial period the waters about the Delaware Capes were the favorite cruising places for swift-sailing pirates and privateers, differing often but in name and considered among the greatest and most imminent perils of the sea.

The continued wars in Europe had created countless privateers—daring seamen, who, encouraged by their respective governments to prey upon the enemy, eagerly accepted a license which afforded rare chance of fortune and adventure. The Dutch and English seldom failed, when opportunity offered, to deal a blow to their common enemies, France and Spain, and, in retaliation, the French and Spanish privateers waylaid craft flying the flags of Great Britain and the Netherlands. On the seas, discontented by failure or arrogant from continued success, men often crossed the line that distinguished the privateer from the pirate, and became followers of the black flag. Frequently the crews, wearied and sullen from inaction and dearth of prize money, compelled their captains to attack neutral ships, and later, any and all vessels that could be taken. The temptation was great, for the pirates, possessing fleet and well-armed vessels, were able to defy even the men-of-war, and after securing wealth could gain pardon by renouncing their calling.

The concentration of navigation on the Atlantic, due to the rapid growth of the American colonies, attracted many rovers from the southern seas, to try their luck with the merchantmen plying between the Old World and the New.

The Island of New Providence, the Bahamas, and the bay-indented coast of the Carolinas, became the headquarters of the fraternity. Some inhabitants of these places, finding trade with the buccaneers profitable, acted as their agents; in fact, persons of high standing in the Colonies were accused of co-operating with and protecting the pirates. In consequence, American shipping suffered greatly. The privateers of the Spanish were fitted out in the West Indies, the French rendezvoused at Louisbourg, Cape Breton, so the English colonies were between the two scourges.

The Delaware Bay, an outlet for the rich fur trade and the main inlet for supplies to the Provinces of Pennsylvania and West Jersey, was not overlooked. French and Spanish ships lurked about the Capes, and at times, when their depredations had caused a temporary lull in the shipping, boldly sailed into the Bay and river in their eagerness for booty.

The first recorded trouble seems to have been in 1672, when a party of privateers made a descent upon the present town of Lewes, evidently doing considerable damage, as an impost of four guilders in wampum on each anker of strong liquor was authorized for one year to repair the losses occasioned. In 1696 the Council of Pennsylvania was called by Governor Markham to consider charges, made by the Lords of Trade, against Philadelphia for encouraging the pirate Avery. This man, one of the most noted freebooters of his day, a native of England, had at the age of twenty entered on the *Duke*, a vessel fitted out by merchants of Bristol, for Spanish service. With others he mutinied, secured the vessel and was made captain. They sailed for the American coast and operated for a time between Newfoundland and the West Indies, making many captures. Avery eventually went to Madagascar and, building fortifications, established a government of his own; many of the petty kings of the Island paid tribute to him. One of his most cruel deeds was the capture of the Great Mogul's

daughter, who remained his unhappy captive and paramour until released by death. After a life of crime and villainy he took advantage of King William's pardon and returned to England, where it is said he died in poverty.

Previous to June, 1698, pirates had been captured in the vicinity of the Delaware Capes; two, confined in New Jersey at that time, were ordered to New York by the Earl of Bellamont, Governor of the last-named province, for trial before the Court of Admiralty. It was through the well-intended influence of this Bellamont that the galley *Adventure* was manned and sent to clear the Indian Ocean of piratical craft. The *Adventure* was commanded by an old privateersman, who upon the sea developed into a pirate and made forever famous the name of Captain Kidd.

In the autumn of 1698 a French pirate called Canoot captured a Philadelphia sloop three miles below Cape May, and, manning her, landed fifty men at Lewes and looted the town. An express was sent to Philadelphia, and upon its arrival, although it was the Sabbath, a meeting of the Council was instantly called; but naught seems to have been done to remedy the evil. In 1699 a richly-laden ship, with about sixty pirates, said to have been a portion of Kidd's crew, was reported by the Judge of Admiralty to have arrived in the Delaware.

In 1704, one Eleazer Darby, while bringing his vessel into the bay, was taken by a French privateer. The continued reports of privateers on the coast in 1706 caused the Council to order every house in Philadelphia to be visited, and an account of the available arms and ammunition made, and throughout the Province a general muster was ordered. The following year a French privateer that had caused considerable trouble in 1705 returned to the Delaware and was again successful in captures. This vessel, a sloop called the *Elizabeth*, had been captured by the pirates. She was built in Rhode Island, and to this was probably due her success. The merchants protected their vessels by having them well armed and capable of outsailing the foreigners, hence very

early American-built boats were in demand. Prior to 1700 a British man-of-war had been built in New England.

At least six privateers were known to be on the North Atlantic coast in 1708, and, owing to the losses from them, John Evans, Governor of Pennsylvania, called the Assembly on July 20th, to take action, but, as anticipated, he was unable to arouse the Assembly to defence. An appeal was made to Lord Cornbury for a man-of-war to be stationed at Philadelphia, to convoy vessels out of the bay. This would have been of material aid. The pirates hovered about the harbors, where a limited field made captures more certain. With an escort out to sea, a ship's safety was greatly enhanced. But this want was not to be satisfied for forty years.

The town of Lewes was for a third time threatened in 1709. On July 6th a French privateer endeavored to land a force, but, being driven off, stood up the bay. The Governor, happening to be at Lewes, sent advice to Philadelphia by a messenger in a boat, manned by four oarsmen, a pull that would now seem heroic. The messenger was sent by water so that outward-bound vessels could be warned.

In 1713 the sloop *Betty* of St. Christopher's was taken by a Frenchman, three leagues off Cape May. In the spring following, five sailors arrived at Philadelphia, in the sloop *William's Endeavor*, and voluntarily acknowledged having been guilty of piracy, but, claiming that "their behavior had been within the limits of his Majesty's late gracious pardon," were not held. This pardon of the Crown granted amnesty to pirates delivering themselves within a stated time, and many successful men of the profession returned and recanted. It was unjust that such men should have been allowed to thus enjoy their ill-gotten gains in peace, and it proves how powerful and feared these rovers of the sea had become.

In the last-mentioned year eight seamen brought to Philadelphia a tale of adventure. They had sailed for Jamaica in the summer, to work upon wrecks. Their captain died, and, meeting with another sloop, they were induced to mu-

tiny. Securing one of the sloops, they started on a piratical cruise. They first took another sloop, and retaining her for a consort, captured a ship. According to their story, these eight men had deserted their comrades when the ship was taken and sailed immediately for Philadelphia. They were released and commended by the Council for giving themselves up.

At this time a pirate named Teach was believed to be lurking about Philadelphia, and former pirates, residing in the city, were suspected of being in communication with him. This man, better known as Blackbeard, was an Englishman, born in Bristol. He had first distinguished himself by boldness in service on a Jamaican privateer. In 1717 he sailed from the Island of New Providence, in a pirate sloop, to the American coast, capturing three vessels on the way. He then operated about the West Indies, and successive captures enabled him to secure a large French Guinea ship, which he called the *Queen Anne's Revenge*, and with which he was able to withstand an engagement with the English man-of-war *Scarborough*. To save the booty, Teach ran his vessel ashore on the North Carolina coast, and, after receiving certificates of pardon from the Governor of that Colony, immediately started upon another expedition. The Governor of Virginia sent out two sloops against Blackbeard, manned with men from the *Pearl* and *Lime* men-of-war. After a fierce engagement, in which Blackbeard, receiving twenty wounds, was killed, the pirate ship was taken and the outlaw's head adorned the bowsprit of one of the sloops. It is related that Teach the night before he was killed, when asked whether his wife knew where his money was, replied, "Nobody but the Devil and myself knows, and the longest liver shall take it all." This pirate was said to have been known by many frequenters of the taverns along the Philadelphia water front. "He and his crew kept many a revel at Marcus Hook, at the house of a Swede woman."

During the summer of 1722, shipping on the Delaware was sorely crippled by a pirate brigantine cruising off the

Capes. Trade was for a time entirely cut off. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of July 26th states that for one week no vessels had entered except a sloop, which had sailed for St. Christopher's, but being thrice taken and plundered by pirates was obliged to return.

Although privateering and piracy had flourished before, they gained their height after the declaration of war between England and France in 1744. In anticipation of this action the French, before the close of 1743, were busily engaged in fitting out their privateers, and until the peace of 1748 were unceasing in their depredations on the coast from Florida to Newfoundland.

A favorite and most successful ruse of these corsairs was to enter the Delaware Capes under English colors, and signal for a pilot, who on approaching was captured. The pilot-boat was then manned and stationed within the capes; incoming vessels were met and easily captured by this innocent-looking guide.

Spaniards from a captured pilot-boat, on Sunday, July 12, 1717, went ashore on the plantation of Edmund Liston, in New Castle County, about four miles from Bombay Hook, near the present Woodland Beach. Armed with pistols, guns and cutlasses they rifled Liston's house, taking even furniture and clothing, a negro woman, her two children and a negro girl. They then clapped a pistol to Liston's breast and compelled him to accompany them to the plantation of James Hart, who, observing their approach, secured his doors and with a gun offered resistance. They fired upon Hart, and after wounding his wife and threatening to burn his house, he surrendered and his home was looted. In the evening of the same day they captured the pilot-boat of one John Aries.

The ship *Mary* from Antigua, Bernard Martin of Philadelphia captain, upon entering the bay, July 14, 1747, was hailed by a pilot-boat known to Martin. Coming alongside the *Mary* was boarded and captured by about thirty-five French and Spaniards who had been concealed beneath the

hatches. One of the crew of this privateer was a Boston man, who knew Philadelphia, and the commander told Captain Martin that he expected to soon pay a visit to the latter city. This information, imparted by Martin, caused considerable anxiety in Philadelphia, which was increased when the Council was informed of an alleged plot of some Spanish prisoners to secure a ship's boat with the help of some negroes, and go down the river.

The following month, the sloop *Elizabeth*, Pyramus Green of Philadelphia captain, was captured off the coast of North Carolina, by a French sloop, the *Marthel Vodroit*, of about one hundred tons, carrying fourteen carriage and sixteen swivel guns and six swivel blunderbusses, having one hundred and seventy men, made up of English, Scotch, Irish, French and Spaniards. This Frenchman had taken three English prizes, and after Green's capture took a brigantine and two ships off Virginia, a sloop at Delaware Capes and two ships in Delaware Bay. Arriving at Cape May she hoisted English colors and, securing a pilot, ordered him to take her up where the shipping lay. The captain of the privateer endeavored to gain information regarding Philadelphia, and was told that the *Trembleur* was coming down the river and the *Pandour* was preparing.

The *Trembleur*, or *Le Trembleur*, was an American privateer, a converted Bermudas sloop purchased in 1744. She carried about one hundred men and had thirty-two guns. In May of 1748 the *Trembleur* captured and brought to Philadelphia a ship and two snows, laden with sugar, coffee, cotton and cocoa, making six prizes taken in the cruise.

The *Pandour*, an American privateer, was commanded by William Dowell, formerly captain of the privateer schooner *George*. She was built in Philadelphia, in 1745. The following notice appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 21, 1746:

PHILADELPHIA, December 17, 1745.

Now fitting out for a Cruizing Voyage against his Majesty's Enemies, and will sail in two Weeks

THE SHIP PANDOUR, William Dowell, Commander; Burthen about 300 Tons; to carry 24 Carriage Guns, nine and six pounders, 24 Swivels, and 30 Brass Blunderbusses, with 150 Men, is a new Ship, built for a Privateer, and every way completely fitted for that Purpose.

ALSO

THE BRIGANTINE GEORGE, Robert Wood, Commander; To carry 16 Carriage Guns, and 18 Swivels, with 120 Men. Both Vessels will be completely fitted, and are to go in Consort.

ALL Gentlemen Sailors, and others, inclin'd to enter on board either of the said Privateers, may repair to the Commanders aforesaid, or to the *Sign of the Boatswain and Call* near the Draw-Bridge, Philadelphia, where the Articles are to be seen and sign'd by those who are willing to go the Cruize.

The *Sign of the Boatswain and Call* was in the first building erected in Philadelphia, built by George Guest, and originally called the *Blue Anchor*, where Penn landed when he first came to Philadelphia. It stood on Front Street, just north of the creek.

The privateer ship *Wilmington*, of 300 tons, carrying 48 guns and 150 men, previously advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, was later made a Letter of Marque, and in 1746 brought in the French snow *Two Sisters*, laden with sugar and coffee. She was commanded by Captain John Sibbald. These are a few examples of the many private vessels-of-war sent out by Philadelphia to harass the enemy and protect our shipping. Privateering became quite popular in this city, many of the leading merchants and other prominent citizens fitting out vessels. Lieutenant Governor DeLancey, of New York, writing to Secretary Pitt in 1758, regarding the lack of men for the army, said, "the Country is drained of many able bodied men, by almost a kind of madness to go a privateering." The inducements were in-

deed great; it was not uncommon for an ordinary seaman to realize one hundred pounds on one cruise. Many indentured servants ran away before their time had expired, to enlist on privateers.

The following appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 19, 1748 :

Philadelphia. This morning arrived here Capt. Pyramus Green, who sailed last week from this place for Bermuda, in a small Schooner, called the *Phenix*, laden with Bread and Indian Corn, but was taken about 30 Leagues S. E. of the Cape last Sunday Morning, by a Privateer Sloop from Cape Francois (formerly the *Clinton* of New York) mounting 14 Carriage Guns, and 16 Swivels, with 175 Men, the same that cruized in our Bay last year. They took out his Hands, and all his Bread, threw the Indian Corn over-board, put 10 Men on board his Vessel, with Muskets and Blunderbusses and order'd them to proceed to the Capes of Delaware. On Monday Evening they anchor'd in Hoarkill Road, and about Midnight weigh'd and boarded the Brig. *Tinker*, Capt. M'Carter, from Providence, then lying there at Anchor, All the Frenchmen went on Board the Brig. she floated off, Capt. Green observing, he repossessed himself of his Schooner, hoisted her Sails, and stood over to Cape-May, where he procured Hands to help him up with her to Philadelphia. An English Prisoner who was in the Privateer, informed Capt. Green, that there were a Brig. and Sloop concertos with the *Clinton*, and that they had taken five Vessels to the Southward: Tis supposed they may be all now at the Capes, expecting to meet with the Schooner.

Captain Green was unfortunate: he had been captured, with the sloop *Elizabeth*, the previous year. The captor of the *Phenix*, as the American privateer *Clinton*, had been of good service, making captures as early as 1744.

These instances of depredations by foreign privateers and

pirates afford some idea of their menace to the commerce of Philadelphia. The city was a prominent port and much of her wealth was represented by vessels and their cargoes. Ship-building was among her important industries, and any hindrance to commerce greatly affected her welfare. Philadelphia vessels not only attended to local needs, but had made this a point of distribution. The account of one Philadelphia merchant's estate in Colonial times furnishes record of twenty vessels, ships, brigantines, schooners and sloops, the majority, if not all, having been his property. The following items from this account show the variety of his import and export trade: Rum and sugar from Barbadoes; rice from South Carolina; wine from Madeira; sugar from Boston; spirits from Jamaica; muskets, pistols, cutlasses and gunpowder to Jamaica; onions to Antigua; chocolate to Virginia; linen from Newry and Liverpool. This same account mentions loss of a vessel "taken," going from Philadelphia to Jamaica.

During all these years, complaints from the merchants to the Proprietary had been continuous, and in May, 1748, a letter was received by the Council from Governor Thomas Penn, containing the welcome news that, after long application, he had succeeded in having a man-of-war stationed in the Delaware Bay. This vessel, the sloop *Otter*, Captain Ballet, arrived about the same time, but having been damaged in an engagement with a Frenchman on the way over, was dismantled at once for repairs. At this most opportune time for their success, pirates appeared at the Capes and entered the Bay. One, a Spanish brigantine, the *Saint Michael*, commanded by Don Vincent Lopez, with a crew of one hundred and sixty Spaniards, English, Irish and Negroes, carrying thirty-four guns, captured a sloop off the Capes and was then piloted into the Bay and river by an Englishman who had accompanied her from Havana. She proceeded on up the Bay and captured a pilot-boat. Seeing a large merchantman at anchor off New Castle, Lopez determined to take her, promising his men to then loot and

burn the town and continue up the Delaware, treating in a like manner the settlements on either side. Fortunately, an English sailor, who had been impressed in Cuba, escaped from the *Saint Michael* during the night, and, swimming ashore, informed the people of Salem. Then crossing to New Castle, he arrived just before the Spaniard came up displaying English colors. After considerable difficulty the sailor convinced the inhabitants that the ship was a Spanish privateer, and she was fired upon from New Castle and from the merchantman. At this the *Saint Michael* drew off, hoisted Spanish colors and anchored off Reedy Island, near four sloops that had been chased into the Delaware by a privateer. These sloops she captured after dark, and, stripping the crews of everything, put them ashore with forty-five other prisoners.

News of these occurrences having been immediately sent to Philadelphia by an express, great excitement ensued, many fearing that the long-threatened sacking of the city was about to be accomplished. Captain Ballet, of the recently arrived sloop-of-war *Otter*, was summoned, only to inform the Council that his ship was dismantled and in her present condition unseaworthy. He proposed placing the ship's guns in the shore batteries. These batteries, erected along the Delaware, near the present Lombard Street and below Old Swedes' Church, were manned by militia under the command of Colonel Abraham Taylor, who was authorized to "burn, sink or destroy the Enemy, their Ships or Vessels, attempting to pass the said Batteries."

The owners of the *Trembleur* privateer offered their vessel to the Council, and the Captain, Obadiah Browne, agreed to take command. But those offers were unfortunately declined when it was found that the owners desired security and Obadiah wished suitable provision made in the event of his losing a limb in the engagement.

While the *Saint Michael* was causing so much consternation in the river, the French privateer (formerly the *Clinton*) was busily engaged off the Capes. The sloop *Three Brothers*

was captured, but the prize crew was overpowered by George Portens, captain of the sloop, his son and an old man, and the sloop was brought up to Philadelphia. When Portens was captured, the crew of the brigantine *Richa* were prisoners on the privateer. A portion of the *Clinton's* crew, in a pilot-boat, captured the schooner *Mary*, of Philadelphia. The *Clinton* had taken eleven prizes before reaching the Delaware, and at the Capes she had met a French brig that had taken six prizes. In passing Townsend's Inlet the *Clinton*, seeing two sloops inside, sent boats in and took them.

By July the *Otter* sloop-of-war was in good order and patrolling the coast. On the fifteenth she had captured two Frenchmen, and the following day, with the *Hector* man-of-war, from the Virginia station, took a Spanish schooner and retook three of the Spaniard's prizes.

From this time on, trouble from privateers and pirates decreased. The Americans with their swift-sailing boats became masters of the Atlantic seaboard and even went in search of conquest. In 1757 the Spanish Government complained of losses from American privateers, and the following year the Spanish Governor of Monte Carlo wrote that the American boats *Spry* and *Knowles*, "have had the boldness in contempt of the Spanish flag to carry off a *Snow* from this port while she was at anchor."

As the frontier life had prepared the colonists for the army of Washington, so the privateers fitted men to follow Barry and Jones.

PENNSYLVANIA MARRIAGE LICENSES, ISSUED BY
GOVERNOR JAMES HAMILTON, 1748-1752.

BY HELEN JORDAN.

(Continued from page 350.)

- Millis, Robert, and Osly Montgomery, 1751, August 16.
Milner, Edward, and Susannah Martin, 1751, February 18.
Mitchell, Ann, and Edward Snead, 1752, June 1.
Mitchell, Elizabeth, and Robert Johnston, 1750, October 11.
Mitchell, Randal, and Rose Harper, 1751, December 11.
Mitchell, Thomas, and Ann Philips, 1749, March.
Monleky, Jane, and Ezekiel Good, 1748, December.
Montgomery, John, and ———, 1751, January 2.
———, ———, and John Montgomery, 1751, January 2.
Montgomery, Margaret, and George Brooks, 1751, February 9.
Montgomery, Osly, and Robert Millis, 1751, August 16.
Montgomery, Susannah, and Samuel Kennedy, 1750, June.
Moor, Elizabeth, and William Leech, 1751, September 4.
Moore, Ann, and James Wilkinson, 1752, April 23.
Moore, John, and Mary Simpson, 1751, August 15.
Moore, Richard, and Mary Hancock, 1748, February 27.
Moore, Sarah, and Job Cobourne, 1750, May.
Moore, Susanna, and Christopher Smith, 1751, July 5.
Moorland, Ann, and James Watson, 1749, May.
Mopely, Richard, and Mary Lampleigh, 1751, May 24.
Moreton, John, and Hannah Painter, 1751, February 8.
Morford, Mary, and John Jones, 1749, September.
Morgan, Howell, and Phobe Hawkins, 1750, September.
Morgan, Mary, and Steven Davies, 1752, May 18.
Morgan, Mordecas, and Mary Pugh, 1749, July.
Morgan, Morris, and Mary House, 1749, December.

- Morgan, Samuel, and Katharine Sprogel, 1751, March 12.
 Moriarty, Sylvester, and Hannah White, 1752, April 13.
 Morris, Garret, and Jane Reading, 1748, December.
 Morris, Jane, and Joseph Yeates, 1750, December.
 Morris, Lettice, and Morris Evans, 1750, May.
 Morris, Margaret, and Garret Barry, 1750, August.
 Morris, Sarah, and John Jones, 1751, January 19.
 Morrison, George, and Mary Dawson, 1751, August 6.
 Morstris, Peter, and Margaret Holloway, 1751, October 1.
 Morton, Amy, and John Justice, 1750, November.
 Moss, Ann, and William Jones, 1749, May.
 Much, James, and Jane Abevan, 1751, April 20.
 Muckledoff, Samuel, and Mary McKinley, 1751, June 18.
 Muckleroy, Jane, and Derrick Jones, 1752, June 17.
 Mulford, Sarah, and George Spafford, 1748, January 30.
 Mulica, Catharine, and Robert McCall, 1750, May.
 Mullan, Harriet, and Edward Tow, 1752, February 15.
 Murphy, James, and Priscilla Harvey, 1751, August 13.
 Murray, Andrew, and Susannah Weaver, 1751, August 25.
 Murray, Katharine, and William Conqueroood, 1751, November 9.
 Myers, Catharine, and George Smith, 1749, September.
- Nash, Catharine, and William Kelles, 1749, November.
 Neale, James, and Mary Cogell, 1749, April.
 Nelson, Katharine, and James Power, 1751, August 19.
 Nelson, Rebecca, and Archibald Torenes, 1750, November.
 Nethermark, Lucas, and Margaret Webb, 1749, March.
 Nethermark, Mathias, and Jane Jarret, 1751, June 14.
 Nettle, Mary, and John Jones, 1751, December 4.
 Newman, Mary, and John Edwards, 1751, September 25.
 Newton, Elizabeth, and Samuel Cochran, 1751, February 28.
 Nicholson, George, and Elizabeth Bell, 1751, November 1.
 Noblett, William, and Rebecca Cuthbert, 1752, June 16.
 Norris, Mary, and W^m Ranberry, 1749, December.
 North, Elizabeth, and George Plymm, 1749, November.
 Norwood, Elizabeth, and William Arrell, 1749, March 25.

- Norwood, Mary, and James Graybury, 1750, September.
Ogburn, William, and Hannah Miles, 1748, December.
Ogg, John, and Elizabeth Clements, 1748, March 17.
Olipheal, Ann, and David Thomson, 1751, May 16.
Oor, George, and Sarah Cameron, 1751, December 11.
Opdergrass, Susanna, and Jacob Eberolt, 1751, May 31.
Opdegraaf, Susannah, and George Waas, 1751, November 20.
Ore, Alexander, and Mary Dawson, 1749, December.
Ore, Jane, and Thomas Deacon, 1749, December.
Ottaghan, Catharine, and Oliver Ottaghan, 1750, August.
Ottaghan, Oliver, and Catharine Ottaghan, 1750, August.
Over, Hannah, and Peter Isburg, 1750, August.
Owen, George, and Rebecca Harris, 1751, May 4.
Owen, Mary, and John Edgar, 1748, December.
- Packer, Susannah, and David Mathias, 1749, January.
Paen, Hannah, and Ralph Walker, 1749, April 1.
Painter, Hannah, and John Moreton, 1751, February 8.
Palmer, Elizabeth, and Alexander Alaire, 1749, October.
Palmer, Elizabeth, and Thomas Barney, 1749, July.
Palmer, George, and Sarah Bringhurst, 1749, January.
Panyard, Ann, and Joshua Johnson, 1750, September.
Parker, Ann, and Michael Paul, 1750, November.
Parkes, Alexander, and Elizabeth McCammin, 1751,
April 9.
Parks, Foster, and Margaret Davis, 1749, September.
Parr, William, and Margaret Cadge, 1750, August.
Parry, Katharine, and Edward Duffield, 1751, June 10.
Parry Marg^t., and Charles Humphries, 1749, August.
Parry, Rowland, and Hannah Evans, 1750, July.
Parsons, Hannah, and James Worrall, 1749, October.
Parsons, Richard, and Alice Hall, 1749, October.
Paschal, Hannah, and John Stow, 1751, April 6.
Pass, John, and Judith Smith, 1751, July 17.
Pastorius, Ann, and John Wynn, 1748, March 1.
Patterson, Rachel, and Michael McClean, 1749, May.
Paul, Michael, and Ann Parker, 1750, November.

- Paul, Sarah, and William Lasberry, 1749, October.
 Paven, Margaret Anna, and George Seidheisser, 1751,
 June 19.
 Peacking, Bridget, and Lawrence Little, 1749, October.
 Pearson, John, and Elmer Walpole, 1750, November.
 Pearson, Rebecca, and Joshua Finnimore, 1749, May.
 Pearson, Sarah, and Samuel Annis, 1750, August.
 Pederick or Pedrix, Alice, and Abraham Jessop, 1749,
 August.
 Pedrake, Thomas, and Christian Stedamy, 1750, May.
 Pedrick, Thomas, and Rebecca Hoffman, 1751, Novem-
 ber 16.
 Peel, John, and Margaret McKnight, 1750, July.
 Peel, Peter, and Ann McCullough, 1751, November 30.
 Peele, Sarah, and Thomas Riche, 1751, December 18.
 Pening, Catharine, and George Henry Lowry, 1749, May.
 Pening, Regina, and Philip Freid, 1749, April 10.
 Pennington, Elizabeth, and William Swan, 1751, August 12.
 Penry, Mary, widow, and William Atwood, 1751, March 16.
 Perkins, Sarah, and William Cammell, 1749, March.
 Peterson, Magdalen, and Robert Claud, 1749, November.
 Petty, John, and Elizabeth Hall, 1748, February 2.
 Pender, Mary, and Alexander Gordon, 1749, June 24.
 Philips, Ann, and Thomas Mitchell, 1749, March.
 Philips, Rebecca, and Erasmus Stevens, 1749, March.
 Pickle, John, and Ann Davis, 1749, March 31.
 Pites, Elizabeth, and John Beane, 1752, January 27.
 Pleadwell, Sarah, and John Priest, 1751, June 5.
 Pleeken, Phoebe, and John George Bloome, 1752, June 1.
 Peisly, Dorcas, and William Fallet, 1749, March.
 Plymm, George, and Elizabeth North, 1749, November.
 Pocklington, Marg^t., and Peter Stelly, 1749, April 17.
 Pollard, Margaret, and William Hawks, 1751, August 23.
 Pollard, Phoebe, and Daniel Couch, 1750, December.
 Poole, Hannah, and Thomas Williams, 1751, April 10.
 Porter, James, and Marg^t. Smith, 1751, September 7.
 Potts, Samuel, and Ann Ashmead, 1751, October 9.

- Ponloon, William, and Catharine Justice, 1751, November 18.
Powel, Esther, and Joseph Bunting, 1751, October 28.
Powell, Hannah, and Charles Spateman, 1752, June 8.
Power, James, and Katharine Nelson, 1751, August 19.
Power, William, and Ellinor Thomson, 1749, July.
Preisbach, Simon, and Dorothy Deer, 1752, April 7.
Preston, John, and Mary Carter, 1752, June 1.
Price, Elizabeth, and William Ford, 1748, December.
Price, Hannah, and James Dutton, 1751, January 5.
Price, Jenkins, and Martha Lawrence, 1751, January 19.
Price, Jesse, and Deborah Hudson, 1748, December.
Price, Letitia, and William Davies, 1751, April 26.
Price, Richard, and Rebecca Jenings, 1751, October 7.
Price, William, and Sarah Johnson, 1749, March.
Prichard, Catharine, and Griffith Jones, 1749, July.
Prichard, Mary, and John Davis, 1749, March 29.
Priest, John, and Sarah Pleadwell, 1751, June 5.
Prisgy, Mary, and George Wells, 1749, December.
Pritchard, Anthony, and Jane Glasgow, 1751, August 28.
Pritchard, William, and Katherine Kinsey, 1750, June.
Pricket, Martha, and Samuel Davis, 1749, April.
Pue, Jemima, and Patrick Carty, 1749, November.
Pugh, Catharine, and James Coppock, 1752, July 8.
Pugh, Hannah, and Thomas Coats, 1748, February 11.
Pugh, Mary, and Mordecas Morgan, 1749, July.
Pugh, Michael, and Hannah Davis, 1749, September.
Pugh, Thomas, and Margaret Tucker, 1752, July 1.
Pummell, Mary, and Robert Flemming, 1750, August.
Pummin, Agnes, and Edward Mathews, 1750, October 25.
- Quako, and Hannah, negroes, 1748, January 27.
Quantrall, Elizabeth, and Charles Jenkins, 1752, June 13.
- Raine, Elizabeth, and Samuel Hughes, 1751, April 17.
Rambo, Gunnar, and Susanna Rambo, 1752, April 13.
Rambo, John, and Elizabette Harrol, 1748, March 21.
Rambo, Martha, and Jacob Cox, 1750, December.

- Rambo, Susanna, and Gunnar Rambo, 1752, April 13.
Rambo, Thomas, and Deborah Beal, 1748, March 18.
Ranberry, W^m., and Mary Norris, 1749, December.
Rankin, George, and Elizabeth Griffin, 1750, December.
Reading, Jane, and Garret Morris, 1748, December.
Reames, Mary, and Joseph Andover, 1751, July 1.
Reaver, Conrad, and Margaretta Conradin, 1750, August.
Redman, John, and May Sobers, 1751, April 15.
Reed, Clotworthy, and Mary Hanns, 1751, July 2.
Rees, Elizabeth, and Wm. Clampter, 1750, May.
Rees, John, and Katharine Havelfinger, 1752, May 9.
Reichart, Henry, and Catharina Kinsley, 1752, June 5.
Reily, Ann, and Edward Vaughn, 1752, April 18.
Reiner, Katherine, and Henry Schneider, 1751, December 14.
Renshaw, Thomas, and Elizabeth Shute, 1752, April 1.
Rettenhouse, Jacob, and Susannah Bartleston, 1749, July.
Revell, Peter, and Mary Allenby, 1748, December.
Riche, Thomas, and Sarah Peele, 1751, December 18.
Richey, Edward, and Mary Shannan, 1751, June 4.
Rickey, Elizabeth, and James Rickey, 1750, December.
Rickey, James, and Elizabeth Rickey, 1750, December.
Rigg, Ann, and William Bradley, 1751, October 29.
Riley, Thomas, and Mary Meredith, 1751, March 11.
Roan, Eleanor, and Robert Bredin, 1750, August.
Roberts, Amos, and Sarah Harry, 1750, October 6.
Roberts, Ann, and William Roberts, 1751, February 21.
Roberts, Catharine, and David John, 1752, March 12.
Roberts, Henry, and Martha Hamilton, 1751, October 17.
Roberts, John, and Hannah Warner, 1752, April 1.
Roberts, Mary, and Cornelius Brian, 1749, May.
Roberts, Samuel, and Elizabeth Evans, 1751, April 25.
Roberts, William, and Ann Roberts, 1751, February 21.
Robinson, Deborah, and Jonathan Carr, 1748, February 24.
Robinson, John, and Sarah Long, 1752, May 25.
Roderich, Emanuel, and Susanna Franoy, 1751, March 5.
Rodger, Thomas, and Elizabeth Bowen, 1751, June 27.
Roe, Hannah, and John Steers, 1749, March.

- Rogers, Elizabeth, and Robert Hardie, 1752, May 28.
Roman, Mary, and John McIlvaine, 1750, May.
Ronalsen, Elinor, and James Lindsay, 1748, January 10.
Roof, Jacob, and Elizabeth Speece, 1749, July.
Ross, Gertrude, and Thomas Tell, 1752, June 6.
Ross, Jane, and John Drain, 1750, October 25.
Ross, Thomas, and Jane Barr, 1751, June 20.
Rossiter, Thomas, and Elizabeth Bull, 1751, April 18.
Rowen, Margaret, and Samuel Davis, 1752, January 27.
Rowland, Thomas, and Sarah Howell, 1750, October, 31.
Rudolph, Tobias, and Rebecca Weaver, 1751, October 8.
Rue, Elizabeth, and Henry Holliday, 1751, January 15.
Rundle, Daniel, and Ann Tripe, 1751, May 6.
Rupertson, Elizabeth, and Tobias Agin, 1752, February 29.
Rush, Joseph, and Rebecca Sincox, 1750, September.
Russel, Thomas, and Eliz. Wallace, 1748, February 7.
Ryall, George, and Mary Worley, 1749, May.
- Sadler, John, and Ann Ford, 1749, October.
Sample, Mary, and Hezekiah Alexander, 1752, June 12.
Saul, Rachel, and John Harry, 1751, July 27.
Saunders, Ann, and Samuel McDowell, 1749, September.
Saunders, Ann, and Isaac Stratton, 1751, April 25.
Saunders, Mary, and Andrew Collins, 1748, December.
Savage, Hannah, and Lewes Walker, 1750, December.
Savoy, Bridget, and Robert Clarke, 1751, July 17.
Sayre, John, and Rachel Bowes, 1751, April 6.
Schaemel, Christopher, and Mary Elizabeth, 1750, December.
Schmeltzer, Mary Eliz., and Henry Kristman, 1749, May.
Schneider, Henry, and Katherine Reiner, 1751, December 14.
Scholar, William, and Teresia Wheeler, 1751, August 8.
Schreider, Susannah, and Sebastian Levin, 1751, May 8.
Scolly, Samuel, and Ann Eader, 1749, January.
Scot, Edward, and Mary Kuhl, 1749, September.
Scot, Rachel, and Joseph Marshall, 1749, November.
Scott, John, and Isabella Davis, 1752, March 7.

- Scull, Elizabeth, and Samuel Holland, 1749, December.
 Scull, Jasper, and Mary Eyers, 1749, January.
 Scull, Rachell, and Michael Biddle, 1749, March.
 Searle, John, and Mary Hicks, 1748, February 16.
 Seth, James, and Ann Wilkinson, 1750, October 10.
 Sevan, Maria, and Jacob Hultenstein, 1749, April.
 Sewellin, Catharine, and Abram Griffith, 1752, June 20.
 Shackleton, Ann, and Joseph Dorvill, 1748, December.
 Shannan, James, and Martha Lewis, 1752, March 25.
 Shannan, Mary, and Edward Richey, 1751, June 4.
 Shannon, Mary, and George Smith, 1750, August.
 Shannon, Robert, and Jane Littell, 1749, September.
 Shaw, Joseph, and Sarah Watts, 1751, February 28.
 Shaw, Samuel, and Mary Lessell, 1751, October 26.
 Sheed, Ann, and John Mayer, 1751, December 12.
 Sherlock, William, and Jane McMim, 1750, October 8.
 Sherrin, Sarah, and Nicholas Ward, 1748, December.
 Shewell, Stephen, and Elizabeth Fordham, 1750, May.
 Shirley, James, and Mary Guilhott, 1749, July.
 Shoab, Adam, and Elizabeth Bissert, 1752, July 29.
 Shoemaker, Daniel, and Ann Depue, 1751, March 14.
 Shoemaker, John, and Mary White, 1752, April 13.
 Shovel, Elizabeth, and William Williams, 1752, March 10.
 Shull, Edith, and Isaac Anderson, 1751, April 16.
 Shute, Elizabeth, and Thomas Renshaw, 1752, April 1.
 Shute, Thomas, and Rebecca Coates, 1749, May.
 Shute, Thomas, and Rebecca Coates, 1748, March 21.
 Sichlin, Susannah Catharine, and Hans George Bernhart,
 1751, October 17.
 Silus, Elizabeth, and John Hood, 1749, December.
 Simpson, Elizabeth, and Benjamin Hair, 1751, September 21.
 Simpson, Elizabeth, and Thomas Thompson, 1749, June 6.
 Simpson, Mary, and John Moore, 1751, August 15.
 Simson, Teny, and Milby Johnson, 1749, October.
 Sinclair, Elizabeth, and George Carew, 1751, April 11.
 Sinclair, Elizabeth, and Thomas Lang, 1749, November.

- Sinclair, Joseph, and Barbara Vanhist, 1748, February 6.
Sincox, Rebecca, and Joseph Rush, 1750, September.
Sitch, John, and Elizabeth Hollyday, 1751, December 19.
Sittington, William, and Margaret McKee, 1752, January 15.
Skinner, Abram, and Marg^t Harding, 1751, November.
Slaughter, Mary, and Melchior Bartholt, 1750, June.
Smith, Adam, and Gertrude Bener, 1750, October 1.
Smith, Barbara, and John Downe, 1751, August 24.
Smith, Christopher, and Susanna Moore, 1751, July 5.
Smith, George, and Mary Shannan, 1750, August.
Smith, George, and Catharine Myers, 1749, September.
Smith, Hugh, and Ann Bailey, 1751, June 25.
Smith, James, and Hannah Watts, 1749, March.
Smith, Jeremiah, and Martha McCracken, 1750, October 13.
Smith, Judith, and John Pass, 1751, July 17.
Smith, Marg^t, and James Porter, 1751, September 7.
Smith, Mary, and Daniel Jones, 1751, November 19.
Smith, Mary, and Andrew Long, 1752, January 3.
Smith, Ralph, and Margery Allen, 1749, April 22.
Smith, Rebecca, and Wm. McCay, 1750, May.
Smith, Samuel, and Susannah Merek, 1749, May.
Smith, Thomas, and Sarah Bowes, 1752, March 9.
Snead, Edward, and Ann Mitchell, 1752, June 1.
Sobers, May, and John Redman, 1751, April 15.
Sodden, Christiana, and John Bennet, 1751, September 24.
Son, John, and Elizabeth Weakley, 1749, October.
Sort, John, and Barbara Krowser, 1749, March 30.
Sonder, Jacob, and Ann Crawford, 1749, October.
Spafford, George, and Sarah Mulford, 1748, January 30.
Sparkes, James, and Mary Harry, 1751, June 3.
Spateman, Charles, and Hannah Powell, 1752, June 8.
Spedin, Elizabeth, and Peter Clowser, 1750, June.
Speece, Elizabeth, and Jacob Roof, 1749, July.
Spencer, Honour, and William Fitszymmonds, 1752, January 22.
Spences, Samuel, and Hannah Boyd, 1751, April 10.
Spicker, Katharine, and Garret Winkop, 1751, June 5.

- Spooner, Mary, and James Davis, 1751, July 2.
 Sprogel, Katharine, and Samuel Morgan, 1751, March 12.
 Spronce, Elizabeth, and Samuel Cox, 1749, May.
 Stadler, Jacob, and Mary Stow, 1751, August 6.
 Stalker, Mary, and William McClean, 1749, May.
 Stamper, Hannah, and Elias Bland, 1752, June 22.
 Stamper, Thomas, and Rebecca Coleman, 1749, May.
 Standiland, John, and Isabel McNealees, 1751, February 16.
 Statzin, Barbara, and William Greathouse, 1749, March.
 Stedamy, Christian, and Thomas Pedrake, 1750, May.
 Stedman, Alexander, and Eliz. Chancellor, 1749, May.
 Steele, Robert, and Hannah Lisle, 1751, December 14.
 Steers, John, and Hannah Roe, 1749, March.
 Stegarin, Eve, and Michael Haugh, 1749, April.
 Steinbruner, Sybylla, and Dewalt Beaver, 1751, June 15.
 Stelly, Peter, and Marg^t Pocklington, 1749, April 17.
 Stevens, Benjamin, and Deborah Dungan, 1751, August 28.
 Stevens, Erasmus, and Rebecca Philips, 1749, March.
 Stevens, Margaret, and Joseph Bell, 1752, July 13.
 Stevens, Philip, and Isabella Johnson, 1749, September.
 Steward, Joseph, and Mary Johnson, 1749, March.
 Stewart, Elizabeth, and William Ireson, 1749, July.
 Stewart, Robert, and Rachel Carrell, 1752, May 30.
 Stille, Catharine, and John Lee, 1752, July 1.
 Stow, John, and Hannah Paschal, 1751, April 6.
 Stratton, Isaac, and Ann Saunders, 1751, April 25.
 Street, Daniel, and Mary Foster, 1752, April 8.
 Street, Rachel, and Thomas Testin, 1751, March 19.
 Strowde, James, and Elizabeth Beene, 1749, July.
 Stuart, Alexander, and Jane Hall, 1752, June 16.
 Styles, Abigail, and William Jackson, 1752, March 11.
 Styles, Henry, and Elizabeth Williams, 1749, October.
 Suber, Catharine, and Christian Cropp, 1751, April 16.
 Sullivan, Dennis, and Mary FitzSummons, 1749, September.
 Sutton, Rebecca, and John Kelly, 1752, April 10.
 Swaghouser, Conrad, and Margaret Ulrick, 1751, March 19.

- Swan, William, and Elizabeth Pennington, 1751, August 12.
Sweman, Anna Maria (widow), and Peter Kalm, 1749,
December.
Swift, John, and Magdⁿ MacCall, 1749, May.
- Tates, Andrew, and Susanna Collins, 1748, December.
Tatnall, Elizabeth, and William Gardner, 1749, April.
Tatum, Sarah, and John Lewis, 1752, July 31.
Taylor, Barbara, and Grea Matthias, 1752, April 4.
Taylor, Isabella, and Wm. Charlton, 1748, January 21.
Tell, Thomas, and Gertrude Ross, 1752, June 6.
Test, Rachel, and John Hillman, 1750, June.
Testin, Samuel, and Sarah Hellings, 1751, November 29.
Testin, Thomas, and Rachel Street, 1751, March 19.
Thomas, David, and Mary Walton, 1750, May.
Thomas, Elizabeth, and Jenkin Jenkins, 1748, December.
Thomas, John, and Lucretia Gilbert, 1752, March 2.
Thomas, Mary, and Isaiah Lewes, 1751, April 26.
Thomas, Owen, and Mary Wilson, 1750, July.
Thomas, Philip, and Mary Bartholomew, 1751, December
28.
Thomas, Rachel, and Samuel Jones, 1751, August 19.
Thomas, Samuel, and Ann Miles, 1751, February 13.
Thomas, Sarah, and Abner Evans, 1751, March 16.
Thomas, William, and Abigail Day, 1751, January 17.
Thompson, Thomas, and Margaret Grantrum, 1751,
March 18.
Thompson, Thomas, and Elizabeth Simpson, 1749, June 6.
Thomson, David, and Ann Olipheal, 1751, May 16.
Thomson, Ellionar, and William Power, 1749, July.
Thomson, Susanna, and Samuel Kimpson, 1750, May.
Thorington, Abigail, and John Wegery, 1750, June.
Tillyer, William, and Sarah Foster, 1749, April.
Timmons, John, and Alice Burley, 1749, March.
Tisdale, Henry, and Jane Brown, 1749, April 18.
Tisdell, Hannah, and John Farron, 1752, July 22.
Tomin, Patrick, and Hester Linckom, 1748, February 2.

- Tomkins, Hannah, and John Weldon, 1751, May 17.
 Tomlinson, Eleanor, and Robert Comfort, 1751, August 22.
 Toomy, Ann, and Bryan M^cGittighan, 1751, November 4.
 Torenes, Archibald, and Rebecca Nelson, 1750, November.
 Tow, Edward, and Harriet Mullan, 1752, February 15.
 Towers, John, and Margaret Francis, 1749, May.
 Towne, Elizabeth, and Thomas Bartholomew, 1750, December.
 Toy, Elias, and Barbara Clair, 1751, March 1.
 Treherne, James, and Hannah Cotman, 1751, April 15.
 Treviller, Thomas, and Mary James, 1749, April.
 Tripe, Ann, and Daniel Randle, 1751, May 6.
 Troy, Marg^t, and Benjamin Fausman, 1749, May.
 Trusse, Christiana, and John Lea, 1749, March.
 Tucker, Margaret, and Thomas Pugh, 1752, July 1.
 Tupy, Elizabeth, and Andrew Ewing, 1749, September.
 Turner, Edward, and Rachel Hawkins, 1751, August 17,
 Turner, John, and Elizabeth Boone, 1749, March.
 Turner, Susannah, and Thomas Francis, 1751, February 25.
 Twining, Margaret, and Thomas Hamilton, 1749, January.
 Tyson, Ann, and Thomas Coat, 1749, December.
- Ulrich, Margaret, and Conrad Swaghouser, 1751, March 19.
- Vandegrift, Abraham, and Phoebe Hufty, 1749, August.
 Vanhist, Barbara, and Joseph Sinclair, 1748, February 6.
 Van Horne, Benjamin, and Hannah Davis, 1749, June 8.
 Vanleewenigh, Zachariah, and Ann Conul, 1748, February 25.
 Van Lewening, Ann, and Samuel Webster, 1749, January.
 Vannest, Elizabeth, and Gisbert Boogart, 1749, October.
 Vansant, Isaiah, and Mary Foster, 1749, March.
 Vaughan, Sarah, and Philip Milligin, 1748, January 30.
 Vaughn, Edward, and Ann Reily, 1752, April 18.
 Voyer, Jane Urbain, and Charles Hamilton, 1749, June 7.

Waas, George, and Susannah Opdegraaf, 1751, November 20.
Waggstaffe, Richard, and Sarah Yarnall, 1751, November 12.

Wall, Patrick, and Mary Lee, 1749, November.

Wallace, Abigail, and Lawrence Hewlings, 1749, August.

Wallace, Eliz., and Thomas Russel, 1748, February 7.

Wallace, John, and Mary Maddon, 1749, August 19.

Wallace, Susannah, and Abraham Coates, 1750, June.

Walker, Lewes, and Hannah Savage, 1750, December.

Walker, Ralph, and Hannah Pam, 1749, April 1.

Walpole, Eleanor, and John Pearson, 1750, November.

Walsh, Hannah, and James Grogan, 1750, August.

Walter, Lawrence, and Catharine Edinburg, 1749, November.

Walton, Jacob, and Jane Walton, 1751, March 27.

Walton, Jane, and Jacob Walton, 1751, March 27.

Walton, Joseph, and Rebecca Holt, 1752, January 14.

Walton, Mary, and David Thomas, 1750, May.

Ward, Nicholas, and Sarah Sherrin, 1748, December.

Ward, Ruth, and William Ward, 1750, November.

Ward, William, and Ruth Ward, 1750, November.

Waring, James, and Hannah Holloway, 1749, January.

Warner, Arnold, and Rachel Warner, 1749, March.

Warner, Hannah, and John Roberts, 1752, April 1.

Warner, Isaac, and Jane Lewis, 1752, June 20.

Warner, Rachel, and Arnold Warner, 1749, March.

Warner, Simeon, and Jane Grandam, 1749, April.

Warnick, Mary, and Anderson Harriet, 1749, October.

Warrel, George, and Priscilla Davies, 1752, April 27.

Waterin, Katherinia, and Joseph Kaufman, 1750, May.

Waterman, Priscilla, and Evan Evans, 1750, May.

Watkins, Jane, and John Bailey, 1749, March.

Watson, Elizabeth, and James Adams, 1751, October 16.

Watson, James, and Ann Moorland, 1749, May.

Wattlebaum, Mary, and George Batteo, 1752, July 20.

Watts, Hannah, and James Smith, 1749, March.

Watts, Mary, and Robert Wood, 1750, December.

- Watts, Sarah, and Joseph Shaw, 1751, February 28.
 Weakley, Elizabeth, and John —, 1749, October.
 Weaver, Rebecca, and Tobias Rudolph, 1751, October 8.
 Weaver, Susannah, and Andrew Murray, 1751, August 25.
 Webb, Margaret, and Lucas Nethermark, 1749, March.
 Webster, Samuel, and Ann Van Lewening, 1749, January.
 Weeks, Mary, and James Hutton, 1749, April 20.
 Wegery, John, and Abigail Thorington, 1750, June.
 Weldon, John, and Hannah Tomkins, 1751, May 17.
 Weldon, Lydia, and Isaac Hughes, 1748, December.
 Weldon, William, and Ann Boyd, 1749, April 27.
 Wellin, Elizabeth, and John Wyatt, 1750, August.
 Wells, Elizabeth, and James Hemphill, 1750, December.
 Wells, George, and Mary Prigly, 1749, December.
 Wells, Moses, and Ann Harper, 1749, April 26.
 Wells, Rebecca, and John Taber, 1749, August.
 Wells, Sarah, and John Harper, 1750, October 20.
 Welsh, Thomas, and Elizabeth Hayes, 1750, September.
 Wermley, Mary, and Hugh Donaldson, 1751, May 15.
 West, Elizabeth, and Wm. Cuningham, 1748, February 13.
 West, Rachel, and John Levinus Clarkson, 1749, March.
 Wethers, Ann, and William Black, 1749, March.
 Weyman, Edward, and Rebecca Breintnall, 1751, July 4.
 Wharton, Joseph, and Mary Dean, 1751, April 23.
 Wheat, Dinah, and Richard Humphries, 1749, April.
 Wheatley, John, and Charity Lideard, 1751, August 6.
 Wheeler, Teresia, and William Scholar, 1751, August 8.
 White, Hannah, and Peter Buffington, 1750, July.
 White, Hannah, and Sylvester Moriarty, 1752, April 13.
 White, Mary, and John Shoemaker, 1752, April 13.
 White, Peter, and Jane Marren, 1749, November.
 Whittenham, William, and Mary Holgas, 1751, February 9.
 Whitton, James, and Elizabeth Johnson, 1751, January 3.
 Wigton, Margaret, and Archibald Crawford, 1750, Decem-
 ber.
 Wiley, Benjamin, and Elizabeth Torten, 1749, October.
 Wiley, Mary, and David Wilson, 1752, July 27.

- Wiley, Theophilus, and Elizabeth Hayard, 1752, June 26.
Wilkins, Alice, and Andrew Helmes, 1752, January 11.
Wilkinson, Ann, and James Seth, 1750, October 10.
Wilkinson, Elizabeth, and Peter Knight, 1752, June 20.
Wilkinson, James, and Ann Moore, 1752, April 23.
Wilkinson, Sarah, and Joseph Donaldson, 1751, August 1.
Willard, Dorothy, and David Huffty, 1751, April 16.
Williams, Ann, and Richard Dalby, 1750, August.
Williams, Ann, and John Evans, 1751, November 20.
Williams, Elizabeth, and Paul Donlin, 1750, October 15.
Williams, Elizabeth, and Edward Hughes, 1749, September.
Williams, Elizabeth, and Henry Styles, 1749, October.
Williams, James, and Deborah Fisher, 1751, December 7.
Williams, John, and Honour Haley, 1748, March 7.
Williams, Susanna, and Edward Drinker, 1749, November.
Williams, Thomas, and Hannah Poole, 1751, April 10.
Williams, William, and Elizabeth Shovel, 1752, March 10.
Williamson, William, and Marg^t Callwell, 1751, September 3.
Wills, Mary, and John Johnson, 1752, April 11.
Wills, Thomas, and Elizabeth Ewing, 1749, September.
Wilson, Abraham, and Martha Middleton, 1750, November.
Wilson, David, and Mary Wiley, 1752, July 27.
Wilson, Elizabeth, and James McCoy, 1752, May 9.
Wilson, James, and Prudence Doyle, 1752, February 1.
Wilson, Mary, and Owen Thomas, 1750, July.
Wilson, Thomas, and Jane Linsay, 1751, April 24.
Winkop, Garret, and Katharine Spicker, 1751, June 5.
Womeldorfe, Mary, and Samuel Head, 1748, December.
Wood, Mary, and John Charlesworth, 1749, December.
Wood, Mary, and William Mason, 1752, May 28.
Wood, Richard, and Sarah Blackfan, 1751, November 7.
Wood, Robert, and Mary Watts, 1750, December.
Wood, Sarah, and John Doyle, 1751, November 19.
Woodcock, William, and Elizabeth Byrn, 1749, March.
Woods, Mary, and George Fox, 1751, August 3.
Woodside, James, and Mary Anderson, 1751, October 26.

- Woolman, Esther, and Zebulon Gaunt, 1750, November.
Worley, Mary, and George Ryall, 1749, May.
Worrall, James, and Hannah Parsons, 1749, October.
Worthington, Thomas, and Hannah Duncan, 1751, April 20.
Wright, Mary, and Isaac Dutton, 1750, October 13.
Wright, Susanna, and Nathan Yearsley, 1752, January 11.
Writtenhausen, Annie, and John Peter Huysler, 1749,
June 12.
Wyat, John, and Elizabeth Wellin, 1750, August.
Wym, Mary, and Henry Hiddings, 1752, March 23.
Wynne, Catharine, and Abraham Mason, 1750, November.
Wynkoop, Helena, and Jonathan Dubois, 1751, Novem-
ber 15.
Wynn, John, and Ann Pastorius, 1748, March 1.
Yarnall, Sarah, and Richard Waggstaffe, 1751, Novem-
ber 12.
Yates, Sarah, and John Ewing, 1749, March.
Yearsley, Nathan, and Susanna Wright, 1752, January 11.
Yeates, Joseph, and Jane Morris, 1750, December.
Yodern, Elizabeth, and Mathias Hollowback, 1750, Octo-
ber 2.
Young, Edward, and Susannah Furnace, 1749, July.
Young, Rachel, and Thomas Mathews, 1752, May 18.

YORK, PENNA., IN THE REVOLUTION.

BY JOHN C. JORDAN.

In the early troubles incident to the settlement of the country, and the conflict for its liberties, York played an important part and contributed its full share of substantial force, as well as ardent sympathy, to the cause. Her sturdy citizens were among the first to shoulder their muskets in defense of their homes, and the integrity of their country. Indeed, the citizens of York county seem to have been the first in the state in resisting the encroachments of the mother country, and to the close of the Revolution furnished more than their quota of men to the army, men, too, who marked their names prominently upon the desperate struggle for its liberties. Colonel Hartley, in a letter to President Reed of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, says :

“They knew they had been as patriotic as any, that the York district had armed the first in Pennsylvania, and had furnished more men in it than any other district on the continent of the same number of inhabitants.”

As early as December, 1774, James Smith, on his return to York from a meeting of the committee for the Province of Pennsylvania, employed himself in raising and drilling a volunteer company, of which he was elected the captain. This was the first corps of volunteer soldiers organized in Pennsylvania with a view to oppose the armies of Great Britain. The officers of this company were, James Smith, Captain; Thomas Hartley, First Lieutenant; David Grier, Second Lieutenant, and Henry Miller, Ensign. Each of these officers thus early attached to the cause of liberty, became distinguished in the subsequent history of the

country. James Smith was a member of Congress, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Thomas Hartley was a colonel in the Revolution, and for twelve years a member of Congress. David Grier was Lieutenant Colonel of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment, ranking from October 2d, 1776, and Henry Miller was First Lieutenant of the first company that marched from Pennsylvania to the seat of war. He not long afterward was appointed to the command of the company. On November 12th, 1777, he was promoted by Congress Major in Colonel Hand's regiment, and the year following Lieutenant Colonel in the Second Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line. He continued in this office until he resigned his commission in 1779. Col. Miller was distinguished for his cool bravery wherever he served, and possessed the entire confidence of Gen. Washington.

Under resolution of Congress, June 14th, 1775, a company of riflemen was recruited by Captain Michael Doudel in York. This company became attached to the battalion of riflemen commanded by Col. William Thomson, whose officers received the first commissions issued by Congress after Washington's. The battalion was composed of six companies from Pennsylvania, two from Maryland, and two from Virginia. Captain Doudel's company left York on the 1st of July, 1775, for Boston, and arrived at Cambridge, Mass., July 25th. To this company belongs the honor of being the first to arrive at Cambridge from any point south of Long Island and west of the Hudson river. The first action in which it participated was in the evening of July 29th, and before the remainder of the regiment had arrived. Captain Doudel was not long afterward succeeded in the command by his First Lieutenant, Henry Miller.

Early in May, 1776, a rifle company which had been enlisted to serve fifteen months, marched from York to Philadelphia, where it was attached to Col. Samuel Miles' rifle regiment. The captain of this company was Philip Albright, who was appointed from York county March 19th, 1776, and resigned January 23rd, 1777. William McPherson, the

Second Lieutenant of the company, was captured at Long Island, August 27th, 1776.

In July, 1776, five battalions of militia marched from York county to New Jersey. Out of these five battalions there were formed two battalions of the Flying Camp. The first battalion, commanded by Col. Michael Swope, was composed of eight companies, and the second battalion was commanded by Col. Richard McAllister, Lieut. Col. David Kennedy, and Major John Clark. The regiment of Col. Swope suffered very severely in the battles of Long Island and Fort Washington. The company of Capt. Graeff was captured at the battle of Long Island, and but eighteen men returned to join the command. Col. Swope and fourteen of his officers were taken prisoners when Fort Washington, on the Hudson, fell into the hands of the enemy on the 16th of November, 1776. Ensign Jacob Barnitz, of York, was wounded in this battle, and lay for fifteen months in prison.

Towards the close of the year 1777, events were occurring which brought into prominence the town of York, and made it for a time the capital of the now independent states of America. The Continental Congress was in session here for nine months, and its proceedings were of the greatest importance.

The disastrous battle of Brandywine, fought on the 11th of September, 1777, decided the fate of Philadelphia. On the approach of the British towards the Schuylkill, Congress adjourned to meet in Lancaster on the 27th of September, and on the same day adjourned to York. The Susquehanna was regarded as a safe barrier between them and the enemy, and they began their renewed session on September 30th, where they continued until the British evacuated the city, the following summer.

John Adams, after his arrival in York, on September 30th, in a letter to his wife, wrote :

“ I am very comfortably situated here in the house of General Roberdeau, whose hospitality has taken in Mr. S. Adams, Mr. Gerry and Me.”

On the 25th of October, his letter describes the town of York and its churches :

“This town is a small one, not larger than Plymouth. There are in it two German churches, the one Lutheran, the other Calvinistical. The congregations are pretty numerous, and their attendance upon public worship is decent. It is remarkable that the Germans wherever they are found, are careful to maintain the public worship, which is more than can be said of the other denominations of Christians this way. There is one church here erected by the joint contributions of Episcopalians and Presbyterians, but the minister, who is a missionary, is confined for Toryism, so that they have had for a long time no public worship. Congress have appointed two chaplains, Mr. White and Mr. Duffield, the former of whom, an Episcopalian, is arrived, and opens Congress with prayers every day. The latter is expected every hour. Mr. Duche I am sorry to inform you, has turned out an apostate and a traitor. Poor man ; I pity his weakness and detest his wickedness.”

Mr. Adams, in his letter of October 28th, 1777, says :

“ We have been three days soaking in the heaviest rain that has been known for several years. I am in comfortable lodgings, which is a felicity which has fallen to the lot of very few of our members. Yet the house where I am is so thronged that I cannot enjoy such accommodations as I wish. I cannot have a room as I used, and therefore cannot find opportunities to write as I once did.”

In the Colonial court house of York, which stood in the centre of the square, Congress assembled on the 30th of September, 1777, and continued in session until the 27th of June, 1778. This historic building was taken down in 1841.

During that autumn the old court house echoed with the joyous tidings of the surrender of Burgoyne, but the following winter was one of gloom and dread ; Washington and his weakened army were suffering at Valley Forge.

On the 17th of October, 1777, Congress resolved, that the Committee of Intelligence be authorized to take the most speedy and effective measures for getting a printing press erected in Yorktown for the purpose of conveying to

the public the intelligence that Congress might from time to time receive. The press of Hall and Sellers, of Philadelphia, was shortly afterward brought to York, where different public communications were printed, as was likewise much Continental money. This was the first printing press erected in Pennsylvania west of the Susquehanna.

John Hancock, President of Congress, resigned October 31st, 1777, in consequence of ill health, and was succeeded by Henry Laurens, of South Carolina.

On November 1st, 1777, a resolution was passed by Congress, recommending the legislative or executive powers of the United States to set apart the eighteenth day of December for solemn thanksgiving and praise. This was the first recommendation for a day of national thanksgiving issued since the formation of the government.

On the 15th of November, Congress adopted the Articles of Confederation, after having debated the subject three times a week for nearly seven months. A new Board of War was organized on November 27th, composed of General Mifflin, Joseph Trumbull, Richard Peters, Colonel Pickering and General Gates, who was appointed President of the Board.

Baron Steuben, a veteran commander, and aide-de-camp to Frederick the Great, in the seven years' war, landed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on the 1st of December, 1777, whence he journeyed to York, where he arrived February 5th, 1778, and remained two weeks. By Washington's direction he proceeded direct to Congress, was received with every mark of distinction, his services were accepted, and he was appointed Inspector General of the army.

The treaty between France and the United States was ratified by Congress on the 4th of May, 1778, and the day following, a supplement of Hall and Sellers' *Gazette* gave an account of the important news, and also the principal articles of the alliance. In the evening of May 6th, the entire town showed its joy by illuminations.

While Congress sat at York, it lost by death, on June 11th, 1778, Philip Livingston, a delegate from the State of New York, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was interred on the evening of the 12th, in the graveyard of the German Reformed Church. Mr. Duffield, the Presbyterian Chaplain of Congress, delivered an address at the grave. When the British army evacuated Philadelphia, Congress adjourned to that city on June 27th.

General Gates, who had become a great hero after Burgoyne's surrender, resided on the north side of West Market street, the second house east of Water street.

It was in this historic house that General Lafayette called upon Gates, whom he found surrounded by his friends, seated at table, and it was at this dinner the conspiracy was revealed to supplant General Washington and make General Gates the Commander-in-Chief of the army.

During Gates' residence in York, as President of the Board of War, the well-known incident of the contemplated duel between him and Colonel Wilkinson occurred. The meeting was arranged to take place at 8 o'clock in the morning behind St. John's Episcopal Church, on North Beaver street, but before the appointed hour had arrived, the difficulty between them was adjusted.

On the 26th of February, 1781, General Anthony Wayne was ordered to command a detachment from the Pennsylvania Line, which it had been determined to send as a reinforcement to General Greene, then in charge of military affairs in the South.

"When I arrived at York," wrote Wayne on May 20th, 1781, "there was scarcely a horse or a carriage fit to transport any part of our baggage or supplies. The troops were retarded in advancing to the general rendezvous by the unaccountable delay of the auditors who were appointed to settle and pay the proportion of the depreciation due them, which when received was not equal to one-seventh part of its nominal value. This was an alarming circumstance. The soldiers but too sensibly felt the imposition, nor did the conduct or the counsel of the inhabitants tend to moderate, but rather to inflame their minds by refusing to part with anything which the soldiers

needed, in exchange for it, saying it was not worth accepting, and that they (the soldiers) ought not to march until justice was done them. To minds already susceptible to this kind of impression, and whose recent revolt was fresh in their memory, little more was wanting to stimulate them to try it again. The day antecedent to that on which the march was to commence, a few mutineers on the right of each regiment called out to pay them in real and not ideal money: they were no longer to be trifled with. Upon this they were ordered to their tents, which being peremptorily refused, the principals were immediately either knocked down or confined by their officers, who were previously prepared for this event. A court-martial was ordered on the spot. The commission of the crime, trial, and execution, were all included in the course of a few hours, in front of the line paraded under arms. The determined countenances of the officers produced a conviction to the soldiery that the sentence of the court-martial would be carried into execution at every risk and consequence. Whether by design or accident the particular friends and messmates of the culprits were their executioners, and while the tears rolled down their cheeks in showers, they silently and faithfully obeyed their orders without a moment's hesitation. Thus was this hideous monster crushed in its birth, however, to myself and officers a most painful scene."

This mutiny and execution took place on the Public Common. The bodies were interred in Potter's Field, adjoining.

On the 20th of May, Wayne's corps, smaller in number than he had anticipated, and by no means well equipped, but reduced to discipline and harmony, marched southward from York.

James Smith was perhaps the most eccentric in character among all those illustrious men who affixed their names to the Declaration of Independence. He commenced the practice of the law in York, and continued in it with few intermissions until near the time of his death, and for many years was the only lawyer in the town. At the commencement of the Revolution he was one of the warmest friends of our liberties. When the company which he had recruited was increased to a regiment, he accepted the honorary title of Colonel, leaving to younger men the duty of actual command. Mr. Smith was elected a member of the convention

which assembled on the 15th of July, 1776, for the purpose of forming a new Constitution for Pennsylvania, and on the 20th of July, the convention proceeded to ballot for nine members of Congress, and Mr. Smith was one of the nine elected. He was re-elected again in December, 1777. So completely was every private consideration sacrificed to the general good, that his office was closed against his clients, and given up to the occupation of the Board of War and the Committee of Foreign Affairs. A valuable collection of letters from Franklin, Adams, and other patriots of the Revolution, was, unfortunately, lost in the year 1805, when his office, with all its contents, was destroyed by fire.

James Smith lived on South George street, opposite Christ Lutheran Church, where the residence of Mr. Granville Hartman now stands. He owned the block of ground extending from Mason alley to King street. His office stood on George street at the corner formed by George street and Mason alley.

Colonel Thomas Hartley played an important rôle in the history of York. When eighteen years of age he commenced the study of the law under the tuition of Mr. Samuel Johnson, and was admitted to practice in the courts on the 25th of July, 1769, being the second lawyer of York. Early distinguished as a warm friend of his country, in the year 1774, he was elected by the citizens of the county a member of the Provincial meeting of deputies which was held at Philadelphia on the 15th of July, and in the year 1775 a member of the Provincial convention which was held at Philadelphia on the 23rd of January.

On the breaking out of hostilities, he was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, and later Colonel, in the Pennsylvania Line, and for three years served with distinction, when he resigned in February of 1779. He also served in the Assembly; the Council of Censors; State Convention to ratify the Constitution of the United States, and for twelve years in Congress. He died December 21, 1800.

The house in which Colonel Hartley lived was the most expensively constructed private residence in York. It stood on the site now occupied by Trinity Reformed Church.

Archibald McLean was an ardent patriot, and one of the prominent citizens of York. He was a surveyor, and the chief assistant of Mason and Dixon in running the famous line, which bears their name. In 1776 he was chosen a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania; the next year became chairman of the Committee of Safety, and served as Prothonotary, Register and Recorder for York county 1777 to 1786. His residence stood on the northeast angle of Centre Square, and was the seat of the Treasury, during the sitting of Congress in York.

On the 17th of April, 1777, Congress changed the name of the "Committee of Secret Correspondence" to "Committee of Foreign Affairs," and appointed Thomas Paine, secretary of the Committee.

His "American Crisis," Number V, addressed to General Sir William Howe, commenced in the house of Hon. William Henry at Lancaster, was finished and printed at York.

Major John André, afterwards executed as a spy, was in York for a short time after he was taken prisoner at St. John's (on the Sorel) September, 1775, and was from there transferred to Carlisle. The Rev. Dr. Andrews, Rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, showed him much hospitality when in York on parole.

General Washington visited York in 1791, when he journeyed from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia. The incidents of this visit are gathered from the *Pennsylvania Herald and York General Advertiser*, a weekly paper published in York; from the diary of Rev. John Roth, pastor of the Moravian church of York, and the diary of the President.

President Washington arrived in York from Hanover, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of July 2nd, 1791, and took lodging at the tavern of Baltzer Spangler, which stood on the north side of Market street, the second house from Centre Square.

The *Pennsylvania Herald and York General Advertiser*, in its issue of July 6th, 1791, gives the following account :

“Saturday last the President of the United States arrived here from Mount Vernon, on his way to Philadelphia. His arrival, which was about 2 o'clock, was announced by the ringing of bells. The Independent Light Infantry Company, commanded by Captain George Hay, paraded, and being drawn up before His Excellency's lodging, fired fifteen rounds. At night there were illuminations and every other demonstration of joy. The next morning His Excellency was waited upon by the Chief Burgess and the principal inhabitants, and the following address was presented to him, after which he attended divine service, and then proceeded on his journey. He was accompanied as far as Wright's Ferry, by a number of the principal inhabitants.”

“To the President of the United States :

“Sir :—With sentiments of the most perfect esteem and attachment, the citizens of the borough of York beg leave to present to you their sincere congratulations on your safe arrival here, after an extensive tour through that country which owes so much to your brave and prudent exertions in war and to your wise and just administration in peace. We cordially join in the general satisfaction and joy which all the citizens of America feel in seeing you ; and in those universal sentiments of regard to your person and veneration for your character, which dictate the addresses that in various expressions have been offered to you. We join in the general satisfaction that every friend to human happiness must feel in finding that the people of the United States do now show a great and convincing proof to all the world that freedom and good government are perfectly compatible. And that the first magistrate unanimously chosen by the people may at once possess their utmost veneration and most hearty regard.

“We wish you a safe return to the seat of government, and do sincerely unite with the millions of America in praying that the Supreme Governor of the Universe may long continue a life which he has so eminently distinguished, in preserving and securing the best rights and happiness of the citizens of this greatly favored country.”

To which the President replied :

“To the Citizens of the Borough of York :

“Gentlemen :—I receive your congratulations with pleasure, and reply to your flattering and affectionate expressions of esteem with sincere and grateful regard.

“The satisfaction which you derive from the congeniality of freedom with good government, which is clearly evinced in the happiness of our highly favored country, at once reward the patriotism that achieved her liberty, and gives an assurance of its duration.

“That your individual prosperity may long continue among the proofs which attest the national welfare, is my earnest wish.”

Rev. John Roth, pastor of the Moravian Church of York, enthusiastically notes General Washington’s visit in his diary :

“On the 2nd of July, 1791, in the afternoon at 2 o’clock came the Honorable President Washington to Yorktown; all the bells of the town rang in honor of the event, as if the voices of the archangels sounding in harmony, commanded attention. I could not repress my tears at the thought of all this, indeed I cried aloud, not from a sense of sadness, but from a feeling of very joyfulness. In the evening there was a general illumination, and in the court house in each pane was set a light.”

President Washington describes his visit to York as follows :

“Saturday, 2nd, we came to Hanover, commonly called McAlister-town, a very pretty village with a good inn; we breakfasted, and in eighteen miles more we reached Yorktown, where we dined and lodged. After dinner, in company with Colonel Hartley and other gentlemen, I walked through the principal streets of the town, and drank tea at Colonel Hartley’s. The court house was illuminated.

“Sunday, July 3rd, received and answered an address from the people of Yorktown, and there being no Episcopal minister present in the place, I went to hear morning service performed in the Dutch [German] Reformed Church, which being in that language, not a word of which I understood, I was in no danger of becoming a proselyte to its religion by the eloquence of the preacher. After service, accompanied by Colonel Hartley and half dozen other gentlemen, I set off for Lancaster.”

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON IN NEW YORK, 1789.

[President-elect Washington arrived in the city of New York, on Thursday, April 23, 1789, and one week later, took the oath of office prescribed by the Constitution of the United States. Almost immediately after his inauguration, official and social receptions, balls, dinners, and other functions followed in quick succession, and Washington often had recourse to his friend Col. Clement Biddle, of Philadelphia, to aid him in procuring personal and household articles. The following letters from private secretary Tobias Lear to Col. Biddle, are interesting in this connection. The originals are in the Manuscript Department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

NEW YORK May 8th 1789.

DEAR SIR

I have received your much esteemed favors of the 4th & 6th Ins^{ts} the former covering Gallagher's bill which is returned herewith—having all the necessary done to it.

The President is desirous of getting as much superfine blk broad cloth as will make him a suit of Clothes, and desires me to request that you would send him that quantity,—provided it can be here by tuesday Even^g—and the quality thus. The best superfine French or Dutch black—exceedingly fine—of a soft, silky texture—not glossy like the Eng^h cloths. If this quality can be obtained and be forwarded by the Mail so as to be here on *Tuesday Evening*, you will be so good as to procure it—otherwise not—as there is none of the above discription to be had at present in this city.

With very great esteem

I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obed^t H^t Serv^t

TOBIAS LEAR.

NEW YORK June 8th 1789.

DEAR SIR.

I have been duly favored with your letters of the 3^d & 5 ins^t and the box containing Mrs. Washington's gowns

came safe to hand. The Shoemaker is right in saying he had no directions for any shoes or slippers but those to be sent to Virginia. I had misunderstood Mrs. Washington with respect to her slippers.

The President is desirous of getting a sett of those waiters, salvers, or whatever they are called, which are set in the middle of a dining table to ornament it—and to occupy the place which must otherwise be filled with dishes of meat, which are seldom or never touched. Mr. Morris & Mr. Bingham have them and the French & Spanish Ministers here, but I know of no one else who has—I am informed that they are most likely to be got at French Stores as they are made in France;—we can find none in this place, and the Presed^t will thank you to enquire if a sett can be procured in Philad^a and if it can to procure it for him.—

I am Dear Sir,

With very great regard

Your most obed^b,

H^{bl}e Serv^t

TOBIAS LEAR.

NEW YORK June 15, 1789.

DEAR SIR.

I have now before me your obliging favors of the 8th 10th & 12th int^{ts}— The President is much obliged to you for your trouble and attention in making inquiries respecting the table ornaments—and if the large & small Glasses of M. De la Croix are of the same set, he will thank you to procure them for him, & have them sent on in the most careful and expeditious manner possible, either by the Stage or otherways as you may think best. The President has a French man with him, who is said to be a compleat confectioner, & professes to understand everything relative to those Ornaments, so that the Glasses only are wanting. The intention of having the Glasses in several pieces is to adapt them to the size of the Table which you may wish to spread—and, therefore, if the five smaller Glasses of M. De la

Croix are not parts of the two larger, or such as to answer to them, the whole will be useless—and it will not be necessary to get them,

I am with respect & esteem

Dear Sir,

Your most Obed H^e Servt,

TOBIAS LEAR.

NEW YORK, June 22^d 1789.

DEAR SIR.

I have duly received your letters of the 15th 17^h & 19^h Inst^e—Billy arrived here safe & well on Wednesday morning; he seems not to have lost much flesh by his misfortunes.

The President thinks those Ornaments will not answer the purpose, as the two sets are not made to join each other and neither, seperate, are large enough for his Table. He begs you to accept his thanks for your trouble in this business.

The President has been confined to his bed for a week past by a fever, and a violent tumor on his thigh; I have now, however, the pleasure to inform you that the former has left him, and the latter in a fair way of being removed, tho' from its size it will be some time before he will be wholly releived from the inconvenience of it.¹

I am, Dear Sir,

with respect & esteem

Your most obed^t Serv^t

TOBIAS LEAR.

¹ The cause of the illness of Washington was a case of anthrax, so malignant as for several days to threaten mortification. His sufferings were intense and his recovery slow. Dr. Samuel Bard was his physician.

LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN TO THOMAS
JANNEY, 1681.

LONDON 21 $\frac{6}{mo}$ 81

D^r T: J

My tend^r & broth^rly love in y^e L^d salutes thee & thine wth Gods truly begotten Children, y^e sons of faith & heirs of y^e promiss in those p^{ts} & my God keep you all in his prserving feare & love, to whom be glory for ever. Thine of y^e 6 $\frac{6}{mo}$ I recd not till just now being y^e 1st day of y^e week. Thy tend^r love I am sensible of & consolated with: And as to my country it is y^e effect of much patience & faith as well as cost & charges: for in no outward thing have I known a greater exercise & my minde more inwardly resigned, to feele y^e L^{ds} hand to bring it to pass, & truly I owne it their. & so it came to me their as great opposition of envious g^{rt} men, & since I have been maid to look to y^e L^d & believe in him, as to y^e obtaining of it, more then ever as to any outward substance, it comforts me, & I am firme in my faith y^t y^e L^d will prosper it, if I & they y^t are & may be ingaged, do not gree^{ve} him by an unworthy use of it. Now d^r T: many whose eyes & minds are tow much abroad may imagin & talke, but thats little to me. I shall not I thinke go till next spring; but a ship goes soon next month: & those y^t desire to have their land lye in y^e best places & be laid out wth y^e first must deale before y^t ship & comission^{rs} goes, w^{ch} may be by y^e 1st of next month so if any there away desire to have land wth me, they must write to me what & how much & I will have y^e deeds p^rpared at Thomas Ruddyards whith^r if they send their money they may have it as y^e rest have. I sell from 100[£] w^{ch} byes a share, to a 4th pte or to a 1000 Achre w^{ch} coms but to 20[£], mine eye is to a blessed governm^t & a vertuous ingenious & industrious society, so as people may live well & have more time to

serve y^e L^d, then in this crowded land. God will plant (?) America & it shall have its day: y^e 5th kingdom or Glorious day of Christ in us reserved to y^e last dayes may have y^e last p^{te} of y^e world, y^e setting of y^e son or western world to shine in. So if y^e write to me; to be left wth Philip fforde in Bow Lane London, it will come safe & quick: & if any desire to be concerned, I shall set downe their names in y^e callendar or Cattalogue to have their shares or p^{te} of them wth y^e first, & best Thus d^r Tho: in y^e Lds endeared kindness I take leave remaining in y^e truth

Thy faithfull freind & broth^r

WILLM PENN

Severall in London, Bristol Wiltshire, Somerset, Sussex, Barkshire, Hampshire &c: have ingaged, & I have signed about 34 deeds & about 20 redly wth I write not to draw you, but y^e y^e may know it p^{ps} let the L^d forever be looked unto above all Amen.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA'S EXHIBIT OF MANUSCRIPTS AND RELICS DURING "FOUNDERS' WEEK," OCTOBER 4-10, 1908. The exhibit of manuscripts, relics and portraits, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, during Founders' Week, was a notable feature of that celebration, and the following selected list will indicate their importance and value in connection with the history of the city, as well as the State.—

Penn Collection.

Letter of Admiral Sir William Penn to his son William Penn, April 9, 1667.

Letter Book of William Penn, 1668—some of the letters dated from the Tower prison.

Letter from George Fox to William Penn, 1678.

Proclamation of Charles II. Given at the Court at Whitehall, the second day of April 1681, to the inhabitants and planters of the Province of Pennsylvania, describing the bounds of the Province and enjoining obedience to the Proprietary. Broadside with the Royal Arms.

Record of the Court held at Upland on Delaware River, 1676-1681, that administered justice among the Swedes, Dutch and English settlers.

Some of the Title Papers to Pennsylvania.

Penn's Instructions to Commissioners William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen, for settling the Colony, September 30, 1681.

Penn's Letter to the Indian Kings, 1681.

Laws agreed upon in England for Pennsylvania, May 5, 1682.

Letter from Penn to his children, 19. 6m. 1682.

Inventory of Silver Plate at Worminghurst, and of that which was carried to Philadelphia.

First Deed of the Indians to Penn, July 15, 1682, for a large part of what is now Bucks County.

Great Belt of Wampum delivered to Penn at the Treaty of 1682—"a treaty not sworn to and never broken."

Commission for the Justices of the Peace of New Castle, 1682.

Subscription Lists Society of Free Traders of London, for lots in Pennsylvania, 1682.

Original draft of letter of Penn to Society of Free Traders.

Obligation of the Society of Free Traders to Nicholas More, also receipt, 1682.

Letter of Penn to Ephraim Harmon, Oct. 29, 1682.

MS. draft of the "Frame of Government."

Penn's Patent to Samuel Carpenter, 1684, for the lot on which the "Slate Roof House" was built.

Philadelphia Court Records, 1685-1686.

Letter from Penn to Phineas Pemberton, 1686.

Patent to John Ransted, 1688, for a lot in Philadelphia.

Charter granted by Penn to the inhabitants of Germantown, 1689.

Germantown Court Records, 1691.
 Commission of Penn to Robert Turner and others, 1692.
 Tax List of Philadelphia County, 1693.
 Family Letters of William Penn.
 Impression of the first seal of the City of Philadelphia.
 Letter of Penn to Hannah Callowhill, 1695.
 Instructions to Lieut. Gov. Blackwell.
 Penn's letter to the Council.
 Warrant to run the line between Chester and New Castle Counties, signed by Penn, 8 mo. 28, 1701.
 Proclamation to prorogue the Assembly, 1701, signed by Penn.
 Epistle of Penn to Friends, 1702.
 Letter of Hannah Penn to her husband, 1703.
 Charter of the City of Philadelphia.
 Document signed by Mayor Humphrey Morry.
 Document signed by Mayor Edward Shippen.
 Patent to John Key (first child born in Philadelphia), 1713.
 Cash Book of Hannah Penn, 1716.
 MSS. Ordinances made and passed in City of Philadelphia, 1722.

Penn Relics.

Drinking Cup.
 Shaving Basin and Ewer, with arms engraved on them.
 Razor.
 Holy Bible, with his book plate.
 Books from his library, with book plates.
 Chairs from Pennsylvania.
 Writing Desk.
 Gold ring with hair.
 Vane of the Mill on Chester Creek, erected in 1699. William Penn, Samuel Carpenter and Caleb Pusey, original partners. The vane is of iron, pierced to bear the following inscription:

W. P.
 S. C. C. P.
 1699.

Washington Collection.

Will of John Washington, the first of the family to come to America.
 Letter of Mary Washington (mother of the General) to her brother.
 Survey by Washington, 1751.
 Washington's tailor's bill, 1772.
 Letters of Martha Washington.
 MS. order to impress clothing for the Army, 1777.
 Letter to Samuel Washington, 1776.
 Letter from Headquarters, Morristown, Feb. 22, 1777.
 Letter to Clement Biddle, about "livery lace," sample attached.
 Lottery Ticket, signed by Washington.
 Visiting Cards of Mrs. Washington.
 Household Account Book while residing in Philadelphia, 1793-1797.
 Invitation to Birth-night Ball, 1796.
 Pocket Diary, 1796.
 Dinner Invitations of President Washington.
 Martha Washington's Cook Book.
 Last letter of Washington, Dec. 13, 1799.

Relics.

Books from library, with book plates.
 Miniature of Washington, by C. W. Peale.
 Cup and saucer, used at Washington's wedding.
 Pincushion, made by Nellie Custis, from the wedding dress of Mrs. Washington.
 Bust of Necker, from Mount Vernon.
 Chair used at Washington's Receptions, Philadelphia.
 Mahogany Writing Desk, used while residing in Philadelphia.
 Miniature of Mrs. Washington, by James Peale.
 Life mask of Washington.

Franklin Collection.

Bill of Josiah Franklin, Boston, 1710.
 Rules for the Junto Club, 1732.
 Accounts of Franklin & Hall, 1747-1766.
 MS. Genealogical Chart of Franklin Family, in handwriting of Franklin.
 Letters of Benjamin Franklin.
 Letters of Deborah Franklin.
 Commission as Minister to France, 1778.
 Letters to William Strahan.
 Letters to Anthony Wayne.
 Early editions of Poor Richard's Almanacs, 1733-1738.
 Pocket Almanacs, 1742-1747.
 Copy of first book printed by him in Philadelphia, 1729.
 Account Book St. John's Lodge F. & A. M., 1731.
 Dinner Invitation to members of Federal Convention, Sept. 5, 1787.
 Passport issued by Franklin, May 13, 1782.
 First German newspaper published in America, 1732.
 Pennsylvania Gazette, Vol. I, 1728-1729.

Relics.

Mahogany Music-stand.
 Burning glass.
 Thermometer.
 Wine Glass.
 China Punch Keg, with mahogany stand.

Miscellaneous Collections.

Miniature of Col. B. Tarleton, British Army.
 " " Sir John St. Clair, "
 " " Lieut. George Dyer, British Navy.
 " " Arthur Lee.
 " " Cyrus Griffin.
 " " Lieut. M. M. Russell.
 " " Blair McClenahan.
 " " J. W. Kittera and wife, by Robert Fulton.
 Autograph letters of the Mayors of Philadelphia, from Humphrey Morry, the first Mayor, to the Hon. John E. Reyburn.
 Delft plate of 1716.
 China Platter of the "State in Schuylkill."
 "Wilkes and Liberty" mug.

- Wine glass of John Wilkes.
 Washington Portrait Pitchers.
 Pitcher of Mrs. James Madison.
 Snuff Box of Rev. Robert Blackwell.
 " " John Dickinson.
 " " Gilbert Stuart.
 Silver watch of Christopher Marshall.
 Commodore Stephen Decatur's brass kettle.
 Silver Sugar Bowl presented by Jefferson to Camilla Franzoni.
 Silver gorget worn by officers of the Continental Army.
 Silver Punch Bowl and trophies of the United Bowman Club, 1828.
 Rules and Subscription List of the First City Dancing Assembly, 1748-9.
 Portrait of Mrs. Benedict Arnold, by Sir Thomas Lawrence.
 Telescopes of John Paul Jones.
 Sword and Camp Kettle of Gen. Wayne.
 China Punch Bowl of Col. Richard Humpton.
 Sword of a Hessian officer, captured at Trenton.
 Sword and pistols of Capt. Benj. Brooke, used during the Revolution.
 First Piano made in America, by Albrecht, 1789.
 Chair and Cane of Robert Proud, the historian.
 Section of wooden water pipe, Market Street.
 Starting bar of the locomotive Stourbridge Lion.
 Lintel from Phineas Pemberton's house, built 1687.
 Specie scales of Bank of the United States, made by Pat. Lyon.
 Relics of the British frigate *Augusta*, blown up off Billingsport, 1777.
 Old Lottery Wheel.
 Watchman's rattle, used by sexton of St. Peter's P. E. Church.
 Bell of the Philadelphia Almshouse, 1758.
 Lock and Key of the "Slate Roof House."
 Ephrata Printing Press, on which were printed the Martyr Book, 1748;
 Dissertation on Man's Fall, 1765, and Chronicon Ephratense, 1786, &c.
 Stephen Girard's Door Knocker, on which his name is engraved.
 Royal Arms of England, displayed back of the seats of the Justices in
 the Court House, that stood in Market Street at Second. Painted on
 panel 36x42.
 Stamp under the British Stamp Act, of March 22, 1765.
 Non-importation Resolutions of the Merchants and Traders at Philadel-
 phia, to which 374 signatures are appended.
 Muster Rolls Book, Col. William Bradford, M. M. G., Valley Forge,
 1777-1778.
 Orderly Book 17th British Foot, captured at Stony Point.
 General Wayne's Orderly Books used in Canada, Pennsylvania and Georgia.
 General Muhlenberg's Orderly Book.
 Orderly Book, First North Carolina, 1776.
 Orderly Book, Gen. Maxwell.
 Hats and Helmets used by firemen of Philadelphia.
 Articles of wearing apparel; slippers, combs, gloves, fans, &c., worn by
 men and women of Philadelphia, prior to 1800.
 Old time wooden plough.
 Jury wheel.
 Marble profile bust of William Penn.
 Wooden bust of Penn, by William Rush.
 Chair of Thomas Lawrence, Mayor of Philadelphia.

Mahogany card table, of Charles Carroll, the Signer.

Autograph copy of the "Star Spangled Banner."

" " " " "Home, Sweet Home."

Ephrata Sampler, made by Sister Petronella, 1768.

Spinet of Baron Stiegel, Lancaster Co.

Cork models of historic houses of Philadelphia.

Indian Treaty Medals, 1793.

Silver watch found on Braddock's field.

Patent from Queen Christina of Sweden, Aug. 20, 1653, granting to Capt.

Hans Amundsson Beck, land in New Sweden, extending to Upland Kyl.

LETTER OF HON. HENRY CLAY TO JOHN S. RICHARDS, ESQ., of Reading, Penna., proprietor of the *Berks & Schuylkill Journal*, the local Whig organ. The Mr. Banks referred to in the letter was the Hon. John Banks, who served in Congress with Mr. Clay, and was the Whig candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania in 1841. The original letter is in the collection of Louis Richards, Esq., Reading, Pa.—

ASHLAND 6th Nov. 1843.

DEAR SIR:

I received your friendly letter. Messrs George Robertson, Dr. B. W. Dudley, Richard Pendell and Gen'l Leslie Combs, all of Lexington (K) or any of them may be relied on for any information you may desire to possess from this quarter. Messrs John J. Crittenden, James T. Morehead, Speaker John White or Garret Davis of Congress may be confided in for any [thing] they would communicate, during the session of Congress. I expect to be absent from home from about the middle of next month until May. I go on business to N. Orleans, and thence via Alabama, Georgia & So. Carolina, to fulfill my North Carolina engagement.

I agree with you as to the impropriety of being addressed with Interrogatories, and the subsequent publication of the responses. My letters have several times been published without my previous expectation, and I have been sometimes mortified with the parade of letters from me acknowledging small presents &c, of which I am made the almost involuntary recipient. It is easier to see the evil than to prescribe a remedy for all this, Altho' my correspondence is excessively oppressive I cannot decline returning a civil answer to a kind and friendly letter. The frequent publication of my letters imposes however an inconvenient restraint upon the freedom of correspondence. Instead of writing for the eye only of a friend one feels that he is writing for all the eyes of all the Arguses; or rather he sometimes forgets that he is doing so, and may thus appear less advantageously.

With you I rejoice in the manifestations of public sentiment made in recent elections, and that especially in the Keystone State. No State has been under greater delusions or more deceived by Demagogues than Pennsylvania. She is at last opening her eyes to her true interests, and will see how much she has been betrayed and abused.

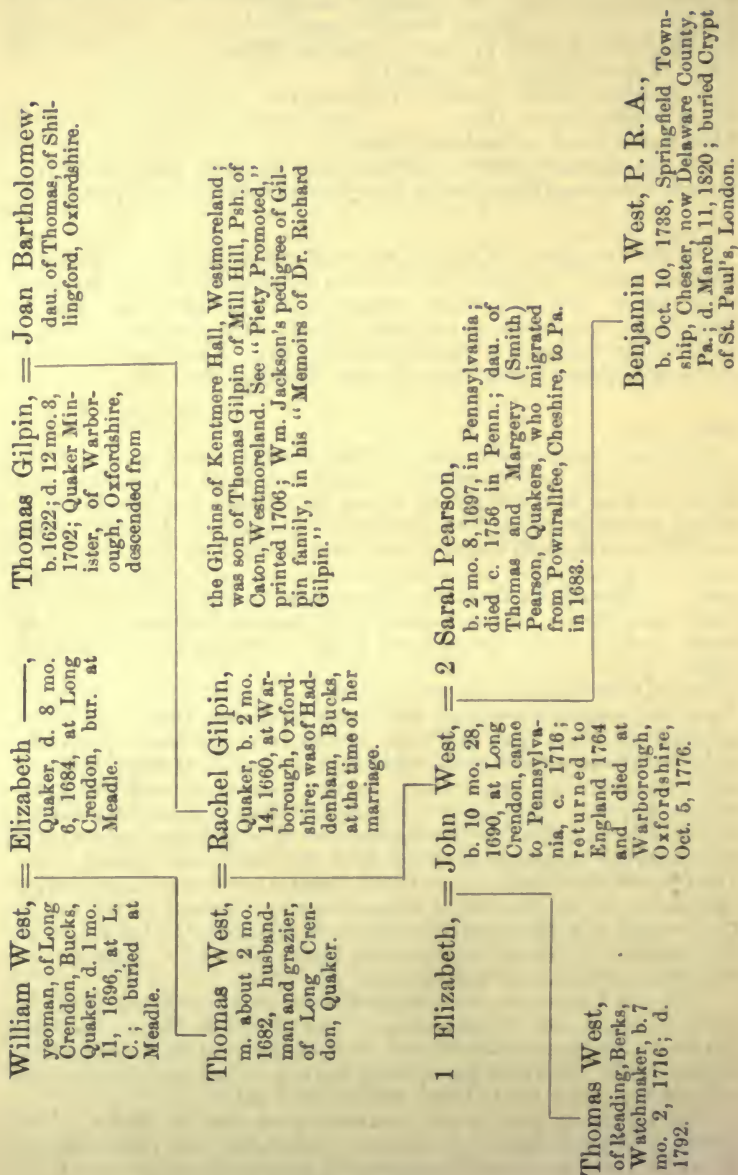
I am obliged by your friendly communication from Mr Banks. I request you to assure him of my friendly recollections and warm regards. To which I add for yourself assurances of the respect and esteem of

Your faithful and Obt. Servt

JOHN S. RICHARDS ESQ.

H. CLAY.

ANCESTRY OF BENJAMIN WEST.



THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF BERKS COUNTY, on September 9th last, made a pilgrimage to the old Moravian church and school building, in Oley township. This venerable structure was erected in 1743, and the grave-yard, on a hill nearby, has never been disturbed. The first Moravian to visit Oley was Bishop A. G. Spangenberg, in 1737, his companion being Christopher Wiegner of Skippack; Count Zinzendorf also was there twice. On January 11-13, 1742, the most important meeting ever held in Berks County took place on John De Turk's farm. This was the third Synod, attended by prominent Moravian leaders, and the baptism of three converted Indians, the first fruits of Moravian missionary effort among the red men.

After reading a telegram of greetings from the Moravian Synod convened at Lititz, the president of the Society, Louis Richards, Esq., introduced Daniel Miller, Esq., who read an historical paper prepared for the occasion.

CONTRACT FOR TRANSPORTING FELONS FROM ENGLAND TO MARYLAND, APRIL 22, 1775, from the Collection of Israel W. Morris.

This Indenture made the Twenty Second Day of April in the Fifteenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith and so forth And in the year of our Lord One Thousand and Seven hundred and Seventy-five Between Thomas Gould of Froome Billet in the County of Dorset Esquire and Warren Lisle of Upway in the same County Esquire two of his Majesty's Justices of the peace of and for the said County of Dorset of the one part, and William Stevenson and William Randolph both of the City of Bristol Merchants of the other part Whereas at the General Goal Delivery held at Dorchester in and for the said County of Dorset on Thursday the Twenty third Day of March in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of his present Majesty Before the Honourable Sir William Blackstone Knight one of the Justices of our Lord the King of his Court of Common Bench and the Honourable Sir William Henry Ashhurst Knight one of the Justices of our said Lord the King assigned to hold pleas before the King himself Justices assigned and so forth Samuel Leeves and Judith Rendall was at this Session of Goal Delivery held in * * * the said County Convicted of Felony for which they were Excluded the Benefit of Clergy and to whom his Majesty hath been graciously pleased to extend his Royal Mercy on Condition of Transportation to some part of America for the Term of Fourteen Years and such Intention of Mercy hath been signified by the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire one of his Majestys principal Secretaries of State pursuant to * * * * * an Act of Parliament made in the sixth year of the Reign of his said late Majesty King George the First "Intituled an Act for the furthure preventing Robbery Burglary and other Felonies and for the more effectual Transportation of Felons and unlawful Exporters of Wool and for declaring the Law upon some points relating to pirates" And Whereas in pursuance of an Act of parliament made in the sixth year of the Reign of his said late Majesty King George the First Intituled An Act for the further preventing Robbery, Burglary and other Felonies and for the more effectual Transportation of Felons" It was ordered by said Justices of Assize at the Assizes aforesaid and they did nominate and appoint Sir John Smith Baronet Warren Lisle Thomas Williams Thomas Gould William Rich-

ards the younger and David Robert Michel Esquires Six of his Majestys Justices of the peace of and for the said County or any two of them to Contract with any person or persons for the performance of the Transportation of the said Offenders, And Whereas at the General Goal Delivery last * * * mentioned Charles King was convicted of Felony and Intitled to the Benefit of Clergy and was ordered and adjudged to be transported to some of his Majestys Colonies or plantations in America for the space of seven years And Whereas Sarah Matthews wife of Robert Matthews was at this session of Goal Delivery convicted of Felony in Receiving Stolen Goods knowing them to have been stolen by Joseph Matthews and Mary Matthews was ordered * * to be Transported to some of his Majestys Colonies and plantations in America for the space of Fourteen years pursuant to the said recited Act of parliament * * * And Whereas in pursuance of the said recited Act of Parliament made * * * * * It was further ordered by the said Justices of Assize at the Assizes last before mentioned That the said Sir John Smith Barronet Warren Lisle and also Thomas Williams Thomas Gould William Richards the younger and David Robert Michel Esquires Four other of his Majestys Justices of the peace * for the said County * * should Contract with any person or persons for the performance of the Transportation of the said last mentioned offenders Now Witnesseth this Indenture that the said Thomas Gould and Warren Lisle two of the Justices of the peace nominated * * * do in pursuance of the power given them as aforesaid Contract and agree with the said William Stevenson and William Randolph for their Transporting the before mentioned Felons to America And also the said Thomas Gould and Warren Lisle do by these presents Assign Convey Transferr and make over the said Samuel Leeves Judith Rendall Charles King and Sarah Matthews unto the said William Stevenson and William Randolph and their Assigns and to and for their use for the Terms of Fourteen Years and Seven years respectively to Commence from the time of their Transportation according to the tenure of the said recited Acts of parliaments And this Indenture further Witnesseth that the said William Stevenson and William Randolph for the Considerations aforesaid do for themselves their Heirs Executors and Administrators covenant and agree to and with the said Thomas Gould and Warren Lisle and each of them by these presents that * * William Stevenson and William Randolph shall and will on or before the First day of June next * * at his and their Cost * * well and truly transport or cause to be transported Effectually the aforesaid Felons unto Maryland being one of his Majestys Colonys or plantations in America * * And also shall * * procure an Authentick Certificate under the Hand and Seal of the Governor or Chief Officer of the Customs of the Colonys or plantations in America aforesaid of the safe Landing of them the said Felons (Death and perils of the Sea excepted) and shall and will not wilfully or willingly permit or suffer the said Felons * * to return from the said Colony or Plantation in America to any part of Great Britain or Ireland during the Terms for which they are respectively * * * to be transported In Witness Whereof the said Parties to these presents have hereunto Interchangeably set their Hands and Seals the Day and Year first above written.

THOS { SEAL } GOULD

WARREN { SEAL } LISLE

Dated 22nd April 1775

LETTER OF JOSEPH SHIPPEN, JR., TO HIS FATHER EDWARD SHIPPEN, ESQ.—

Fort Augusta 2d January 1758

DEAR & HONOURED SIR.

I was favoured with several of your affectionate letters two nights before the Major left us, but I can't just now lay my Hands on them.

I am sorry for the unfortunate accident in the Academy between Mr. Smith & Mr. Allen's sons. I hope the consequence of the Quarrel will teach that Gentleman to practice more Philosophy in his Discipline in the future.

I believe Capt. Jameson has lent the small Book on Fortifications you desired me to borrow for you fr Capt. Mercer; however I will ask him when he comes up with the Battoes, which I suppose will be in the Beginning of next week.

I should have been glad to have had the pleasure of tasting some of Mammy's good minced Pyes & enjoyed all your Companies with the Major at Christmas; but I must content myself with only having had the Honour of feasting on a few *Huckle-Berry minced Pyes* made by the famous *quondam* Cook of the brave old General Blakeney; plain wholesome Repast!

I shall send down pr Mr. Bard, who will set off early in the morning, a Draught of Part of the River Susquehanna to Mr. John Hughes with a Letter to him agreeable to my Promise when he was here. I desired Mr. Bard to show it to you as he goes thro' Lancaster & then rowl it up again in the same Manner, that it may not receive any Damage in carrying.

I have only now to wish You, Mammy Sister the Major & everyone round the Fireside a very happy New Year & hope I may have it in my Power to do so in a long Succession of Years to come.

I am with great Esteem

Dear Sir

Your very Affectionate
& dutiful Son

JOSEPH SHIPPEN Jun^r.

To EDWARD SHIPPEN Esq^r

John Heckedorn, the elder, b. 1685, in Switzerland, came to Pennsylvania in 1736, died at York, Nov. 14, 1749. He married *Margaretha Jefry*, b. 1688, in Switzerland, died in Lebanon, Dec. 27, 1754. They had issue:

John, b. April 7, 1716.

Barbara, b. April 5, 1718.

Daniel, b. May 26, 1720.

Ehrhardt, b. August 11, 1726.

Magdalena, b. May 1, 1729.

Martin, b. Dec. 24, 1730.

Robert Hartaffel, organ builder, of Lancaster, Penna., was born February 25, 1717, at Leidek, Darmstadt, came to Pennsylvania and settled first in Warwick township, Lancaster Co. He died of apoplexy November 7, 1782. His wife, *Sophia Maria Eckert*, was born February 20, 1725, in Germany.

RATES OF POSTAGE IN 1832.—

Double letter to Cincinnati, Ohio,	. . . . .	50 cents.
“ “ “ Pittsburgh, Pa.,	. . . . .	37½ “
“ “ “ Reading,	. . . . .	20 “
Single “ “ New York,	. . . . .	18¼ “
“ “ “ Pottstown, Pa.,	. . . . .	10 “
5 copies Episcopal Recorder,	. . . . .	5 “

CORRECTION.—In a list of the members of the Constitutional Assembly of 1776, in Vol. III of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, page 319, is an account of William Coats, born 1721, died Jan. 24, 1780, giving him certain service during the Revolutionary War, as Colonel, as well as Associate Justice of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

In Vol. XXVI of the same magazine, page 345, in an account of the Saint Tammany Society, Col. William Coats is mentioned as a member of that society; the same service being given him as the above mentioned, but his death is given in Vol. XXVII, page 47, as having occurred in April, 1802.

That this last William Coats was the revolutionary Colonel, and the Justice of later years, is proved by reference to the newspapers of April 29, 1802, and of May 8 of the same year, and by the official record of his commission as County Lieutenant, and Colonel, on March 29th, 1780, two months after the death of the other William Coats.

Poulson's Daily Advertiser, for April 29, 1802, contains the military order for the parade in connection with the funeral of Colonel William Coats, signed by Fred. Wolbert, Brigade Inspector.

In the *Aurora* of the same date are notices of the Tammany Society and of the fourth troop of Cavalry, as to their part in the funeral parade.

A later issue of the *Aurora*, that of May 8th, contains an obituary notice of Colonel William Coats, which speaks of him as an Associate Justice, and Colonel of the 88th regiment, mentioning his distinguished revolutionary career, and his personal character in the highest terms. William Coats married Margaret Norris, daughter of Thomas Norris, of Princeton, N. J., and of Philadelphia, and left issue, one of his daughters being the grandmother of General George Meade, and numerous other distinguished men and women.

Reference for the revolutionary service of Colonel William Coats is found in the Penn. Archives, Vol. I, Second Series, on pages 534, 582, 584 and 554.

Query.

BROAD AND CHERRY STREET HOSPITAL.—In November of 1862 there was received at the United States Hospital, at Broad and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia, a bundle of socks sent by a “Lively old Lady,” in Amherst, N. H., and a “piece of poetry” signed “S. E. B.” The identity of the “Lively old Lady” and the verse writer, “S. E. B.,” is much desired by a

VETERAN.

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