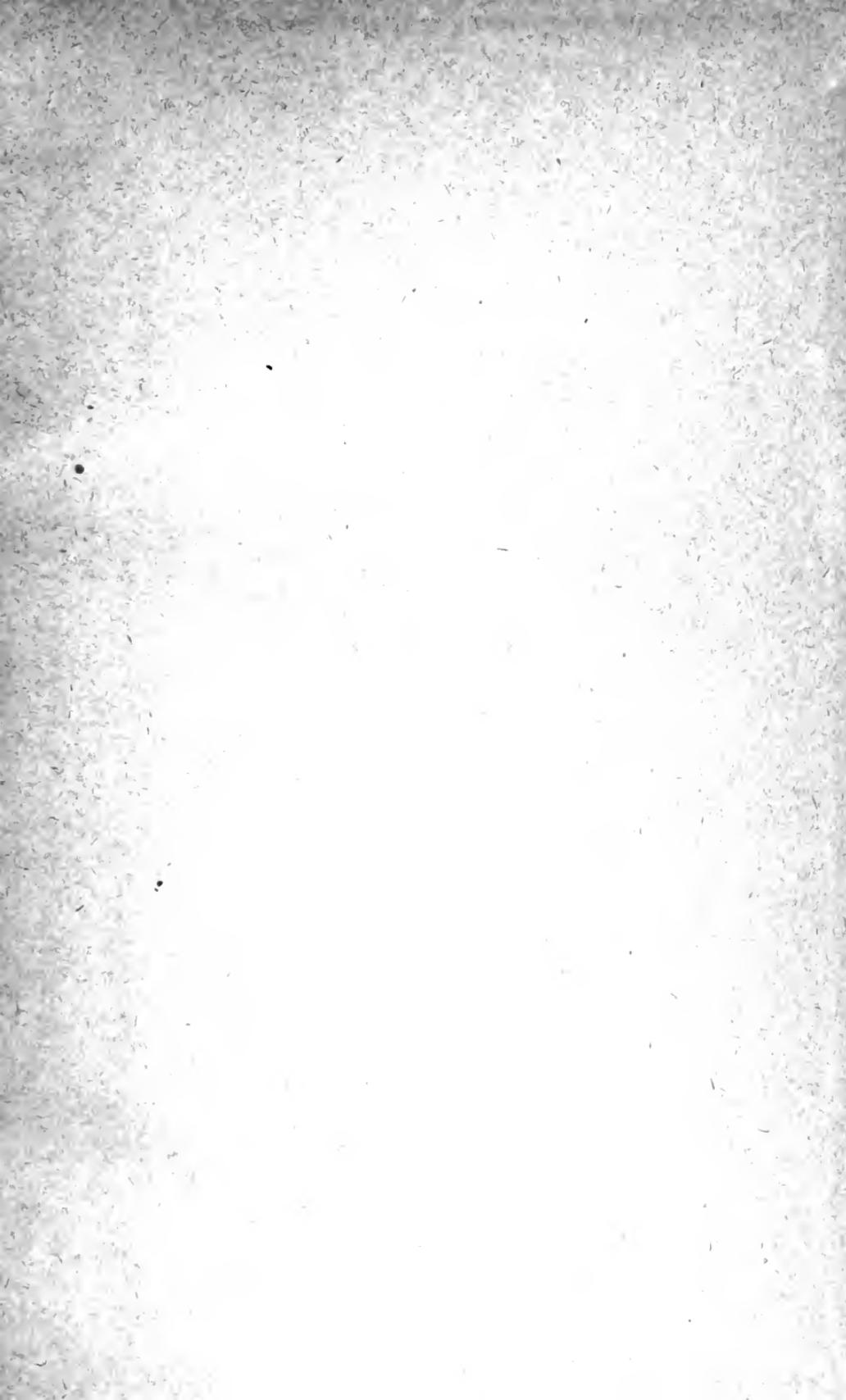


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The
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OR

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

Vol. XLVI

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Tho. Willing

THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE
OF
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

VOL. XLVI.

1922.

No. 1.

THOMAS WILLING OF PHILADELPHIA (1731-1821).*

BY THOMAS WILLING BALCH

At various times and places I have done what I could to make better known the history of our Commonwealth as embodied in the deeds of her great dead. Especially I have put my shoulder to the wheel to bring into public notice Governor Johan Printz, the Swede.

To-night, however, I am not here to talk to you about other people's ancestors, but to say something about one of my own forebears. And my reason for speaking of him is that he was not only a distinguished Philadelphian, but also a great Pennsylvanian. And, moreover, like many other notable Pennsylvanians, he is, in our usual neglectful way, one of Pennsylvania's sons who has been too much forgotten, and whose services and important deeds for the Province and the Nation have been too much unappreciated.

During all the years from 1760 until 1811, a period of half a century, Thomas Willing of Philadelphia was one of the potent but not spectacular figures in the development of the colonies and the United States. And

* An address delivered before the Society as "A Centennial Paper" on November 14, 1921. Following this address was one on Thos. Willing the Financier, by Mr. Burton Alva Konkle not in manuscript and consequently not published.

2 *Thomas Willing of Philadelphia (1731-1821).*

in the title of this paper I have designated him as "of Philadelphia" to distinguish him from his grandfather and uncle of the same name who lived in Bristol, England; and other relatives of the same name.

There is only one thing in his career of which I am not proud, and I shall mention it at once with sufficient emphasis for all envious critics to understand. The firm of Willing and Morris, according to the custom of those days, among other things incidentally sold slaves. Of course, almost everyone did it in those times, and it was looked upon as an everyday commonplace business practice. Nevertheless, as one of his descendants, I am not proud of that fact.

The son of Charles Willing, who was a leading merchant and twice Mayor of Philadelphia, and Anne Shippen, his wife, Thomas Willing was born in this city on the 19th day of December, 1731, and died here on the 19th of January, 1821, a century ago. At an early age he was sent to his Grandmother Willing to be educated at Bath, England. Later he went to school in London. He was entered as a student at law in the Inner Temple on the 5th of October, 1748. The legal training that he thus obtained stood him afterwards in good stead when he sat as a Judge of the Orphans' Court here in Philadelphia, and later as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province. His legal training was also of value to him in his mercantile career, in the important position of President of the Bank of North America, and after that in the equally responsible post of President of the First Bank of the United States.

Returning home to Philadelphia in 1749, Thomas Willing became a subscriber to the Assembly Dances, and in 1755 a manager of those entertainments that have become interwoven in the history of Philadelphia.

His long term of service to the State that extended from 1754 to 1811, covered a span of fifty-seven years.

In 1754, he was sent as a Secretary to the Pennsylvania Delegation at the Albany Congress. That was the first gathering of delegates from most of the British North American colonies that was assembled to deliberate upon their common welfare and future interests. At that Congress started in actual practice that American policy that gradually, a step at a time, drew the colonies closer and closer together, until finally they became in the first instance thirteen independent members of the family of Nations and afterwards, upon the adoption of the Federal Constitution, they were fused into one powerful member of that family circle.

In 1761 Thomas Willing was appointed a Judge of the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia, and in 1763, at the age of thirty-two, he was chosen Mayor of the City. He was the first to sign the address of welcome which "The Merchants and Traders" of this city addressed on the 21st of November, 1763, to John Penn upon his arrival to assume the duties of Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania. Two years later, in 1765, he also was the first to sign the Non-Importation Resolutions, in which the signers declared that the Stamp Act was unconstitutional under British law, and against the best interests of the American colonies and Great Britain.

In 1767 he was appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania, and in that judicial post he was the last to act in August, 1776, under the provincial form of government.

On the 10th of January, 1768, he was elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society, the oldest learned society in all the New World, and a Philadelphia institution.

Together with John Dickinson, he presided over the meeting of citizens of Philadelphia that was held on the 18th of June, 1774, in State House Yard, Philadelphia, to support the people of Boston in their re-

4 *Thomas Willing of Philadelphia (1731-1821).*

sistance to the British Crown. At that meeting it was resolved that the closing of the port of Boston was unconstitutional and that it was time for the American Colonies to call together a Continental Congress.

The following month, from the 15th to the 22nd of July, 1774, a Provincial Congress of representatives from the counties of Pennsylvania was held in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia. As the first citizen of Philadelphia, Thomas Willing was chosen to preside over this Provincial Congress of Pennsylvania. Among other resolves, this Provincial Congress urged the necessity that a general Congress of the Colonies should be called to decide how best to safeguard American interests. Then the Provincial Congress sent a delegation to the Pennsylvania Assembly at the time in session in the State House, on Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, to press the Assembly to name delegates to represent Pennsylvania in the proposed Continental Congress.

The next year, Thomas Willing was chosen by the Assembly of Pennsylvania one of the representatives of the colony to the Second Continental Congress, which met the 10th of May, 1775, in the State House of Pennsylvania.

The war between the North American Colonies and Great Britain was begun to defend the political rights of the colonies, but without any set idea of finally severing the political ties that bound the colonies to the motherland. Many colonies, including Pennsylvania, gave their delegates to the Second Continental Congress instructions not to favor a political break with Great Britain.

The growth of the movement for independence was a gradual one. In the beginning the leading Americans and practically all the people in the colonies were not in favor of a separation from Great Britain. The friendly feelings of the colonists for the motherland,

however, were at first outraged and then gradually obliterated by a series of ill-considered and selfish legislation on the part of Great Britain. As event after event followed one another, owing partly to the stupidity and partly to the selfishness of the men who ruled England, the delegation of colony after colony was won over in favor of independence.

The opposition to a final and absolute break with Great Britain found its chief resistance here in Pennsylvania. On account of her wealth and geographical position, the keystone in the arch of the colonies, Pennsylvania was easily the most influential of the thirteen colonies. And her favorable support was necessary to insure the success of the movement for independence.

Virginia and Massachusetts, the two provinces that were most anxious to break definitely with Great Britain, had much cause to complain of the British Government. Pennsylvania, on the contrary, had probably less reason for dissatisfaction with the British Crown than any of the thirteen colonies. Her government was proprietary. All classes of her people honored the name of William Penn. His sons and grandsons were the governors of the colony. And as compared with some of the other colonial governors, they had been liberal governors.

In order to gain Pennsylvania from her attitude of constitutional resistance to a revolutionary one against the British Crown, John Adams of Massachusetts, with the aid of Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, engineered a movement in Congress in May, 1776, aimed to overturn the charter government of Pennsylvania. It proved successful in arousing and strengthening the partisans in Pennsylvania who favored a final break with Great Britain.

The Continental Congress naturally had no legal power to control the government of Pennsylvania nor to dictate to the people of Pennsylvania when or how

to change the form of government of their province in order to please and accommodate the inhabitants of other colonies who desired to destroy as quickly as possible all political ties with the motherland. At that time, the United States of America did not exist; there was not even a Confederation of the thirteen provinces. And while all the thirteen colonies had sent representatives to the Congress in Philadelphia, nevertheless, each province was acting entirely upon its own initiative without having consented, by any plan or scheme whatsoever, to be bound by a vote of the other colonies.

But the efforts in Congress, led by John Adams, looking to the destruction of William Penn's charter, had strengthened the hand of the supporters in Pennsylvania of the policy of independence of Great Britain. Accordingly, on the 20th of May, 1776, a meeting of Pennsylvania citizens who were in favor of a final break with the motherland, was held in the State House Yard, and urged a change in the form of government of Pennsylvania. The meeting favored the calling of a convention of the people of the Province to carry out the plan of the Congress to change the form of government of Pennsylvania so that it would conform with the views entertained by the inhabitants of Massachusetts and Virginia. A few days later a counter meeting of inhabitants of Philadelphia was held, upholding the Pennsylvania form of government as embodied in William Penn's charter of 1701. The supporters of the Penn Charter and the Pennsylvania Assembly concluded by indicating that whatever changes might be necessary to the proper continuance of the government of Pennsylvania in the existing state of affairs, "that authority is fully vested in our Representatives in Assembly freely and annually chosen."

On the 7th of June, Richard Henry Lee introduced in the Congress a motion for independence. The same

day the committee on instructions of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania reported to that body a new set of instructions for the delegates of Pennsylvania in the Congress. The next day "The House resumed the consideration of the Instructions to the Delegates of this Province in Congress, which being gone through and approved of, were ordered to be transcribed."¹ These new instructions as drawn revoked the former instructions of the 9th of November, 1775, to the delegates of Pennsylvania to oppose independence, and left them free to vote for independence. On the 14th of June, with only thirty-five members and the speaker present, less than a quorum of the house, the new instructions having been "transcribed according to Order, were signed by the Speaker."²

The Lee resolution for independence was taken up on the 1st of July in the committee of the whole. Pennsylvania voted in the negative. Of her delegates, Thomas Willing, Robert Morris, John Dickinson and Charles Humphreys voted against the motion to report the resolution. James Wilson, Benjamin Franklin and John Morton voted in the affirmative, while Andrew Allen and Edward Biddle were absent from the Congress.³ South Carolina also voted in the negative. Delaware's vote was a tie. The other provinces, except New York which abstained from voting, voted for the Lee resolution, and so by a large majority vote, the motion to report the resolution was carried. The next day, the 2nd of July, the resolution was voted on. Of the Pennsylvania representatives, Messrs. Dickinson

¹ *Proceedings of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1776, Volume VI, page 738.

² *Proceedings of the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1776, Volume VI, page 740. Charles J. Stille, L.L.D. *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1731-1808*, Philadelphia, 1891, Volume I, pages 188, 189.

³ Herbert Friedenwald: *The Declaration of Independence*; New York, 1904, pages 128, 129.

and Morris, being absent either purposely or by chance, and the other delegates voting as the day before, the vote of Pennsylvania, along with that of Delaware and all the other colonies—except that of New York, whose delegation did not vote either one way or the other—was cast in favor of independence. Two days later, on the 4th of July, the formal paper prepared by the committee headed by Jefferson was adopted.

Thus the vote of Pennsylvania, on this important and far-reaching question, was given not by a majority of her delegates, but only by a majority of her delegates who were present. Or in other words, Pennsylvania's vote for independence was cast by a voting majority composed only of one-third of her elected representatives.

Thomas Willing, who had been bred to the Law in the Inner Temple in London, and had sat since 1767 as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania, mentions in this autobiography, that he "was present when the vote of Independence was passed in Congress," and then goes on to say: "I voted against this Declaration in Congress not only because I thought America at that time unequal to such a conflict as must ensue (having neither Arms, Ammunition or Military Experience), but chiefly because the Delegates of Pennsylvania were not then authorized by their instructions from the Assembly, or the voice of the People at large to join in such a vote."

So, to his credit, "old square toes," as he was often affectionately called by his relatives and intimate friends, voted fearlessly and loyally until the end, and Humphreys along with him, in accordance with the original instructions which the Assembly of Pennsylvania had given to her delegates in Congress, and what he believed were the best interests at the time of Pennsylvania and the colonies in general.

Then a convention of possibly about a hundred



THE WILLING HOUSE

Southwest Corner of Third Street and Willing's Alley, Philadelphia

people met without legal authority under the Government of Pennsylvania, but under the moral sanction of Congress, led by Massachusetts and Virginia. This convention, which in reality was merely a rump meeting, proceeded to elect on the 20th of July a new delegation to the Congress.¹ It re-appointed Wilson, Morton, Franklin, and Morris, and five new members, some of them of its own number, George Ross, Benjamin Rush, James Smith, George Clymer and George Taylor. These nine delegates, a majority of whom were not members of the Congress when that body voted in favor of independence, signed subsequently in August the Declaration.²

During the occupation of Philadelphia in 1777 and 1778 by General Howe, Thomas Willing remained in the city. When Howe sent a person to administer to Willing the oath of allegiance to King George the Third, Willing refused to take it.³ And while the occupation of Philadelphia lasted, Willing and his family took no part in the social entertainments of the British officers. While the families of other prominent Philadelphians took an active part in the Meschianza, the Willings, who were fond of social amusements, remained severely aloof from the affair.

Thomas Willing received, during the occupation of the city by the British army, from General Howe, the terms upon which the latter was ready and anxious to re-establish peace between America and the motherland. The British commander-in-chief offered to recognize the status of affairs the thirteen colonies were in in 1763. Willing, to whom these terms were

¹ Charles J. Stillé: *The Life and Times of John Dickinson, 1732-1808*; Philadelphia, 1891, Volume I, page 189. John H. Hazleton, *The Declaration of Independence, its History*; New York, 1906, pp. 190, 192.

² John H. Hazleton: *The Declaration of Independence; its History*; New York, 1906, page 193 *et seq.*

³ Horace Weyss Smith: *Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.*, Philadelphia, 1880, Volume II, page 511.

communicated, repeated them verbally to John Brown, who he then sent to communicate them to his partner and friend, Robert Morris. The latter, who was a member of the Congress, had left Philadelphia with that body at the approach of the British. Morris communicated Lord Howe's terms to other members of the Congress, but they never were considered. Willing simply transmitted General Howe's terms for peace to the Congress. He did not advise concerning them.

By remaining in Philadelphia on speaking terms with the British commander while the latter held possession of the city and at the same time managing to maintain and safeguard the financial status and credit of the firm of Willing and Morris, the leading firm in all the American colonies, Thomas Willing served the American cause during the war to good purpose. For when Robert Morris subsequently became Financier-General, he relied greatly upon the credit and prestige of the firm of Willing and Morris to finance the American cause until the Bank of North America was established in 1781. Of the firm of Willing and Morris, Thomas Willing was the head and financial brains, and for ten years the first President of the Bank of North America.

Not merely in hastily written articles in the newspapers of today, but even also in reputable historical works this firm is erroneously mentioned as "Morris, Willing & Company." *There was no such firm.* There are many letters written and signed by Robert Morris in his own hand "Willing, Morris & Company." It is natural to suppose he knew the correct name of the firm. And likewise there are letters written and signed by Thomas Willing in the same way. From time to time as the membership of the firm of which Thomas Willing was the head changed, the name also changed. For a number of years the firm's name was Willing, Morris & Inglis, and later on the firm's title

was Willing, Morris and Swanwick. But during the forty years or so that Thomas Willing and Robert Morris remained associated together as partners in business, the name of Willing always headed the title of the firm.

Not the least of the assets of the firm of Willing and Morris was the high social prestige of its senior member and head. A great merchant himself in succession to his father Charles, Thomas Willing, owing to his connection, through his mother, with the historic family of Shippen, had a credit that appealed to the landed, moneyed and mercantile world of those times. In the provincial history of Pennsylvania almost from the first landing of Penn, down to the outbreak of the Revolution, the Shippen family played a commanding part. Through Edward Shippen, the emigrant of that name, Edward Shippen "of Lancaster," Colonel Joseph Shippen and others, for four generations it helped to govern Pennsylvania for the Penns. No other family in Pennsylvania came anywhere near equalling the Shippens in the length of long-continued and substantial services rendered to the Province. And by inheritance through his mother, Thomas Willing possessed that great prestige of the Shippens.

Though doubtless, because Thomas Willing was the leading active representative of the conservative party in the city and because he voted according to the instructions of his Province against independence, he was not re-elected in July, 1776, to the Continental Congress, yet such was the esteem in which he was held, not only in Philadelphia, but also in the country at large, that when the Bank of North America was chartered by Congress in 1781, he was chosen its first President. That office he continued to fill until he was taken from it in 1791 to be appointed President of the First Bank of the United States. The latter position

he held during the twenty years of life for which the bank was chartered.

The great services that Thomas Willing rendered first to the cause of the colonies, during the last years of the war of independence as President of the Bank of North America, and afterwards to the country also as head of that institution and then in the more responsible post of President of the First Bank of the United States, have been clearly brought out by Mr. Burton Alva Konkle. This discovery concerning the career of Willing as a banker serving the country, is an important original contribution to the history of America and Pennsylvania. Writing to me from Swarthmore, the 30th of June, 1921, Mr. Konkle says:

“Thomas Willing, more than any other man, represents the first epoch in the financial history of the United States. That epoch is characterized by the European plan, or then, as now, prevailing dependence on the Bank of the Nation as its chief organ.

“James Wilson led the group composed of Willing, Morris *et al.*, after the fall of Charleston in the spring of 1780, in organizing the Bank of Pennsylvania as a purchasing agency to supply the army. It succeeded, and about Dec. 1, of that year, when the Pennsylvania Assembly were about to issue more paper money, Mr. Wilson proposed transforming the purchasing agency called ‘Bank of Pennsylvania’ into a National institution like the Bank of England, to borrow, rather than issue more paper currency. This was done, not by the Assembly, but by Congress, although to silence questions as to Congress’s power, this State and others also granted it a charter. This was when (winter of 1780-81) Robert Morris was being persuaded by Wilson, Willing and others to become Financier-General (or Secy. of the Treasury, as we would now say), and Morris yielded and also accepted the new bank, then called ‘Bank of North America.’

“Wilson and Morris selected Thomas Willing—the only man I know who has been compared to Washington and that too by Horace Binney—to head and construct the new bank of the Nation. So you see, Wilson designed it, Willing created and constructed it and Morris only accepted and used it as a sort of Secretary of the Treasury.

“Thomas Willing enabled the new institution to complete the military victory that the old or temporary one had begun, and also served both Nation and States, financially, *for a whole decade*, or until the constitution was inaugurated and the new government established. His wisdom was destined to make this the only bank to exist from 1781 to this day.

“The new Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, who had nothing whatever to do with the establishment of the Bank of Pennsylvania, or in its new form, the Bank of North America, unable to take the latter because of political reasons, created a new Bank of the United States, *just like it, after a conference with Wilson*, and took President Willing over from the old bank to be its head and construct it in the same way; and then proceeded to use it just as Morris had the old bank. *For two whole decades*, President Willing and his bank of the United States stood solidly under the United States under two regimes, under five administrations, until in 1811, the charter expired—Wilson, Morris, Hamilton and even Washington all long since dead! The Jeffersonians refused to re-charter it, no doubt groping for, but not finding anything better. They had already sold their stock in it, no doubt intending to let the charter lapse. They missed the ‘old regulator’ of their financial power in the War of ’12, so badly that, in 1816, they were compelled to re-charter it, and Thomas Willing, then eighty-five years old, saw his great work endorsed by the very party which tore it down, and he died in 1821,

seeing it in full operation, doing the work he had done for thirty years, and for which *he* should be called 'The Old Regulator' of the financial system of the United States in those first three decades of our history. And his system continued for sixteen more years until another Jeffersonian (Jackson) destroyed it without offering anything better. It required a civil war to get something better in our old national banks system—the second epoch—which was in itself a step towards the last epoch, that of the Federal Reserve.”

A quiet, reserved worker all his life, Thomas Willing played for fifty years an important part in the affairs, first of the colonies, then of the confederation, and finally of the United States. He was always loyal to the interests of Pennsylvania both under the Penns and later as a member of the Union. Pennsylvania was slow in going into the movement for independence. And Willing, who was cautious and conservative in all things, who had held high office under the Crown and the Penns, was at all times jealous in guarding against attack from all comers, especially that of strangers from outside the Province, the Charter which William Penn had granted in 1701 to Pennsylvania. And so he voted according to the original instructions of his Province, against a final and absolute break with the homeland. After that, for more than three decades, he rendered conspicuous financial services to the colonies and the United States, and finally retired from active public service at the age of fourscore years. He lived on as a private but leading citizen of the town at his home at the corner of Third Street and Willing's Alley until his death on the 19th of January, 1821, in his ninetieth year. His was a long life, honorably and well spent.

JOURNEY TO BETHLEHEM.

BY JOSHUA GILPIN.*

10 Mo. 7 1802

Set off from Wakefield with my friends Pim Nevins & his Son John Nevins on a journey to Bethlehem passed thro' Germantown on the turnpike road to Chestnut hill, where we took the right-hand road leading thro' white marsh township & stopped 18 miles from the City at an inn called the spring house to dine—

Germantown is built very similarly from the 5 miles Stone to Chestnut hill about 10 miles from the City if any difference the houses farther off are newer, better & thiner all of Stone and generally with spaces between which might be very handsomely improved with trees the soil all thro' a sort of isinglass & stone on black sandy bottom & no where very good rather poor.—

The turnpike road now making is formed with Stone out of the adjoining hills & of very different hardness in places to about 7 miles from Phil^a. with soft black stone which soon grinds to sand, but afterwards with a white flint within a mile of Chestnut hill of a white hard sort of free stone, the two last sorts will want the least repair.

At entering the Bethlehem road at Chestnut hill we had a full view over white Marsh & almost on every side to a very great extent & extremely beautiful, some fine blue hills to the northwest very distinct, the landscape was almost over a woody country which at this season was varied by the coloring of the leaves & which

* Joshua was the father of Henry D. Gilpin (1801-1860) and the son of Thomas Gilpin (1728-1778). Ms. owned by Miss S. Elizabeth Gilpin.

being different in the kinds of trees are nearly as follows—

Walnuts.....Yellow
 Maples Swamp Oaks—Red
 Poplars & Buttonwoods Yellow
 Chestnuts & White Oaks &° green
 Auburn

the general manufacture of Stockings generally called Germantown mitted is worthy of remark as they are made so frequent no where else & are superior to any imported & which have been often imitated & unequaled either for duration warmth or softness.—

The road dividing at Chestnut hill & running to the left leads to Reading—from Chestnut Hill the road thro' white Marsh leads thro' a very fine fertile country well cultivated & very rich to our stage the land not at all broken, frequent meadows & altho' we have left the improvements of Citizens we do not miss them much in finding ourselves in the best improvements the cultivation of the luxuriant soil enables them to make, the houses are very neat generally of Stone and often limestone which is here plenty—we passed by the seat of Anthony Morris Esq^r about 12 mile from Phil^a. & an old seat of the Morris family on the other side of the road. Land sells about white marsh for about £25. —. — 79 acre.—the road at the Spring house inn divides the left hand towards North wales. the right towards Bethlehem

The Spring house inn is kept by a german & is a german inn all speaking the language & have the roughness which we expect to find among them as the country here has been wholly settled by them, we here met a german fleet of waggons say 6 or 7 bringing Oak bark for Philadelphia which was bot. by J. Lyons for shipment to Liverpool & which he gives 30 Dols 79 ton.

Left our Inn about 3 oClock & came on about 13 miles

to Lodge at Setters's on the Perkiomen Creek.—Our ride this afternoon was thro' a country not so pleasant as in the morning the road rougher & land not so good we crossed many ridges of hills & most of them composed of a red shelly earth & poor tho' vallies better & mostly rich several handsome farm houses.

At about 25 miles from the City we passed the turks head a very good inn at a cross road leading towards Bethlehem and 4 miles further ascended a very high hill called the Perkasay hill from whence we had a most beautiful prospect of the country we had come thro' almost to the Chestnut hill & which was finely varied, both from the color of the woods the clearings of the farms & greenness of the meadows, the sun being low also gave us many charming shades over an extent of prospect as great as I almost ever viewed.—we saw but few houses, indeed I think the germans build but few or none in sight—at least they do not consult that & we remarked there were very few orchards.—

Land with common improvements sells here for about £12. —. — ₤ acre woodland is rather higher.

We lodged at Sellers, & had very comfortable accommodations more so than often near the City, the family very decent & industrious all the linnen of the house which was remarkably nice & white, woolen blankets & counterpanes of their own family make from the sheep & from flax of their own growth. Our land lord has a Store adjoining the tavern & sells a large quantity of goods & takes in produce. he mentioned to us he has now on hand above 12000^{lbs} of firkin butter which he would wish to sell at 9 cents ₤^{lb} but fears he will not be able to obtain it.—

Our bill at the Springhouse Inn today

3 Dinners	93
1 q ^t wine Lisbon.....	50
Hay & 4 qts oats for 3.....	40 D ^s 1.83

Bill at Lodgings

3 Suppers.....	31.....	.93	
3 Beds.....	6	.20	
3 horses hay.....		.60	
18 quarts oats.....	60		2.33

8. Left our lodgings about $\frac{1}{2}$ after 6 a little after Sunrise & came on about 6 miles to Quakertown at 37 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Phil^a.

Our road continued for about a mile over a tolerable country rather stony & of a red fox earth Shelly to the top of rocky hill from which we had a very beautiful view of the country before us some of the Leheigh hills which were even and rose considerably but the mist not having left them the diversified shades of light & the rays of the Sun gave them all the softness of the morning, between the rocky hill & the distant hills we saw lays the great swamp into which we descended over an extreme rough road as much so as any on Brandywine.—

The land in the great swamp almost on a level & of a redish appearance not very rich tho' of good tillage the wetness of the lowlands has almost disappeared since it has been cleared. Land here sells for about £11.5—with moderate improvements & woodland is worth more.—

We breakfasted at Quakertown at Enoch Roberts a very decent inn they gave us a fine american breakfast of Chicken eggs ham coffee &^c & sweetmeats for which we paid

3 meals.....	2/4	7....	.93
12 quarts oats.....	3 ^d.....		.40
waiter & hostler.....			.17 — 1.50

we saw here a drove of Oxen about 50 going for Phil^a. for fattening at the meadows below it.—

We left the little town about $\frac{1}{2}$ after nine & travelled this a poor country with little worth remarking some-

times having good prospects over the Lehigh hills & over the Bridge to Bethlehem which we reached at one o'clock.—

The Lehigh hills certainly afford beautiful views of an extensive country looking over to Bethlehem we saw the extent of a very fine valley which surrounds it, to the Blue Mountains at a very great distance. the day is rather misty & softens the appearance of the landscape & often gives an idea of greater distance than there really is—I think there is always something very grand in the appearance of these immense ranges of mountains which are in many places very steep.—

The Bridge over the Lehigh is about 80 to 100 yds long & is very high from the Stream composed of wooden arches secured with Stones, the stream flows very evenly about 4 to 5 feet deep. & is clear & boatable for 100 miles above, the Lehigh joins the Delaware about 13 miles below here.

The view on the river downward is very fine & the stream may be seen gradually winding narrower at the foot of several ridges of hills till it is abruptly stopped by turning round one of them and it appears to run into the mountains from which it turns and which rises very high and steep over it.—

We made no inquiry of the price of Land on our last stage as we rather wondered that in general any person would buy it, the pooriness of it & its being covered with stones rendered it more proper for remaining with its forests. & we thought that the necessary exertion to get a living from it would prevent any person from ever getting rich—he would remain as poor as the land.

We dined at Bethlehem at the Tavern kept under the Moravian establishment, where they were very civil as I expect they are so to all visitors, the person appointed to wait on strangers appeared at the Inn.

Thomas, to whom we declared our desire to see the

place & visit the nunneries &c. which he would have taken us thro', but they being like to occupy all the afternoon we were satisfied with going only thro' the school & concluded to leave seeing the establishment generally 'till our return. in the girls school in which there were not more than 12 employed at needlework, there appeared several not moravians, but those sent mostly from the southern states for education & their art of working which is more beautiful than any I ever saw, it was chiefly of colors on white sattin an elderly matron was in the room but our old guide went thro' the whole circle & as he pleased kissed all of them to which they seemed perfectly accustomed. My time here did not permit me to see much of the place or learn its establishment so that I should only guess at the most interesting part were I to attempt to give it—it appears to have been founded about 61 years—Girls are taken in to educate as they have vacancies, at present they have near 80 & are full price for every kind of tuition & finding about 160 D^s ₯ annum.

Our bill at Bethlehem was.

3 Dinners.....@ 33.....D ^s 1.—	
1 p ^t . Lisbon wine.....	.31
1 pt. Port .....	.40
4 gallons oats.....	.53
paid ferryage.....	33
	2.57

we left Bethlehem about 4 oClock & came on to Easton to lodge which we reached about 7 oClock. the distance from Phil^a. to Bethlehem is 55 Miles & from thence to Easton about 12 miles—

The road to Easton leads over very fine lands some of them are worn but where they are not & the trees satisfy us that with care they might be continued equal to any— We had several fine views of the hills on the opposite sides of the Lehigh & near Easton many sheets of it very much below us & among the green

woods extremely beautiful, at about 7 miles from Bethlehem we met two waggons removing two families with their appurtenances from a part of New England about 200 miles N. E. of this thro' all Penn^a.—say Lancaster York Pittsburgh, Wheeling &c. to the country on the Ohio about 200 miles below the latter place they call new Connecticut & which perigrenation I calculate to be of about 700 miles.—on our way here at sunset we had the most beautiful shades on the mountains of the redness from the setting sun I ever saw & the Sky extremely rich, with almost every color we are informed a very general imigration from N. E. has taken place thro' this country for Ohio, & is a matter of some surprise as so much land nearer is at all times open & settlers are so much desired by those who own it.—

Easton is situated at the confluence of the Lehigh & Delaware & contains about 150 houses mostly very well built of hewen free stones & appears very neat it contains a court house &c. a very plain decent dutch church, the Settlement here was begun about 50 years ago, principally by germans but the town has doubled its inhabitants since about 10 years— Piers are sunk here for a bridge over the delaware & are raised about 10 feet above the water but the cost of building with stone has run them out of money the bridge is intended to be of three arches of wood resting on the Stone & over the breadth of the river of about 600 feet—there is a fall in the river about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile below the town but which is not so much regarded as others in the navigation— We cannot find there is much navigation down the Lehigh, the delaware is boatable & much used for 200 miles above this for produce and lumber— We remark that the imigrants who first settle the frontiers are Irish & from a disposition very dissimilar to what we would suppose universally dispose of the lands they improved to others of a more settled turn who come among them & again they seek to brave the forests by

which means the wild brutes are encountered by beings as savage as themselves

We called with our letters on Sam^l. Sitgreaves Esq^r. who received us with much politeness & made offers of assistance in opening to him our business he gave us letters of introduction to some of his friends. Daniel Stroud near the wind Gap whom he apprehended would be of considerable use to us, we also delivered another to John Arndt who called on us afterwards at the Inn where we lodge & gave us considerable information—I was extremely tired with my days ride having been on horseback & the road very rough, my companion who drove a whisky*, a tandem would often have relieved me, but having heretofore found one or two constant days ride on horseback necessary to season me for it & and to prepare me for prosecuting my journey with ease, I refused.

The mode of driving tandem was quite new in this country and gave us an opportunity of seeing the people generally at the road's side, but altho' it was singular even to me I must confess was of great benefit as I think one horse would have been unable to have drawn a chaise as we came without excessive fatigue—

9th. We were to have set off this morning to find George Palmer but accidentally learned he was from home on a survey & was expected at this place about noon, so that under the prospect of seeing him we waited all the day & had a full opportunity of resting ourselves, viewing the town & paying several visits,—About noon we walked down to the Delaware & along its bank at the edge of the town saw several large rafts of timber ashore on the side of the river which had lately been bro't down & we afterwards walked over to the other side of the town & on the bank of the Lehigh about its connection with the Delaware— Over the

* "A low, light, one-horse chaise without hood or top."—Webster. Sometimes called a "tim whiskey."

Lehigh at this place is a fine wooden bridge of three arches about 260 feet long & at a very great elevation say 35 feet above the water, which is about 10 feet deep—from the bridge we had a fine view up the river, having crossed we ascended by a narrow path a craggy eminence close on the side of the river which we supposed was about 200 feet & which being perpendicular on the side next Easton gave us a full prospect of it a view up the Lehigh & up & down the Delaware to a very considerable distance & which tracing all the streams till they ascended before the eye & terminated among the adjoining high hills was very fine,— There are in sight several falls on the Delaware both above & below Easton & one small fall on the Lehigh which being ruffled by a breeze created a little white foam or spray & enlivened the appearance on both those beautiful streams— There are on the shores of this part of the Delaware similar to those on the Susquehannah rocky precipices which overhang them and which are composed of colored strata these again are shaded with trees & thro' which they are seen sometimes plainly & often partly covered are extremely fine & would add much to a landscape.—We visited a Mill on the Delaware about half a mile below Easton begun by one Pearson of this place intended to be moved by water taken from the river near the mouth of the Lehigh & without any dam but the depth of digging to the level of the water has been too expensive & altho' the mill is built & appears very well the work is at present at a stand.—

I think the Lehigh river is in all its circumstances very much like the Juniatta to the Susquehannah, they both run in to the main rivers at a similar distance from the tide, run a course eastward & are of about an equal breadth & depth & equal navigation upwards & downwards thro' fertile country.

We went thro' the Court house & office for keeping

the records of the County which is built completely fire proof arched rooms with stone floors & iron windows—

Dined at our Inn, & after walking to the north extremity of the village which is bounded by a small stream called Little Bushkill called on S. Sitgreaves & took tea. In the evening not having found George Palmer to have come here, we concluded to go up to his house in the morning.—

The Peasantry of this Country indeed almost since we set out are wholly german many of whom speak little english & are a very frugal hardy race they are mostly Lutherans & Calvinists & are universally of the profession of farmers, in their attention to which they lose all their secular distinctions & they dress very plainly indeed with very little singularity or show— I am convinced that many farmers even of our own country would lay by nothing where these collect handsome esates—Two respectable farmers came to our Inn this afternoon from 50 miles towards the city & travelling on horseback fed here with oats they brought from home— I think that among germans the accommodation we would expect in the same rank of life in travelling would be as much viewed in the light of singularity as their contrary manners would among us— In this country generally the poor & the artificers are paid extravagantly for all they do, they so therefore thrive, but the employers do not get the value of the money they pay, it is therefore the interest of everyone to do as much for themselves & as much for others as possible & of this the germans are very fully sensible.—

The Church at this place was built by a subscription of the members of the different societies for their accommodation without distinction & is so accordingly used by them, English & German Lutherans & German Calvinists alternately on a first day

10th. We left our Inn after breakfast this morning

to go to George Palmers whom we supposed would have returned home on the preceeding evening but on enquiry for our road were informed about 3 miles from Easton that he remained in that neighborhood about a mile further & we were directed to find him accordingly pursuing our road for that purpose we found no place to answer the description we had received and that we had wandered into a settlement of people to whom we could not make ourselves understood & who only perplexed us with the means they took to assist us, indeed I never knew before the total want of a Language for in this respect we might quite as well have been in the middle of Germany. J. Nevins being vexed at one of the houses we called at with their speaking only a foreign tongue instead of the American & giving travellers no information got to talking Spanish to them— After being sent and steering about thro' lanes & woods & fields for about 3 hours & 10 or 14 miles we found ourselves very happily returned into the road which two days before had brot us from Bethlehem to Easton & our Whiskey & tandem little calculated for any other such search yet the object of our ride unanswered & of course a risk of a further unpleasant delay—under this impression as half the day was before us I urged the propriety of my friends returning to Easton & I would spend the remainder of it in searching & endeavoring to compleat our object & if the people could not speak english I would speak dutch— I left them to go home & tho I knew we were further off than ever I got directions for about half a mile & depended when there to push my way further, accordingly having rode that distance I was at the forks of a road & discovering a boy in a field called him & found he could speak no more english than the rest, however I pronounced the name of the man's house I wanted & he pointed in the direction of it & I asked "mile" he said "two mile" then I took out my purse an

eleven pence, pointed to him & to the back of my horse & then to the house which he understood quite as I wished him & accordingly mounted holding round my waist—he was a very neat little german boy dressed in a red jacket & linsey trousers & intelligent. I soon found from my having heard a few german words I could make him understand I wanted the names of things & before I got to the house had them of everything I could point to such as horse, hogs road woods tree &c.— So that I passed about an hour with some diversion as well as from the pleasure of coming to a place we had so long sought in vain & to which the boy did not fail to bring me.

Having found G. Palmer I made an engagement with him which he fulfilled on my return to Easton & spent the remainder of the Day in informing us upon the object of our journey his own engagements and ill health absolutely preventing his giving us his personal assistance we received instructions to persons on our way to accomplish it.

Our wanderings today gave us an opportunity of seeing a tract of country much known & called on account of its want of water the Dry Lands being part of a tract of 40000 Acres for some time disputed by some Irish settlers with the Proprietary's Manor survey, on account of some informality in it—& being on that account uncertain as to its issue was much depredated— The farmers have to bring water upon it even for ordinary purposes for several miles, otherwise the situation & lands are both very fine.

During our days excursion we had many fine prospects of the country blue mountains and the Wind Gap at about 15 Miles distance & on my return a view down the Lehigh to a little brook northward of Easton which appeared to open an immense high & craggy rocky hill, the varied strata of which gave beautiful colors. P. Nevins had on his way into town been

struck with its beauties & ascended it from whence he had a very handsome prospect & brot with him several very curious stones one of which appeared like a lump of melted glass—

11th. We mounted our horses early this morning for our journey to the woods thro' the Wind Gap & rode 12 miles to Heller's Inn to breakfast.—

Our bills at Opps tavern Easton during our stay were—

8 th . 3 Suppers.....	31	.....	.93	
½ gill brandy .....			.25	
9 th . 3 breakfasts.....	31	.....	.93	
3 Dinners.....	33	.....	1.—	
1 bottle madeira.....			1.20	
brandy .....			.38	
cider .....			.12	
10. breakfast .....			.93	
beds .....			.80	
3 horses hay.....			2.—	
oats			2.20	10.74
			<hr/>	
3 Dinners			1.—	
1 qt. madeira.....			1.20	
1 Gl Brandy.....			.12	
3 Sopers.....			.93	
3 Uffen ... or beds.....			.40	
3 Lyst. or hay 3 night.....			1.—	
38 q obr. or oats.....			1.20	5.85-16.59
			<hr/>	

we had for dinner often fowls & pigeons nicely barba-
cued a veal cutlet & Roast beef with preserves desert &c.
all for 2/6—

On leaving Easton we came over the Lehigh hills on the north side of the river and had a fine view of Easton & the country we had passed the cultivation round the town was more seen than at any situation we had had before & with the addition of several fine sheets of the

Delaware— The Country the whole of the road from Easton to Hellers is excessively rocky poor & rough filled with Oak barrens & pines & gives nothing pleasant or interesting we reached Hellers about 10 oClock to breakfast—

Hellers has been residing here about 40 years & during 2 indian wars, has several handsome stone houses &c.—Bill for breakfast & oats D^s. 1—

After breakfast we pursued our road to the Wind Gap which we passed & reached G. Lever's 3 miles from heller's about 1 oClock—the road was excessively rough & rocky the ascent up the Gap not very steep and no great elevation not so much as over the Lehigh hills—but on both sides immense & successive rocks on which for great distances there is no herbage & the appearance of the continuance & height of them is very grand they are as clear of earth and the interstices are as open as tho' they had been inundated quite lately—the opinion that the Delaware river run once thro' this Gap has often been advanced & argued from the appearance of the rocks being worn the very great defile and break there is in the mountain &c. but I have never heard there has been any trace of the river among the lower lands on the South Side nor any bed found to the north of it. From every appearance of the rocks & shape of the breaks in the blue mountains at several places in which I have seen it in Pennsylvania Maryland & Virginia & from the petrified sea shells found on the north side of it there is every argument to reason there has at sometime been a lake water confined on the North side of the Mountain which has escaped at sundry places one the bed of the Potowmack river the Susquehannah & Delaware & perhaps partially at this Wind Gap— Down several hills on our way here we could see the break in the blue mountain at this gap & its high ridge to the passage of the Delaware river which is called the water Gap.

About half a mile on the N. W side of the Wind Gap there is a lake about half a mile in circumference which I note as a thing unusual in this country and may on that account be admitted to have a reference to the place and an effect produced by the causes which are conjectured to have produced so great a decline in the mountain—

At George Levers's we informed him of our business to see some of the lands in which his family were interested & connected with William Fisher of Leeds. and spent the remainder of the afternoon in arranging our business with him to accompany us the next day— We then set off about 5 o'clock in the afternoon for lodgings at Cimon Hellers about 4 miles from G. L.'s on the road leading northward to the State of Nyk.

I think the north side of the blue mountain is better than the East or South side as it appeared covered with earth or timber generally, which however impracticable to take much away or however rough to get among it, is different from the other, which is wholly rocks of a size & quantity scarcely creditable & which lay so loosely that neither man nor beast can ever go over them. the north side may possibly be visited by both— It may prove in this country similarly to our western lands that the north side of the hills are freest from rocks & contain the best soil. which was there the universal mark, if it should and the theory admitted of the water having passed over them we may draw the conclusion that in the fall the torrent has washed the earth from the south sides & the deposits were left on the north as certainly the passage of water in these parts has been to the S. E. according to the present direction of the waters of the country.—During the period of land speculations all the blue mountain lying between the wind & water Gaps about 12 miles in length & 2 broad was taken up by G. Levers, I cannot say surveyed as no man has or ever could do that and was sold

to James Wilson Esq^r. at 25 cents ₹ acre a tract of about 9000 acres. the attendant expenses of fees was about 15 cents ₹ acre how unhappy is such business as this a certain ruin to the projector and a certain one either to those deceived in a purchase or to those who have unwarily intrusted property to him—

George Levers is settled on 500 acres of Land purch.^d for £2.—and now values at £5— not so much owing to his improvements as to the estimation such lands are held in by the Germans who seek them & who are often buying, he has been settled about 2 years on the land has built a small log house & barn & cleared ab^t 120 acres partly meadow, the upland is very stony but the stones are loose & in most instances round pebbles so that the soil appears to be wholly made up of the decayed leaves & wood on clearing this yields perhaps the first year the finest crop of anything the mould & generally surface being the finest in the world, but that excessive richness is wholly expended in the first harvest and the field is reduced to a state of extreme poverty not fit again for grain for several years & then only so from great care— Many crops in this way I have been inform have brot 40 to 45 bushels of wheat to the acre and enabled the settler to pay for his lands & expenses of improvements yet the satisfaction of having exhausted its vitals is an alloy not to be assisted.—the meadow land about this country at least what are really flat bottoms are very good tho' very rare & tho' difficult to drain— The lands of the description of these provided they are handy to the road Settlers are very fond of as they are soon productive and the future state is not much regarded, they remedy the matter in their own views but clearing annually— I have thus given a clear account of the soil as it is so generally resorted to & because we think the lands are higher in price than in proportion to any others whatever. George Levers attended us on foot to our lodg-

ings. about 4 miles & gave us a description of the country as we passed thro' the road run all the way parallel to the blue mountain & about 2 miles from it, about half way we had a very fine view at Sunset over an amasing extent of valley into which projected the points of several large ridges of mountains which appeared to vanish into it some by abrupt & others by even declines, the Pokono mountain at about 30 or 40 miles closed the scene which was more interesting to us as it contained & G. L. pointed out to us the field of our intended labors

Some of the near meadows below the hill we were on are very rich but no great quantity is to be obtained—the cost of clearing land here is about 4 Dollars per acre.—

Our road continued over much such land as I have described till we came to Hellers which is a farm in better order & tho' it has been settled for near 30 years the land is better also his improvements are tolerable perhaps houses &c. all to gether worth £300—and including them he says he could have for 200 acres £2,000—which appears excessively dear and scarcely to be reconciled the advantages of this country consist in their nearness to Delaware navigation & to having partly a dutch settlement on them—the Soil is more inviting than a more difficult one even if ever so productive— On several places we have already seen stone walls built for the clearing of the land which is laborious indeed for a young settlement— On our way we concluded from information & our own judgment that until we came to the Oak barrens near the blue mountain all the country was cleared enough & those will never be attempted, by good settlers & of course this country must receive them & lands become valuable, yet one feels repugnant at buying such ordinary lands, & which will certainly convince a person absent that they are so is to let him reason a query what has been

the cause that these lands have never been generally settled—because they will not admit of it—and why not partially because the good prices have been too small & would have so dispersed a generally body of people they would have lost the benefit of each other—thus has lands within 80 miles of Phil^a. & N. Yk. remain unoccupied to this day, tho' circumstances appear as if they would now combine to forward them— I do not believe there is anything more difficult to judge rightly of than of lands as to future prospects and however it may be improper to lay down rules generally, I would venture to assert, that where the roughness of a country prevents its general settlement the picket lands even there are of little value,

1st. a general settlement only, renders preferable places desirable—

2. Settlers if they are of the same society are recompensed if capable of mutual assistance & disappointed if not permitted it by situation.—

3. No neighborhood is formed to invite others—

4. The roads instead of being short are multiplied, very difficult to make & support & each one has to support as much at his own labor as in any other case is done by the whole, and

5. No two interests are combined in any effective improvement which would otherwise be the pleasure of all—

The Streams of water on the north side, the blue mountains are extremely beautiful there were several equal to turn two mills each & run over gravel beds as clear as limestone.—

At Hellers Inn we found was to be held the following day the State Election we therefore endeavored to leave as little business over as possible. G. L. staid with us till 10 oClock and then returned home on foot & we retired.—

The People here generally are democratic.—

12th. George Levers agreeable to his appointment came to us this morning at 10 oClock but his wife being unwell we were under the necessity of excusing him to go for attendance for her & under his promise to meet us very early at Strouds tavern at Stroudsburg 6 miles further very early next morning paid the following bill at Cⁿ. Hellers—

Hay for horses 3.....	.75		
18 qts oats.....	.60		
Do	Do .....	.60	
1 bottle lisbon wine.....	.62		
4 Suppers D ^s . 1—3 breakf ^s .—	.75	brandy	
12½ Lodg ^s . 20.....	2.7	4.64	

we left Hellers about 10 oClock & reached Strouds about 1. our way was extremely rough over all manner of roads & hills washed into ruts some of the hills we ascended to very great heights & had very charming views of the valley below, the blue mountain particularly to a very great distance & which is very well cultivated our height was often so much above it we almost looked into it & could have plotted the size of every farm & know the produce of every clearing. the distances were much softened by a haziness of the day— In several of the hills our fr^d. P. N. saw decisive marks of coals, the earth on top was light, redish, next a soft purple or [illegible] Stone next Slate like those from England & various strata & declinations of it— In one plane we found a large mineral spring with a quantity of ochre—

Stroudsburg is situated on a tract of Land once bought by Robert Levins & is in a valley separated by a small ridge from the Blue mountain & is certainly the most like a handsome family settlement of any place I have seen yet the old man who is a venerable piece of antiquity has lived here 40 years & some time before the french war in which & on the American side of the

Revolution he was colonel & this spot at which I now write was fort Penn.

The Settlement here consists of an improvement of 800 or 900 acres cleared which is well managed as to produce & that again turned to the best advantage, by mills erected in M^cMichaels creek a fine stream which goes thro' it & which work to grind flour & saw & a tavern & store which have good custom & are decently kept.—

The family have here the mansion house which is resided in by Daniel Stroud who is very much of a gentleman, is a large three story stone house 4 rooms on a floor, & very handsomely rough cast.

As to the land of this Settlement I think the upland stoney tho' better than most, meadow very good—and every thing is in a great plenty as can be desired, hogs cattle &c. in abundance indeed for care I thought it had much the appearance of a maryland farm & those who know that well may form a very correct idea of it—except that instead of a dead level plain the land gently rises & of a sight bounded by the flat fields of the farm a view at distance of the highest mountains in America instead of the sallow complexions of marshes, the brightness of color to the whitest age & no ague ever heard of.

I have seen nothing among these lands hitherto at all to compare to the general aspect of our Westmoreland lands, their levelness and richness and being free from ridges, is of a quantity which this country has not yet shown indeed scarcely at all since we left the City—I used to think they were not inferior to the meadows below Phil^a.—

We dined at Strouds and finding the afternoon to spare concluded to make use of it to visit the passage of the Delaware thro' the Blue Mountain at the break called the Water Gap which we were informed was often visited as a great natural curiosity— We set of

about 3 o'clock understanding the distance to be about 3 miles, crossed a very high ridge of hills lying between this & the Mountain & along the top of the mountain side of this ridge had a very fine view of the valley between & the slope up & along the the mountain which appeared very steep and untill its distance led its color to be lost in a mist and clouds which collected at intervals on its sides—from our elevation on the ridge we saw many farms and green meadows & in the valley several handsome houses, into this run likewise the points of several other ridges which were all very much varied in the farms & clearing upon them— These run mostly from the north our elevation being considerable we rather looked at the blue mountain than as is common at so small a distance as about half a mile, & could form an idea of its grandeur & especially of the declivities of the Wind Gap, the shape or profile of that noble passage— We had here a fuller view of the varied color of the woods than ever before as on the mountain whose side was opposite to us for a road of a mile we could see every single tree from its root to its top & as they stood above each other to the summit of the mountain almost without one being hid.— the whole of trees over trees—and perhaps of more kinds than are found anywhere else about here the Pines, Hemlocks Cedars laurels & other evergreens are not numerous & save to support the variety, as the verdure of all the rest has become affected more or less & exhibits yellow red auburn purple orange and all the shades of each, I do not admire this change near so much as the shades of our fall verdure as I think its richness is always superior to this, which carries with it too much the idea of decay.—

It was my lot to commence my driving tandem over this road which I performed with more skill than I expected as I never drove on a more dangerous one, the edge of the road often meeting that of a precipice

into the valley— Just before we went down to the river we ascended a hill & perceived its decline very rugged tied our horses among the trees & went on foot, on our way to the edge of the water we passed several fine springs one of which turned a saw mill to which it was conducted by a trunk about 100 feet out of the hill & precipitated at a fall of about 40 feet—opposite to the saw mill the river is about 300 feet wide & scarcely deep enough to float a canoe but as we keep along the gap gradually deepened—near the Saw mill there is a small island in the middle of it— We now took the waggon road leading between the mountains edge & the river & which all the labor of the inhabitants have been ineffectual to make more than about 8 feet wide or to clear from excessive roughness as it leads over one rough hillock to another the whole distance.— the precipices of the mountain in places are almost perpendicular & composed of loose stones nearly as large as a house without one particle of earth for distances together at others they are the solid rocks of the mountains & are then covered with trees which project over them & moss & fern which overhang them & which are in clumps of a most rich green, the rocks almost all colors from white to black & the strata on the side of the road before we come to the actual defile generally horizontal— about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the Saw mill on the road there has been selected a little spot sufficient to contain a hut where there lives a family— we walked on about a mile and an half from the Saw mill till we came quite thro' the gap and till we came opposite to the narrowest pass of the water which is a place of singular curiosity & capable of much amusing research & observation—we had observed that till we came here whenever the rocks on one side had advanced to the waters edge which they did generally on the north side they had retired on that opposite but at this passage which was certainly the solid barrier & heart of

the mountain & which appears was once as firmly established as one may believe the unity of an entire rock to be, the torrent has prevailed to break thro.— here the sides of the opposite declivities are composed of Strata of a similar declination of layers of about 2 foot in breadth declining about 75 degrees from the horizon to the south and perfectly regular from the summit to the waters edge or to the base of the mountain— the precipices are in so small cavities covered thinly with trees but no where to cover the strata which are distinct in shape & color, white purple green brown black &c and which with the moss give them a tremendous appearance as it attracts the sight to every projection to an heighth the eye cannot at first reconcile—

The profile of this passage is well seen from hills all over the country & is extremely abrupt & particularly on the Jersey side, more so I think than harpers ferry. but what is different here is that the strata go down into the water and the interstices cause a roughness against which it sprays added to this at this singular *place the depth of the river is immense.* & the boldness of its shores greater than I had ever seen, & about half a mile below the defile the bottom of the river is composed of rocks of an immense size similar to those which I saw all along on the precipices, before I came to its actual break into the heart of the mountain— The situation of these stones, is such that no person who will attentively consider can do else than admit they have belonged to the ridge & they are carried into a place of ground at which the bed of the river flows over sand— Thus if one admits reasoning from analogy we can easily admit the river to have passed through this opening & formed it from its summit and an attentive view of the country on the north side which must have in this case have been a lake to an amazing extent is equally satisfactory to prove it so, both from the deposits of soil, at other places which must have been

in the current of the wash of it & also of the repeated petrifications of marine shells.— The height of the mountain at the precipice has not been ever taken but I think it is greater than at Harpers ferry which was measured by A. Elliott 596 feet and as the mountain top is much worn away I think the fair level of its summit may be as much higher as it slopes thus



To this may be added the depth if it can be conjectured of the water at the bases of the declivities & which we may suppose is as the bason which received the water fall.— over the whole of this country are found the worn pebble stones similar to those in the bed of Delaware River— Our observations & reflections on this great scene detained us almost till dark & our road on foot about 2 miles over a very rugged & hilly path so long that we did not get on very well till the moon rose by which we travelled nearly all our way home, it changed our scene & very pleasantly as it was bright enough to give us a prospect over the vallies, to a considerable extent, to enlighten very prettily the tops of the hills & to shade the cavities & projections as we passed thro the mountains & render the scenes more romantic, as we came down the mountains the evening dews & mists settling around them were enlightened by the moon & shone or reflected very agreeably— We returned to Strouds about 8 oClock where we rested a little time— I omitted to mention that about a mile from the Gap we passed by a little village collected round a store kept by a french man of the name of Dutot & half a mile further at a tavern an election ground at which were received about 120 votes mostly democratic—

(To be continued.)

A REMINISCENCE.

West Chester Sep 11th, 1840.

The present writer* was eight years and eight months old on the day of Brandywine battle. She with her little brother and sister, both younger than herself, were at school as usual, when firing was heard, both of musketry and field pieces. The teachers went out, & listened some time, and returned, saying there is a battle not far off, children you may go home. This was about nine or ten oclock in the morning.

As we returned we met our Mother on horseback, going over towards the place of action, knowing that her husband and our father must be in the midst of the affray.

Her mother was then the wife of John Pierce, & lived about half way from our house on Chester Creek & Chadford on the Brandywine. She went there and where else I know not, but she was riding all day—came home once, but was off again and did not get home till dark. We heard musketry, with an occasional discharge of heavy artillery through the day but particularly towards evening. There was a continual discharge of small arms heard at our house.

My father was in the engagement sure enough, and belonging to Wayne's brigade, was among those who sustained the attack in the early part of the day, but was not of that part which were ordered up to Birmingham afterwards. He (my father) with his charge remained on the ground till night, he then mounted a wounded Soldier on his horse, and walked by his side to the Seven-Stars tavern in Astown Township, when

* Sarah Frazier was a daughter of Col. Persifor Frazer and Mary Worrall Taylor Frazer. She was born January 11, 1769, and died March 3, 1841. She is referred to in this "Reminiscence" as "Aunt Sally."

he put him into a wagon going to Chester, he then rode home five or six miles and went to bed. At early morning I got up and seeing my father's Regimental coat all stained and daubed with blood, I set up the murder shout as I thought he must be dead, he awoke and as soon as his horse was prepared mounted and rode off to the army—he was taken prisoner with Major John Harper four days afterwards in Edgemont-Township while on a reconoiterring party. Thomas Cheny Esquire, a good staunch Whig, but with all a plain blunt county farmer, when he heard the firing that morning threst his saddle on his horse, & rode off towards Birmingham without dressing himself at all, had neither coat nor stockings on. He knew the country well and rode about the hills until he saw the main body of the enemy marching up on the west side of the river, when he rode full speed to where General Washington was stationed & told him, he also informed him that they could not cross until they had passed the forks in which time Washington could have a party up; two hundred he said would be sufficient to stop them in the narrow defile they must pass through in coming down on this side. The General did not seem to give credence to the information, as his aids had been out and brought in no such report, moreover W. could not tell whether C. was friend or foe—as his appearance was the same as the great body of Tory's in the country. The dear old Whig's feelings were wrought up to a great pitch so that he fairly trembled when he said “if Anthony Wayne or Perse. Frazer were here you would know whether to believe me or not,” and as the people about the General seemed to look rather sneeringly at him he thought—he clenched his hands and said “I have this day's work as much at heart as e'er a *Blood* of you.” The result of the battle showed how much was lost by not ascertaining that his information was correct.

When Mr. Sam Rush was preparing his lecture upon

Chester County Revolutionary officers, he went to see Aunt Sally and she gave him what I have copied.

In relating the circumstances to me she said upon going down in the morning, she went to the door and saw the coat and overcoat hanging on the pailing & her cry was Oh my Daddy's killed my poor Daddy's killed, and turning saw her father behind her brought from his room by his cries.

My mother tells me the soldier he assisted was one of the enemy. He ordered his man to lift him from the ground when he had partly raised him (obeying very unwillingly) he let go exclaiming—"God bless my soul is it possible—a British soldier wounded in the back!" (End of Aunt Sally's).

On a lovely Summer afternoon August 17, 1822, scarcely a leaf stirring, or a sound heard except at intervals the note of the Blue Jay from the woods, and the far off low of the cattle with no living thing in sight but the chickens on the bank, where the old Gum tree above the spring silently lengthening its shadow & dropping down now and then its bright red glossy leaves, from among the shining green, with the mingling smells of the damask monthly rose, the shrub the sweet herbs & the fox grapes coming from the old fashioned terraced garden, as I sat upon the kitchen door step of the dear solitary sequestered Thornbury home, with Grandma beside me just within the door seated in her accustomed arm-chair & we looked over the fields and woods & hills and meadows, now lying in such severe repose, but which had been the scene of events, so full of painful interest to her and her family, & which were also a part of the history of the country in its great revolutionary struggle; she related the following incidents which I will give as nearly as I can in her own words.

"On the day of the battle of Brandywine two very genteel men came here proposing to stay all night.

Your Grandfather stayed on the ground until evening & then joined the army at the Seven Stars, & after staying a short time came home.

It was late, and the strangers had gone to bed. Harvey and Irishman, your Grandfather's body servant, in carrying the saddle up stairs struck the stirrups and girths as he stepped & the noise waked the strangers, who called asking who had come? The servant said his master had come home they rose immediately, went out saddled their horses & before any one knew of it they were off. Your Grandfather thought they must have been some dreadful good-for-nothing Tories.

The next day Friday a party of Riflemen came and as there was the baggage of two Regiments in the house (there had been a good deal of ammunition & arms which had been removed long before this time) they advised Col. Frazer to go away, for if the British got wind of it, they would come to plunder & he would be taken. He however did not apprehend danger, the Riflemen got some refreshment and went away. On Saturday quite early your Grandfather rode over to the Blue Bell, on the Chester road, two or three miles from home, to join a reconnoitring party upon which he was ordered, and there met Major Harper & Uncle Iac. Vernon. Major Christy had been with us for some time nursing a sprained leg, which rendered him unfit for service; I had four children; Sally, Robert, Mary Ann, and Persifer, these with Aunt Nancy Frazer and Polly Follows, a woman who lived with me, many years from her childhood, black Rachel & two black men, who worked on the farm, made up my family. The three blacks belonged to us.

I had been afraid of the British coming to the house, & had sent many things of value to neighbors Hemp-hill's. Your Grandfather's papers, £200 in paper money and some silver and other things I had hid among some vines in the garden, and in some bushes in

the woods. In the morning after Col. Frazer had gone, as I sat carding and spinning wool, we heard wagons coming down the road over yonder hill, it was covered with woods, and we could not see on the top of it as we do now. I thought that they might be American wagons coming to take away the baggage, that was here belonging to the Regiments. Major Christy watched for them to come out of the woods, & seeing that the drivers wore rifle shirts still thought they were our people. At length as they approached nearer he discovered that they were British, just in time to give the alarm, send one of the colored boys to Uncle Iac Vernons, (Cheyneys now) and escape with the children, Aunt Nancy Frazer and Polly Follows into the woods, where they hid among the branches of a large tree, that had been felled. The boy was sent for a party of Riflemen, who had been at the place the night before, but unfortunately had left early in the morning. I was in the house alone except the black girl, who took up two large cheeses and threw them over the fence among some weeds, and briers.

I sat carding my rolls to pieces, when a British officer, though not the commander of the party, entered accosted me in broad Scotch with 'Where are the damned rebels?' In those days when I was frightened I always became angry. Since then I have often thought I did wrong to exasperate them. I did however always say everything against them that I could. So I said to him that I knew of no Rebels,—there was not a *Scotchman* about the place. At this the fellow flew into a great rage, and used very abusive language.

Many of the soldiers were now in the house ransacking all the lower part of it. One had gone into the cellar, and brought up a barrel of salt;—both armies were at this time much in need of it, and it was very scarce and valuable. He thought he had brought up all, but he missed a bushel that was in a barrel hidden

under some old beer bottles. What they got the soldiers tied up in bags and put in their pockets, and a great deal they gave to their horses.

The commander of the party (which consisted of 200 foot & 50 horse) now came up. He divided the horse into two companies standing at a considerable distance from the house, but so as to surround it completely. They were in great fear lest the American riflemen, who they heard were in the neighborhood, should surprise them. They had seen Major Christy, as they come up the hill, go into the woods, knew the American uniform and the thought that he might be one of a party not very far off, did not tend to lessen their fears. They had also a line of sentinels placed within their line of horse. The alarm that had been given by the black boy, had brought a number of my friends & neighbors to the spot. When I saw them with my servants, for my blacks had joined them, I thought it the hardest thing that not one of them in my great difficulty & distress came near to say a word to me for I did not know then what prevented them.

After these arrangements had been completed Capt. DeWest, the commander, (he was captain of the guards and ranked equal with a Col.) came into the house just as one of the men was going to strike me. They had got at the liquor and were drunk—the officers were obliged to drive them off with their swords.—However, as I said, the Cap. came in, and said he had heard the house was full of arms and ammunition, asking me to open the door leading up stairs. (He was afraid there was some one on the stairs that would shoot him). I told him that I knew of no ammunition in the house, & that if he wanted the door open he might do it himself. He then opened the case of the clock expecting to find money in it; he found an old musket with the lock broken off; this he jammed up into the works of the clock and broke them all to pieces. He then insisted

that I should open the stair-door for him and I persisting in refusing to do so he was obliged to open it himself.

He then told me to show him everything that belonged to me & that it should not be touched, which I did. Yet he went to your Grandfather's desk, took his flute and music books, and a silver handled whip of mine, (that belonged to my Grandmother Taylor,) and a large French Bible and several other French books, saying he had just been wanting a new riding whip. I took it out of his hand, told him that he could take it from me if he chose, but that it was an old family piece, and that I did not want to part with it, & screwing the handle off I put it in my pocket, and handed him the whip; he looked very queer, but did not take it.

When he saw the baggage that was packed in the chests and ammunition boxes, turning to me he said, you told me there was no ammunition in the house, and breaking them open found only soldiers' clothes. Now it became a scene of pillage, and confusion; they plundered the house, and what they could not carry away, they destroyed. Took the beautiful swords worn by the officers on parade, and carried off the clothes, one man put on five shirts.

While tearing about up stairs, they took a suit of worsted plaid curtains of mine that belonged to a field bedstead, this they threw at poor Rachel, saying, "Here nigger is a petticoat for you." She, poor creature being frightened nearly to death thinking she was obliged to put them on; in her efforts got her head through a slit and became completely entangled; to their great amusement.

They then went to the barn, & took fifty bushels of wheat, that was thrashed and in bags; this they took away with them, and fed their horses with a great deal that was in sheaf. The next Spring it came up thickly upon the bank in front of the house, where they had

strewed it for horse-feed. All our horses were taken away to catch a young mare that had never been broken. They turned her into the garden, and she ran in among the vines where I had placed my papers, and I was afraid they were gone, but the British did not find them, and when after their departure I went to bring them in I found strewed about many yards from where I had put them.

At length after doing all the mischief they dared, and taking all they could carry they went away, except a few who stayed, for I forget what.

The Captain, as he was going away, said, I had orders to take Mr. Frazer prisoner, and burn the house and barn, but these I give to you." I replied I cannot thank you for what is my own, and if those were your orders you would not dare disobey them.

After he had gone out a Soldier came down stairs, with a very handsome double reined bridle of mine, I told him to put it down for the Cap. had said nothing of mine should be touched; that it was made for a lady, and would be of no use to him if he took it, he very peacably laid it down, and going into the bed-room took from a dressing table, that stood near by, a dressing box, throwing pin cushions, combs, etc., on the floor was walking away with the box. I told him to put it down where he got it, and if he offered to take it, I would call the Cap. who was not yet out of sight or hearing. He walked straight back, replaced all he had turned out and walked away.

I was very sorry to lose two little glass cream buckets with ladles, one of the men took them away. They were the most beautiful little things, I never saw any like them; my Grandmother Taylor brought them from England.

They took a large quantity of liquor, some belonging to us, and some to Aunt Sally Thompson, who had put it there to get it out of way.

After they had all gone, the family returned from their hiding places in the woods very hungry, and there was nothing to give them. There was not an individual morsel in the house, except some meat, that had been put on to boil for dinner, and a few ears of corn the children had put in the pot for themselves, & the cheeses that had been thrown into the garden.

Aunt Patty told me that before Capt. DeWest left the house he told Grandma that these were persons employed by his government to offer very high terms to some of the American officers to induce them to join the British army; where they would receive a commission, the past be overlooked, & a reward given beside, That her husband was one of the officers designated, that her influence, doubtless, was great with Mr. Frazer and if it were exerted for this purpose, he would probably accept the offer. That such a change for herself would be greatly to her advantage & happiness. Her reply was: you do not know Col. Frazer or you would not undertake such a thing, nor would he listen to me if I should propose it, but if it were possible to persuade him, and he should consent to become a traitor to his Country I should never consent to have anything more to do with him.

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Four days after the battle of Brandywine my Grandfather & Major Harper being on the reconnoitering party a few miles from home went into the Blue Ball tavern on the Chester road where they were joined by Uncle Jake Vernon.

They had not been long in the House when Major Harper looking out of the window saw a number of horsemen coming up the road, their uniform led him to think they were a part of a company of Virginia riflemen. They proved to be the front of a considerable body of British, coming up from the Seven Stars, & commanded by General Grant, to join Cornwallis who

was encamped along the South Valley Hill, on some of the fields belonging to our Valley home; extending East nearly to the Three tuns tavern, (a family named Derboro had a little ink staned table, which they said had been used by Cornwallis to write on their house being his headquarters,) We will return to the Blue Ball; when the party there discovered their mistake, Uncle Jake Vernon jumped from the window & I think escaped after hiding in some brambles & bushes among which he came to the ground. The others in attempting to escape were fired upon, and the house surrounded and they were taken prisoners. Being deprived of their swords and horses they were obliged to procede with their Captors on foot.

Gen. Grant riding near my Grandfather entered into conversation with him and after a while asked his name.—Persifor Frazer—That is a Scotch name said the General (himself a Scotchman) and should not belong to a rebel—England has called other men rebels, who have resisted her government, beside those who resisted in America; was the reply. For that answer, said the General, you shall have your horse, &, when that was brought, he gave him his sword, also.

In the course of the conversation they made themselves out to be cousins. Gen. Grant said his Mother's name was Frazer, and she was cousin to our Great Grandfather.

This conversation took place as they were passing the Goshen Quaker meeting house on the Chester road and they had not far to go before reaching the main body of the British on the South Valley Hill. Our army lay along the valley. General Washington's headquarters being at Maylins about two miles East of Cornwallis. Where they were preparing to encounter the British in the morning. That night a heavy rain fell. Gen. Washington, finding his ammunition completely wet, early in the morning moved with his army rapidly

down the Sweed's Ford road, hoping to put the river between him and Cornwallis, who was in hot pursuit. The Schuylkill was much swollen by the recent rains and was rising fast as our people crossed. They were all over safely just as the advance of the enemy came in sight. When they reached the Ford the river was impassable. My own family always spoke of this as a special interposition of Providence for the rescue of our poor drenched pursued people. A Battle in their condition would have been certain destruction. I have been told that Gen. Washington looked upon his escape in the same light.

When Philadelphia was occupied by Gen. Howe, the American prisoners of war were confined in the new Jail, at the corner of 6th & Walnut Streets. During the Winter the Jail fever broke out and they were lodged in different parts of the city. My Grandfather, with Major Harper and Col. Harrison (?), were taken to the White Swan Tavern on 3rd St. above Market St. & put on Parole. Notwithstanding this, the doors of their sitting room were kept locked, & a guard placed over them. Their windows too were barred. I think by this violation of Military law, they felt themselves released from the obligation of Parole.

On St. Patrick's Day the Irish sentinels got drunk & the prisoners escaped from their rooms, and clambering over a stone wall at the back of the house, went to the house of Mr. Frazer a distant relation of my Grandfather, who lived in Front Street below Pine St. here and at Mr. Blackstone's, a friend of Grandpa's, who lived in the same neighborhood, they were concealed, tho' in great danger of being discovered for some time. On one occasion they were hid in a deep closet behind shelves upon which china was so arranged as to conceal them from persons who were searching the house for them, & who opened and looked into the china closet.

After three days of concealment, Mr. Blackstone pro-

cured a boat & in it at night they crossed the Delaware, with great difficulty & at great risk, & some how managed to join our Army. It was reported by the British that they had broken their parole and escaped, & Howe demanded of Gen. Washington that they should be returned, but when upon investigation the circumstances were known the demand was withdrawn.

During the time of her husband's imprisonment my Grandmother having a pass from Gen. Washington, went several times to the city to see him. Mr. Jenkins, a good whig an intimate friend of my grandfather kept tavern at the sign of the Conestoga wagon in Market Street above 4th St. on the South side. Whatever provision could be spared was brought from the farm in Thornbury to her. She as far as possible, supplied my Grandfather and his friends in prison, with what would promote their comfort. Mrs. Gibbons sister of Col. Harrison (?), & neighbor to my Grandfather sometimes went to the city with her; making the same arrangement for the comfort of her brother. On one of these visits to the city, Aunt Sally went with her mother. The account she gave of her visit I will relate as nearly as possible in her own words.

“My mother was going to the city & the provisions was packed on 2 horses, one of which I was to ride. I was not quite nine years old, but a good horse-woman. Every thing flour, eggs, chickens, meat, butter, cheese, fruit, was packed in saddle bags, and in large strong homemade tow linen wallets & these thrown across the saddle, the ends projecting far on each side. I rode a large black, & you may think I looked pretty queer mounted thus above all this luggage. It was a warm day, and though we left home before noon and our horses were strong and good travelers it was nearly dark before we began to descend the hill to Darby. Here we met an American Officer, on horse-back, who

said he would not suffer us to pass, accusing your Grandmother of carrying supplies into the city to the British at the same time making complimentary speeches about her beauty, (she was then the handsomest woman I ever saw). She rebuked him for his impertinence which she said was unworthy the uniform he wore, & insisted upon being allowed to pass, and attempted to do so, as he caught her bridle rein to prevent it, she cut her horse with the whip, causing him to jump, when she freed her rein & again tried to pass on, but finding him determined to detain her, produced her pass. After reading it he asked her pardon, seemed much mortified, & rode off very fast. We never knew who he was.

After leaving Darby we soon entered the thick woods, which extended from the river for several miles, & on the east side, nearly to the corner of Sixth Street & Walnut, where the New Jail stood.

We now began to meet companies of Hessian Soldiery commanded by their officers, employed in cutting wood to supply the city with fuel. We had not gone far before daylight quite left us. The light from the torches which some of The Hessians carried, (they were frightful looking creatures,) & that gleaming from their huts away off through the trees, made the surrounding darkness seem deeper.

I never shall forget the impression the scene made upon me, the longest day I have to live. My mother did not seem afraid, she said the British were always glad to see provisions going into the city. That if any one troubled us we should be protected by the sentinels stationed along the road. I thought some of the men looked fiercely and wickedly at us.

We crossed the river at Grey's Ferry on a floating bridge, we had not spoken to any one, nor been spoken to till we came here. The sentinels here questioned my mother, & then we passed on to our resting place at Mrs. Jenkins; who at once set herself about procuring a per-

mit from Gen. Howe for your Grandmother to see her husband in the prison. This was no easy matter, & the delay caused by this difficulty kept us in Philadelphia, till late on the second day after our arrival. It was obtained through an acquaintance of Mrs. Jenkins, an American lady, who was intimate with Gen. Howe, under a promise that her name should not appear. Your Grandmother never knew who did her this great kindness. The morning after we came she was too much worn out to rise early (it was sometime before the birth of the Patty that died) anxiety on my Father's account, the uncertainty of her being permitted to see him, the fatigue in preparing to leave home, & the ride in heat & in the night, had been too much for her. I was up pretty soon, looking down the street I saw a large body of British soldiers on parade. The sun just rising shone on their arms and bright uniform, & the sight was a very brilliant one. I hated them so, I was so indignant that they should possess Philadelphia, & have my Father in Prison, that I cried, and screamed, & stamped with all my might, just with rage.

After breakfast I went with Mrs. Jenkins to the Prison to see my Father. Across the wide Hall that ran through the house from front to back, about midway was a heavy wire grating reaching from floor to ceiling, back of the grating was a close screen, which did not reach the floor by several feet, in the back part of the Hall, the prisoners were allowed to walk for air and exercise, both doors, front and back, being open. Guards were placed at each door; several gentlemen were walking backward & forward behind the screen, as we entered I instantly distinguished my Father's feet and legs, & cried out Oh! I see my Daddy's legs jumping up and down.

Mrs. Jenkins and the people about thought I had gone crazy. The screen was removed, and I saw and talked with my father through the grating.

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What follows was told me by Grandmama.

From neglect, bad food, & cold, the suffering of the American prisoners during the winter the British held the city, were very severe. On one occasion Mrs. Gibbon and I went to Philadelphia, she to visit her brother and I to see my husband. When I saw him he asked me if I could take a paper to Gen. Washington (addressed to him and signed by the prisoners' officers and men too I believe,) describing their condition and some of the worm eaten bread upon which they were fed, to be shown to Gen. Washington, who was then with the army at White Marsh. This I undertook to do.

In the morning after I had seen Col. Frazer, Mrs. Gibbons and myself mounted our horses and turned their heads homeward. At the Ferry there were persons whose business it was to search all who came from the City. Mrs. Gibbons and myself were taken into a room and two women came forward to undress us. Mrs. Gibbons declared they should not touch her, and made so much fuss, kicking, slapping and scolding, that they were sure she had something to struggle for, & they undressed her even taking off her shoes and stockings. I had slipped the quilting of my petticoat and put the paper in and sewed it up again. Opening the hem I had put the piece of bread all around and sewed up the hem. I did not feel at all comfortable at the prospect of being searched. Tired out with the trouble they had had for nothing, the women came to me—I had kept very still, and saying this one has nothing worth looking at, or she would not be so quiet, scarcely examined anything about me. After searching our saddles we were allowed to be on our way. Tho I had preserved my composure, I was far from feeling unconcerned. I thought of my little children at home, without any Father or Mother, if I should be detained, I thought of the business at home, with no one to attend to it; what would become of our living? But

most of all I thought of the poor prisoners, if their efforts should be discovered, and frustrated, not only would there be nothing done to lessen their suffering, but the vigor of their confinement would be no doubt greatly increased. I took a very long breath after we were safely over the River. It was afternoon when I got home. I took something to eat, changed my dress, had my saddle put on a fresh horse. It rained hard during the afternoon, and when I came to the Swedes Ford where I crossed the Schuylkill it was quite dark. There was a large house not far from the Ford, a tavern or Ferry house, I rode up to it intending to ask for help to guide me over the ford. Light came from all the windows. The place seemed full of soldiers, drinking and carousing, and swearing. I hesitated, was afraid to call, & rode down to the Ford; but I was afraid to attempt to cross in the dark a ford I was not used to, so after sitting on my horse on the bank for a while I determined to return to the house I found the soldiers were some of our own, & seeing a man at the door, I asked him to request the Commanding Officer of the post to come to me. He did so, & when he came he proved to be a gentleman that I knew. He ordered his horse saddled, & crossed the river with me, keeping hold of my rein. The river was rising & the current very strong, the water was above my saddle girths. I saw Gen. Washington next morning at head quarters; Gen. LaFayette and some other officers were with him when I was introduced. I gave him the paper & the bread. The statement of the suffering condition of the Prisoners moved him very much. He asked me some questions relating to the business & I came away. He sent a gentleman with me to see me across the river. Gen. Washington immediately communicated with Howe, respecting the treatment of American prisoners in Philadelphia & their condition was somewhat improved. They never were treated as they ought to have been.

When Gen. LaFayette visited this country & was in Phila. Grandma was at Uncle Jonathan Smith's, who lived opposite Independence Square in Walnut Street, Uncle told Mr. Biddle, who was one of the committee in attendance that it would gratify Grandma very much if she could see Gen. Lafayette; Mr. Biddle mentioned it to the General & he at once consented to call. She told him she had seen him once before, under very different circumstances, & mentioned those I have just written. He recollected the scene perfectly, & seemed very much gratified to have it recalled and to see her who had taken such a part in it. The gratification & great pleasure (a pleasure not without tears) the interview afforded her ended but when her life ended.

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During that severe and terrible winter when our Army lay at Valley Forge, enduring almost incredible privations, and suffering, My Grandma told me, she had ridden day after day collecting from neighbors and friends far and near, whatever they could spare for the comfort of the destitute soldiers, the blankets, and yarn, and half worn clothing thus obtained she brought to her own house, where they would be patched, and darned, and made wearable and comfortable, the stockings newly footed, or new ones knit, adding what clothing she could give of her own. She often sat up half the night, sometimes all, to get clothing ready. Then with it, and whatever could be obtained for food, she would have packed on her horse & set out on her cold lonely journey to the camp—which she went to repeatedly during the winter, on the same errand. More than 300 prs. of stockings were in this way prepared and taken to the camp besides a great deal of clothing and food. While riding she could trace the way the foraging parties from the camp had taken by the marks of bleeding feet on the snow.

All the cloth and linen that my Grandfather wore during the war were spun at home, most of it by her own hands. All the clothing of the family, (and it was not a small one) during this time was made at home except the weaving. All the business of every kind, she attended to Farm, Iron Works, and domestic matters. In Summer as soon as it was light she had her horse saddled, rode over the farm and directed the men about their work, often rode down to the creek, where Sharpless' Iron Works are now, and was back at breakfast time to give her attention and toil to the children, servants, & household affairs. I saw her ride on horseback after she was 80 years old and rode well, too.

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My Grandfather Smith said on one occasion, when he went to Valley Forge with a load of unthrashed wheat, the soldiers snatched it from the wagon & rubbing it from the chaff in their hands devoured the grain. They were nearly famished.

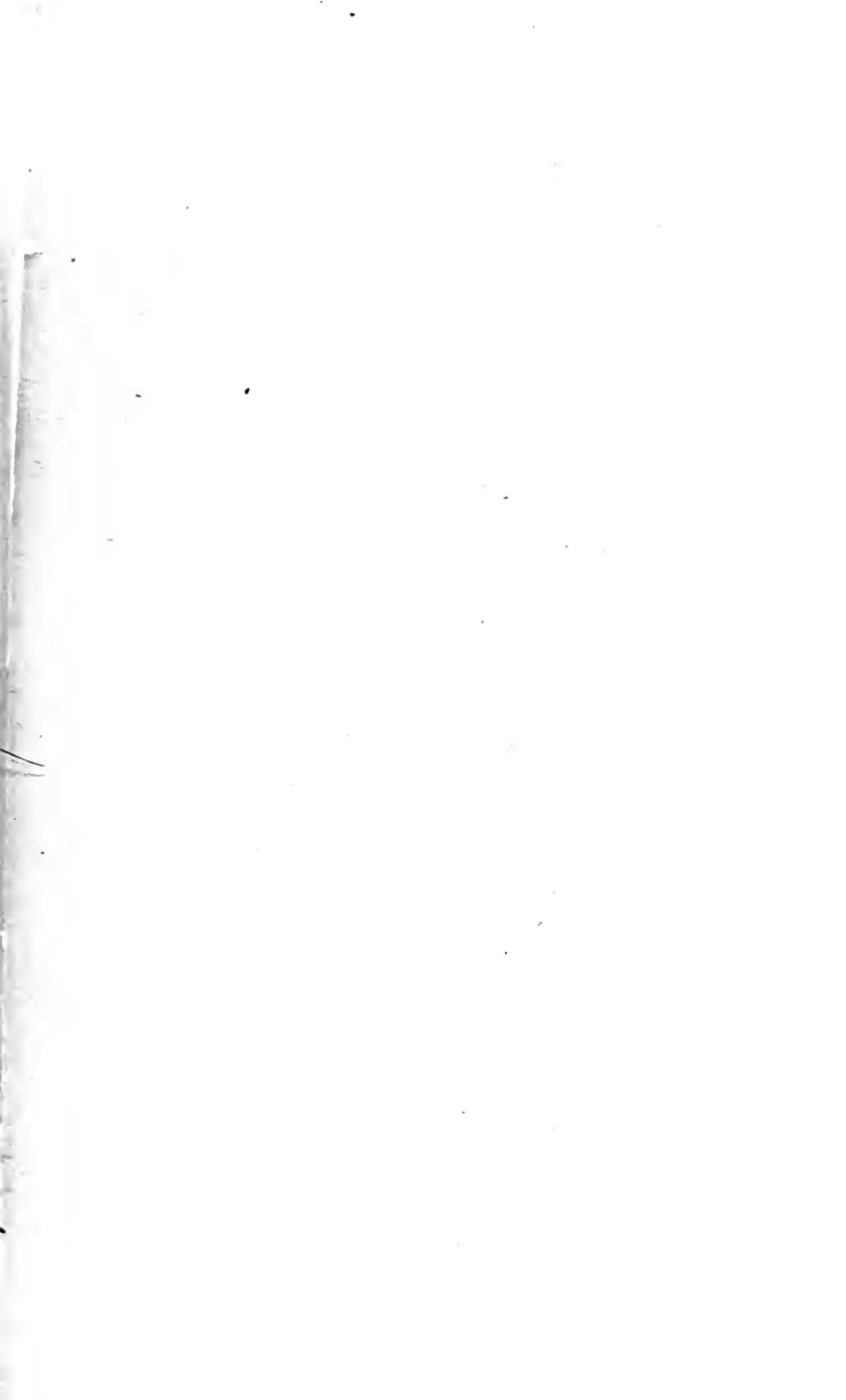
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40 years I suppose after the British plundered the house in Thornbury a gold sleeve button was scratched up by a pet crow belonging to my Grandma's tenant. A girl coming from the spring house in the meadow saw the crow with something bright, which was the sleeve button; she took it to Grandma who knew it to be one of a pair she had hidden among other things in the garden. The place where it was found in the meadow was one quarter mile from the garden.

"ELIZABETH W. SMITH."*

This "Reminiscence" was printed in "General Persifor Frazer, A Memoir, Compiled Principally From his Own Papers by his Great-Grandson, Persifor Frazer, Dr. es Sc. Univ. de France."

* Elizabeth W. Smith was a daughter of Joseph Smith and Mary Frazer. The latter was a daughter of Col. Persifor Frazer and was born January 7, 1801, and died Decemeber 27, 1888, unmarried.





COL. ABRAHAM DUFFIELD

From a pastel in the possession of Charles H. Duffield of Frankford, Phila.

THE SECOND TROOP PHILADELPHIA CITY
CAVALRY.

BY W. A. NEWMAN DORLAND, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S.

Major, Medical Corps, U. S. Army; formerly First Lieutenant and
Surgeon of the Troop (April 1, 1898–November 10, 1903.)

[For references see pp. 69–77.]

(Continued from Vol. XLV, page 387.)

CHAPTER V.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BINGHAM.¹³¹

William Bingham, of Lansdowne, was the great-grandson of the *James Bingham* who was buried in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on December 22, 1714, and his wife, *Anne*, who was buried Oct. 11, 1750. He was the son of *William* (married in Christ Church Sept. 19, 1745; on Dec. 29, 1747, commissioned Ensign in the 3d Company of the Associated Regiment of Foot of Philadelphia); and the grandson of *James* the second. His mother was *Mary*, daughter of Alderman and Mayor *John Stamper*. He was born in Philadelphia on March 8, 1752.

In 1765 he entered the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) and in 1768, when but 16 years of age, he graduated from that Institution with a Master's degree, and shortly afterward received a diplomatic appointment under the British government at St. Pierre Myzene (Martinique), in the West Indies, where he was named as Consul in 1771, when he was but 19 years old. Here he remained during the Revolution, until 1780. In August, 1780, he is recorded as a private in the Second Company of the Fourth Battalion of Philadelphia Association, Col. Paul Cox.

For some years (1776–1780) he officiated as the agent of the Continental Congress in the West Indies. This connection opened to him unusual opportunities for lucrative business investments, and when he finally returned to Philadelphia he was possessed of great wealth, the bulk of which seems to have been acquired in the Indies. On October 9, 1781, he took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania.

On October 26, 1780, when 28 years of age he was married in Christ Church¹³² to the beautiful *Ann Willing* (born in 1764), who was then but 16 years of age, but still one of the most accomplished women of her time and a born social leader. She was the daughter of *Thomas Willing*, a prosperous merchant of Philadelphia, and former Justice of the Supreme Court of the Province of Pennsylvania (in 1767, 1769, and 1774), and in 1775 a member of the Second Continental Congress. "Her style, her beauty, her influence, the elegance of her house, the taste and aristocratic distinction of the assemblages which frequently adorned it, have become as household words in the city which was the scene of them, and, indeed, are historical in the annals of the higher social life of America. . . . Receiving neither service nor the promise of it, every one who left her felt personally flattered and obliged; really exclusive in her associates, she gave to none the slightest offense; with great social ambition at the basis of her character, no aspirant for the eminence of fashion felt that she was thwarting her aims, and with advantages, personal, social and external, such as hardly ever fail to excite envy from her sex, such was her easy and happy turn of feeling, and such the fortunate cast of her natural manners, that she seemed never to excite the sting of unkindness nor so much as awaken its slumber or repose. Her entertainments were distinguished not more for their superior style and frequency than for the happy and discreet selec-

tion of her guests, and her own costume abroad was always marked by that propriety and grace which, while uniting costliness, rarity and an exquisite refinement, subordinates the effect of them in a way which never invites comparison." (*Griswold.*)

On December 30, 1782, Mr. Bingham served as a member of the jury which tried the celebrated libel case against Eleazer Oswald (born in England 1755; died in New York, September 30, 1795). In 1784, together with his wife he visited Europe and remained there some months, during which time they were largely entertained by the more exclusive circles of European society. On their return to their country Mr. Bingham was elected, in 1786, a member of the Congress of the Confederation, and served with this body until 1789. The preceding year, on May 24, 1788, he was elected, when 36 years of age, to the captaincy of a troop of dragoons—the Second Troop, Philadelphia Light Horse—and served in this capacity until May 11, 1792, when he was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Major William Jackson.

Mr. Bingham was, for a time, a member of the Hand-in-Hand Fire Company, which was organized on March 1, 1741. In 1780, he was one of the founders and a Director of the *Pennsylvania Bank*, afterwards known as the *Bank of North America*,¹³³ the first bank to be established in the United States. He was a director of this institution from Nov. 1, 1781 to January 12, 1784. On April 21, 1790, he officiated as one of the pallbearers at the funeral of Benjamin Franklin.¹³⁴ The same year he was elected a member of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and, notwithstanding that it was his first year in that body, he was on Wednesday, December 8th, unanimously chosen Speaker of the House¹³⁵—a fact which testifies strongly to his ability and character. He continued to

fill this office until 1792, although he remained a member of the Assembly until 1795. This year, March 4, 1795, he was elected United States Senator from Pennsylvania, which office he filled until March 3, 1801, officiating as President *pro tempore* of that body from Feb. 16 to July 5, 1797. He is also named as the President of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike Company in 1791.¹³⁶ On January 5, 1794, he was elected a Director of the Bank of the United States in Philadelphia, and held this office for a number of years.¹³⁷ In 1794, he is recorded as a private in the 7th Company, 1st Phila. Regiment, Col. Gurney. In 1796, he was one of the Managers of Canal Lottery No. 2.

It was toward the close of his term of service as Speaker in the Pennsylvania Assembly that the Whisky Insurrection broke out in the western portion of the State, and it, doubtless, was because of his interest in military affairs dating from his captaincy of the Second Troop that he became sponsor for the following "resolve" which is preserved in the records of the Senate of Pennsylvania:¹³⁸

"In Senate,

"Saturday, December 13th, 1794.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Senate be given to the officers and Privates of the Militia of this Commonwealth, who lately marched to vindicate the laws of their Country, for the zeal, firmness, ardor and obedience to law, which distinguished their conduct in the course of that service; and that they be informed that the Senate considers the patriotic ardor, combined with moderation, which they have displayed on this important occasion, as an evidence of the strongest nature of the security of the rights and stability of the laws and Government of the people of this State.

"*Resolved*, That the foregoing resolution be transmitted to the Governor and that he be requested to

communicate the contents thereof to the Militia who have served in the late expedition.

William Bingham,
"Speaker of the Senate."

Mr. Bingham's great wealth, combined with his erudition and culture, assured for him and his family the highest social position in the community in which he lived. Samuel Breck, in his "Recollections," writes that "Bingham lived in the most showy style of any American." His house on Third Street between Walnut and Spruce was modeled after that of the Duke of Manchester's London house, only on a larger scale. It was very wide, three stories high, and stood back about forty feet from the street. It is well known that at his country residence at Lansdowne,¹³⁹ which he bought on April 11, 1797—a place of great magnificence and beauty—he repeatedly entertained Presidents Washington, Adams and Jefferson, as well as many other distinguished American statesmen and foreign diplomats and visitors. Mr. Bingham served, in 1786 and subsequently, as a Trustee of the German College and Charity School in Lancaster, Pennsylvania; and as a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania¹⁴⁰ from 1791 to 1804. He was an Honorary member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati; a member of the famous Colony in Schuylkill;¹⁴¹ in 1787, a Vice President of The Society for Political Inquiries of which Benjamin Franklin was President; and a member of The American Philosophical Society.

Mrs. Bingham died of pulmonary tuberculosis in Bermuda on May 11, 1801, at the early age of 37 years. Her husband did not long survive her, dying at Bath, England, on February 6, 1804, when 52 years of age. He is buried at that place. They had three children:—*Ann Louise*, the eldest, who married the Honorable *Alexander Baring*, second son of Sir Thomas Baring,

and who thus became the progenitor of a distinguished line of the English nobility; *Maria Matilda*, the second daughter, who married *Henry Baring*, brother of Alexander; and *William*, the youngest, who carried on the family name.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREAT FEDERAL PROCESSION OF 1788.

The incumbency of the distinguished officer, William Bingham, as Captain of the Second City Troop, though short—covering about four years—was by no means uneventful. Judging by the recognized ability of the man, the boundless enthusiasm he displayed, and the notable success he achieved in his other undertakings, it is but reasonable to expect him to administer the Troop affairs in the same judicious, efficient and successful manner. The first duty of his administration was attendance upon the monthly parade pursuant to the following notice:—¹⁴²

“The several *Light Companies* attached to the regiments of the city and liberties, will attend the *Monthly Parades*, on Monday next, the second of June. The line will be formed at four o’clock:”

The most notable event of Captain Bingham’s military career was the participation of the Troop in the great Federal procession of Friday, July 4, 1788, which was designed for the double purpose of celebrating the adoption of the National Constitution by a number of the States, and commemorating the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. The Second Troop orders for this occasion were as follows:¹⁴³

“☞ The Gentlemen of the City Troop of Light Dragoons are requested to meet *This evening*, at Mr. *Epple’s Tavern*, precisely at 7 o’clock.
“July 1, [1788].”

“☞ The Gentlemen of the City Troop of Light Dragoons are requested to meet *To-Morrow* Morning, at Mr. Epple’s Tavern, precisely at 7 o’clock, compleatly Accoutred.¹⁴⁴

“July 3, [1788].”

The usual monthly parades of the Troops and independent companies preceded the great Federal procession, at 7 o’clock in the morning.¹⁴⁵ This event was an occasion of great civic rejoicing.¹⁴⁶ The rising sun was saluted with a full peal from Christ Church steeple, and a discharge of cannon from the ship *Rising Sun*, commanded by Captain Philip Brown, anchored off Market Street, and superbly decorated with the flags of various nations. Ten vessels, in honor of the Ten States of the Union [those which had by this time solemnly adopted and ratified the new Constitution], were dressed, and arranged through the whole length of the harbour, each bearing a broad white flag at the mast-head, inscribed with the names of the states respectively, in broad gold letters, in the following order—*New Hampshire*, opposite to the Northern Liberties,—*Massachusetts* to Vine Street,—*Connecticut* to Race Street—*New Jersey* to Arch Street,—*Pennsylvania* to Market Street,—*Delaware* to Chestnut Street,—*Maryland* to Walnut Street,—*Virginia* to Spruce Street,—*South Carolina* to Pine Street,—and *Georgia* to Cedar [South] Street. The Street Commissioners had the evening before gone through the line of march, directed the pavements to be swept, the trees to be lop’d, and all obstacles to be removed. About Half after Nine o’Clock The Grand Procession began to move over the following route:—Starting at the intersection of Third and Cedar [South] Streets, the line moved up Third to Callowhill, to Fourth, down Fourth to High [Market], and out that street across the commons to the lawn, known as Union Green, in front of Bush-hill,¹⁴⁷ which place was reached in three

hours. The length of the line was about one mile and a half. It is computed that 5000 men were in the procession. A notable oration was delivered at Bush-hill by James Wilson, Esq., to upwards of 20,000 people, following which the members of the procession sat down to dinner. In this parade, the First Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse headed the line, while the Second Troop, or Light Dragoons, acted as the escort for the distinguished Richard Bache. It is interesting to note the details of the first portion of this, the greatest, procession Philadelphia had seen up to that time, of which the following is a transcript:—¹⁴⁸

“I. Twelve axemen [representing pioneers], dressed in white frocks with black girdles round their waists, and ornamented caps, headed by Maj. Philip Pancake.¹⁴⁹

“II The First City Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Capt. Miles.¹⁵⁰

“III. *Independence*.—John Nixon, Esq., on horseback, bearing the staff and cap of Liberty. Under the cap a silk flag with the words, “Fourth of July, 1776,” in large gold letters.

“IV. Four pieces of artillery with a detachment from the train, commanded by Capts. [John] Morrell and [Jeremiah] Fisher.¹⁵¹

“V. *French Alliance*.—Thomas Fitzsimons, Esq., on horseback, carrying a flag of white silk, having three *fleur-de-lis* and thirteen stars in union over the words, “Sixth of February, 1778,” in gold letters. The horse he rode belonged formerly to Count Rochambeau.

“VI. Corps of light infantry, commanded by Capt. A. E. Claypoole, with the standard of the First Regiment.

“VII. *Definitive Treaty of Peace*.—George Clymer, Esq., on horseback, carrying a staff adorned with olive and laurel. The words, “Third of September, 1783,” in gold letters, pendant from the staff.

“VIII. Col. John Shee, on horseback, carrying a flag,

blue field, with a laurel and an olive wreath over the words, 'Washington, the friend of his country,' in silver letters, the staff adorned with olive and laurel.

"IX. The City Troop of Light Dragoons, Capt. William Bingham, commanded by Maj. W. Jackson.

"X. Richard Bache, Esq., on horseback, as a herald, attended by a trumpet,¹⁵² proclaiming a new era. The words, "New Era," in gold letters, pendant from the herald's staff."

All told, there were eighty-eight numbers in the procession.

Gray's Ferry¹⁵³ with its Inn was a popular resort of the Troop during Captain Bingham's administration. It was here that it held many of its dinners, and in the vicinity of the Inn and ferry some of its parades and drills occurred. Thus, on September 19, 1788, a parade of the troop took place there in response to the following notice:—¹⁵⁴

"The City Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by W. Bingham, Esquire, will parade Tomorrow-Afternoon [Sept. 19], at 3 o'clock, at Gray's Ferry.

"Sept. 18, [1788]."

In November, 1788, the following notice appeared:¹⁵⁵

"* * * The Troop of City Light Horse, commanded by Mr. Bingham are desired to meet at their usual hour, this Afternoon, at the Middle Ferry.¹⁵⁶

"Nov. 14, [1788]."

Early in 1789, other Troop orders were issued as follows:—¹⁵⁷

" The Gentlemen of the City Troop of Light Horse, commanded by Captain *Bingham*, are requested to meet at *Epple's Tavern*,¹⁵⁸ on *Friday Evening* [March 6], at 6 o'clock.

"*March 4*, [1789]."

This meeting was postponed for some reason:—¹⁵⁹

“☞ The Gentlemen of the City Troop of Light Horse, commanded by Captain *Bingham*, are requested to meet at *Epple's Tavern*, *To-Morrow Evening* at 6 o'clock.

“March 5, [1789].”

“☞ The Gentlemen of the City Troop of Light Horse, commanded by Captain *Bingham*, are requested to meet at *Epple's Tavern*, *This [Saturday] Evening* at 6 o'clock.¹⁶⁰

“March 7, [1789].”

During Captain Bingham's term of office the Troop officially changed its name from the “Light Dragoons” to “The Second Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse,” and as such, on April 20, 1789, headed by its Captain and in company with the First Troop of Light Horse, acted as an escort to General Washington, the President of the United States.¹⁶¹ The two troops under Captains Miles and Bingham, accompanied by Governor Mifflin and Richard Peters, Speaker of the Assembly, received the President at the boundary line of the State of Delaware, and escorted him to Chester, where breakfast was prepared. Washington mounted a charger after the repast, and headed the cavalcade to Gray's Ferry and on to the city, where he was received on the commons by the infantry and artillery, who conducted him to the City Tavern,¹⁶² on Second Street above Walnut, where a banquet had been prepared. This was participated in by the prominent citizens and members of the Troops of Light Horse. About ten o'clock on the following day [April 21] the President departed for New York accompanied by Colonel Humphrey and Charles Thomson. “Captain Bingham, with part of his Troops, followed, and at Frankford his Excellency thanked them and begged that they would turn back, as it was raining. Captain James Thompson with the County Troop went on further.”¹⁶³

Early in May a proposed parade of the Troop was postponed for some unknown reason, according to the following notices:—¹⁶⁴

“ The City Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by William Bingham, Esq., will parade at the Middle Ferry, on Friday next [May 8], at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.”

“ The Parade of the City Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by *William Bingham*, Esquire, appointed, is postponed.¹⁶⁵

“Friday, May 8.”

On Friday, May 22, [1789], the two Troops escorted Mrs. Washington into the city to the residence of Robert Morris,¹⁶⁶ while on her way from Mount Vernon to meet the President in New York.¹⁶⁷ Mrs. Washington was met a little beyond Darby by a number of the leading ladies and gentlemen of the city, including the President of the State and the Speaker of the General Assembly, and the Troops of Light Horse commanded by Captains Miles and Bingham. At Gray's Ferry a collation was served, after which the procession moved on to the house of Mr. Morris in Market Street, which was reached about two o'clock in the afternoon. Her arrival was announced by the ringing of bells and a discharge of thirteen guns from the park of artillery under the command of Captain [Jeremiah] Fisher. On Monday, the 25th instant, at ten o'clock the two Troops accompanied Mrs. Washington a considerable distance on the way to Trenton notwithstanding the rainy weather.

The Troop participated in the Fourth of July celebration of 1789, which was conducted under the auspices of the Society of the Cincinnati.¹⁶⁸ On the morning of Saturday, July 4, there occurred a military parade of the uniformed companies of cavalry, artillery and light infantry, which was followed by an ora-

tion delivered in the Arch Street Meeting House¹⁶⁹ by the Rev. William Rogers, D.D.,¹⁷⁰ before the Pennsylvania State Society of the Cincinnati,¹⁷¹ the President and Supreme Executive Council of the State, the officers of the militia of the city and liberties, and the members of the two troops of Light Horse. This same year, 1789, was notable in that during it Philadelphia was incorporated under the title of "The Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia."

A meeting of the Troop was held on July 16th, 1789, as follows:—¹⁷²

“ The Gentlemen of the City Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by *William Bingham* Esquire, are requested to meet at Mr. Epple's Tavern on Thursday Evening next [July 16] at 7 o'clock.”

On the Fourth of July, 1790, the two "Troops of Light Dragoons and the Uniform Companies of Artillery and Light Infantry, with their Side-arms," joined the Society of the Cincinnati at the State House and marched thence to Christ Church where a sermon was delivered by the Rev. Doctor Smith¹⁷³ in honor of the day.¹⁷⁴

Apart from the customary parades, exercises and inspections, nothing more of interest occurred in Troop affairs until September, 1790. On the 2^d of this month a reception was tendered the President and his family, on their passage through the city while journeying from New York to Mount Vernon. The visitors were received at some distance from the city by an escort of troops, including the two City Troops, which accompanied them to the City Tavern. On the following morning they resumed their journey south.¹⁷⁵

REFERENCES.

¹²¹ See *Thompson Westcott's* "Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia." Philadelphia, 1895, also "Genealogy of the Bingham Family." By *Theodore A. Bingham*, Harrisburg, 1898.

¹²² The famous *Christ Church* was first built of wood and brick in 1695-97, and was finished in 1702 under the auspices of Rev. Mr. Clayton. It was originally but one story in height. In 1711 it was enlarged, and again in 1720. The present western end was commenced in 1727, and in 1731 the eastern side was put up, the whole modern building being nine years in the course of construction. Some of the original bricks were brought from the old country. The corner-stone was laid on April 27, 1727. The alterations were completed by July, 1737, and the body of the church in 1744. The steeple was erected in 1753-54. The building is 61 feet in width by 90 feet in length. The interior was again altered in 1836, but the old pulpit of 1770 remains. Under the floor were buried many distinguished men, including John Penn (subsequently removed to England), General Forbes and Bishop White. In the burying ground of the church at the southeast corner of Fifth and Arch Streets were interred Franklin, General James Irvine, Major William Jackson (a Captain of the Second City Troop), Commodore Bainbridge, Commodore Shaw, Commodore Dale, General Jacob Morgan, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and other distinguished men. The original pew occupied by President Washington is still preserved.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. ii, p. 856.

¹²³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 28, 1790, p. 3, c. 2; also *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 458.

¹²⁴ The *Bank of North America* was incorporated May 26, 1781, and began active business January 7, 1782.

¹²⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 15, 1790, p. 2, col. 3.

¹²⁶ *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 416.

¹²⁷ *American Daily Advertiser*, January 6, 1801.

¹²⁸ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, vol. iv; also *American Daily Advertiser*, December 13, 1794.

¹²⁹ "*Lansdowne*," the country-seat of William Bingham, lay west of the Schuylkill River, north of the Lancaster Road, between the Powel and Britton estates, about four miles from the city. The estate originally consisted of 142 acres in Blockley township, and was owned before the Revolution by Rev. William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia [University of Pennsylvania]. In 1773, Dr. Smith sold the property to John Penn, who added to it other tracts of land. In 1795, Penn's widow sold the estate to James Greenleaf; and on April 11, 1797, it was purchased by William Bingham for \$55,100. In 1816-17, Joseph Bonaparte, ex-king of Spain, occupied the Lansdowne mansion. On the night of July 4, 1850, the building was burned by fireworks.

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On this estate in 1875, were erected the principal Centennial buildings. The old mansion stood on the plateau east of where Horticultural Hall in Fairmount Park now stands.—*Watson's Annals*, vol. iii, pp. 271-3.

¹⁴⁰ The *Academy of Philadelphia* was first opened on January 8, 1751, on the west side of 4th Street, below Arch. It was chartered in 1753. The *College of Philadelphia*, was opened on June 30, 1755, when the original Trustees qualified. The Academy of Philadelphia changed its name by Act of Legislature of November 27, 1779, to *The University of the State of Pennsylvania*; and the Act of Assembly of September 30, 1791, merged the University of the State of Pennsylvania with the College of Philadelphia to form the new *University of Pennsylvania*. The Medical School was founded on May 30, 1765, by Dr. John Morgan, who held in it the first medical professorship created in the United States.

¹⁴¹ The famous "*Schuylkill Fishing Company of the State of Schuylkill*," the oldest social organization in America, was founded on May 1, 1732, by certain gentlemen who formed a fishing club and leased one acre of land on the west bank of the Schuylkill River about where Girard Avenue Bridge now stands. This land lay between the estate of John Penn (subsequently known as "The Solitude") and the land upon which was erected "Sweet Brier," the mansion of Samuel Breck. It was part of an estate called "Eggesfield," and was owned by William Warner (died September 12, 1794). To him the Club paid a yearly rental, every spring of "three sun perch fish." After a preliminary treaty of peace with the Indians of the vicinity, they constituted themselves by letters patent a colony under the name of "*The Colony in Schuylkill*." With the Revolution, the Colony, in 1781, rose naturally to the dignity of a State. The last Governor of "The Colony" and the first of the *State in Schuylkill* was Samuel Morris, Captain of the First City Troop. He was a member of the Club for 58 years and Governor for 46 years, dying in 1812. The head of the organization bears the title of Governor, and the first two Governors—Thomas Stretch and Samuel Morris—presided over the "colony" and "state" for eighty years. Until the dam was built across the Schuylkill, in 1822, the club house remained at its original site; it then moved to Rambo's Rock, near Gray's Ferry, three miles below on the Schuylkill, near Bartram's Garden. In April, 1844, the Society was regularly chartered by Act of Assembly. In 1888, it removed to its present location on the Delaware River near Cornwells Station of the New York Division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, where its home is known as "The Fish House." It has a membership of only thirty, but it has a long waiting list, and some famous men have been upon its roll. The organization has always been of a social nature, and its feasts have been notable events, its "*Fish House Punch*" being a feature. In its earlier days it was closely associated socially with the older "*Society of Fort St. Davids*" and the "*Gloucester Fox Hunting Club*," the latter flourishing from 1766 to 1818, when Captain Charles

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Ross died. On June 14, 1787, the "State" entertained Washington. On July 4, 1788, the Great National Jubilee was celebrated there with great pomp and circumstance. The most famous of its long list of dinners was that given to Lafayette at Rambo's Rock on July 21, 1825. In 1860, Governor Andrew G. Curtin was received by the Governor of the ancient "State in Schuylkill" at the same place. On May 1, 1832, the centenary of the "State" was observed with appropriate ceremonies; and in 1882 President Arthur and other distinguished guests were present on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the club.

¹⁴² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 28, 1788, p. 3, c. 2.

¹⁴³ *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 1, 1788.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, July 3, 1788.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, July 1, 1788.

¹⁴⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 9, 1788, p. 1, c. 2. Also *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. 1, p. 448, and *Watson's Annals*, vol. 2, pp. 341-3.

¹⁴⁷ *Bush Hill* was the property granted to Andrew Hamilton, Esq. (born in 1676; died on August 4, 1741, aged 65 years) in 1726 and 1729 by the Proprietaries [the Penns] for legal services rendered them. It covered about 200 acres, and included originally 153 acres of the Penn Manor of Springettsbury, the land lying north of the city and west of Wissahickon Road [now Ridge Avenue]. The territory extended from Vine Street to Vineyard Lane or Coates Street [Fairmount Avenue], and from 12th to 19th Streets. An elegant and spacious mansion was erected here by Hamilton in 1740, and this he left to his son, James Hamilton (born in 1710; died in New York on August 14, 1783, aged 73 years), while he bequeathed The Woodlands to his other son, Andrew Hamilton. At his death in 1783, James Hamilton devised Bush Hill to his nephew, William Hamilton, but the mansion was not occupied by any member of the family. John Adams, as Vice-President, lived in it for two or three years (1790-92). From 1793 to 1795, and again in 1797, the mansion was used as a yellow-fever hospital. It subsequently became a tavern and place of resort of some reputation. The house was burned down in 1808. At this time it was largely surrounded by an open common which was a favorite drilling-place and parade-ground for the Troops of Cavalry. At one time it was used as a hangman's ground. The *Bush Hill Tavern* was situated between Callowhill Street and Poplar Lane and Schuylkill Sixth [17th] and Seventh [16th] Streets. The building now used by the Baldwin Locomotive Works on the north side of Buttonwood Street between 17th and 18th Streets is erected on the site of the Hamilton Mansion. In 1815 the house was rebuilt and used by Isaac Macauley as an oil-cloth and floor-cloth manufactory until 1871. In 1846 the *Bush Hill Hotel* was on the north side of Fairview Street 100 feet west from Schuylkill Sixth [17th Street]. The old buildings were torn down in 1875.—*Watson's Annals*, vol. i, p. 264; vol. iii. 396, 397, and 493. *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. ii, pp. 872 and 943.

¹⁴⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 9, 1788, p. 1, col. 2; also, *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 448.

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¹⁴⁹ *Philip Pancake* [*Pankuch*], son of *Johan Peter Pancake* (died April 20, 1772), who arrived from Rotterdam in the ship "*Phœnix*," Captain Reuben Honor, on November 22, 1752, and *Rebecca*, his wife; was a distinguished Revolutionary officer, residing in Dock Ward, Philadelphia. In 1765, he was a private in Captain Richard Peters' First Volunteer Corps of Philadelphia. In July, 1777, he is recorded as Captain of the Third Company, Second Battalion of Associators, Col. Sharpe Delaney. On August 2, 1777, he is recorded as Captain of the Second Company, Third Philadelphia Battalion, Col. Jonathan Bayard Smith; in 1779, he was Captain of the Third Company, Second Battalion, Col. Paul Cox. On April 15, 1780, he was commissioned Major in the Fourth Battalion, Philadelphia City Militia, Col. Paul Cox. He held this office during 1781-82, and, on April 21, 1783, was commissioned Major in the Sixth Battalion, Col. Joseph Dean, which office he held in 1784-85. His wife, *Mary*, died on August 10, 1783, and was buried in St. Michael's graveyard at Fifth and Cherry Streets. On January 5, 1784, he married his second wife, *Catherine Schuz*, in Zion Lutheran Church. He was a member of the Patriotic Association of July 17, 1778. He took a leading part in the great Federal Procession of 1788. He died in Philadelphia on January 8, 1814. His only son, *George*, died in Philadelphia on September 11, 1798.

¹⁵⁰ Colonel *Samuel Miles*, son of *James Miles* and grandson of *Richard Miles* (an emigrant from Wales in the time of William Penn) was born in Whitmarsh, Montgomery County, Pa., on March 1, 1739. In 1750, when but 16 years old, he joined a company of militia, and, on May 24, 1756, was commissioned Ensign in Captain Elisha Salter's Company Third Battalion. On August 21, 1756, he was made Lieutenant. In 1758, he accompanied the expedition under Braddock against Fort Duquesne. In 1760, he was advanced to the grade of Captain. On February 16, 1761, he married *Catherine* (born January 2, 1742-3; died October 24, 1797); daughter of *John Wister* (born November 7, 1708, died January 31, 1789) and *Anna Catherina Rubenkamp* (born February 25, 1709, married November 10, 1737; died May 17, 1770). He was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1772 and 1775. In 1776, he was a member of the Council of Safety; and, on March 13, 1776, was commissioned Colonel of the Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, which was attached to the Flying Camp. On August 27, 1776, he was taken prisoner in the battle of Long Island; on December 28, 1776, was appointed Brigadier-General of the State forces; and was exchanged on April 20, 1778. In that year he was appointed Auditor of Public Accounts, and Deputy Quartermaster General for Pennsylvania, holding the latter office until 1782. In 1783, he was made a Judge of the High Court of Errors and Appeals. In 1787, he was a member of the Council of Censors, in 1788, a member of the Philadelphia Common Council; the same year took part in the great Federal Procession as Captain of the First City Troop, which command he held from 1786 to 1788. In 1789, he was one of the Alderman of the City, and, in 1790, was elected Mayor

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of Philadelphia. In October, 1805, he was again chosen to the Assembly, but died in Cheltenham, Montgomery County, Pa., on December 29, 1805, aged 67 years.

¹⁵¹ *Jeremiah Fisher* was a soldier of the Revolution, beginning his military career in the marine service. The marines were fitted out in Philadelphia in 1776, and returned from a cruise shortly before the battle of Princeton. They joined General Washington's army and took part in this battle, in which Mr. Fisher's close friend, Captain William Shippen, was killed. From this time Mr. Fisher provided for the four children of Captain Shippen. On January 30, 1777, he married *Elizabeth Young*. He took the oath of allegiance to the State on June 27, 1777. His career in the Philadelphia Militia was long and varied. On July 1, 1777, he succeeded Captain Samuel Massey in command of the Seventh Company, Fourth Associators' Battalion, Colonel John Bayard. In 1778, he was Captain of the Third Company, First Philadelphia Battalion, Colonel William Bradford; and, in September, 1778, Captain in the Seventh Battalion, Philadelphia City Militia, Colonel Bradford. In April, 1779, he is recorded as First Lieutenant in the Fourth Artillery Company; and, on June 19, 1779, he was so commissioned in James Lang's Seventh Company of the Pennsylvania Battalion of Artillery Militia, Colonel Jehu Eyre, and accompanied this Battalion on its tour of duty at Mud Island from June 23, to August 23, 1779. He subsequently rejoined this company on April 23, 1781, as a gunner; and, on April 23, 1783, was commissioned Captain Lieutenant of the company. He continued for many years in the Artillery Regiment, serving in various capacities. In 1787-88, he is recorded as a bombardier in the Eighth Artillery Company. On May 28, 1792, he was commissioned Captain of the Fourth Company of the Regiment, then commanded by Colonel Thomas Mifflin. He was elected First Major of the Fifth Philadelphia Militia Regiment on Monday, August 18, 1794; and Major Commandant of the Artillery on Monday, October 20, 1794, serving with his command during the Whiskey Insurrection. In 1784, he was a resident of Mulberry Ward. He died about noon on Tuesday, July 29, 1800, at his residence, Filbert Street near Eighth Street, and was accorded a military funeral on the 30th instant, the entire Regiment of Artillery parading.

¹⁵² Martial music in those days was wholly confined to drum and fife; a band, so called, was altogether unknown. The War of the Revolution, as also the War of 1812, was fought with fife and drum alone; the cavalry only had the use of the horn or bugle (trumpet).—*Watson's Annals*, vol. i, p. 331.

¹⁵³ *Gray's Ferry*, the *Lower Ferry*, crossed the Schuylkill River below the city, opposite Hamilton's estate, known as "The Woodlands," about a quarter of a mile below Cedar [South] Street. It was established prior to 1740. Shortly after the Revolution the Gray Brothers (*George* who died in 1800, and *Robert*) opened a Garden and Inn on the west side of the ferry, covering many acres in extent, which soon obtained

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a well-merited popularity. The Inn was known as the *Lower Ferry House*, or *Gray's Tavern*. The place was a veritable fairy scene, with bowers, grottoes, waterfalls, bridges, islands, and a most attractive Inn, with tables set upon the greensward." After the Gray Brothers the place was kept by *George Weed*, from 1795 to 1803, when *Isaac Tucker* became the lessee. In 1804, it passed into the hands of *James Coyles*, formerly of the "*Indian Queen*," on Fourth Street. In 1805, it was taken by *Curtis Grubb*. In 1825, *D. Kochersperger* became the proprietor, and in 1848, it was kept by *Mr. Olwine*. The Gray's Ferry Bridge now occupies the site of the old ferry.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. ii, pp. 942, 944, and 992.

¹⁵⁴ *Pennsylvania Packet*, September 18, 1788.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, November 14, 1788.

¹⁵⁶ The *Middle*, or *Old Ferry*, over the Schuylkill River at High [Market] Street was granted by Penn, in 1683, to *Philip England*. In 1700, it was kept by *Benjamin Chambers*. In 1722, *Aquila Rose*, the poet, was the keeper of the ferry, but he died that year at the age of 28. In 1744, the ferry was leased to *James Coultas*, who was succeeded, in 1755, by *Evan Evans*, and he, in 1756, by *Joshua Byrne*. *Coultas* again had it in 1757. In 1762, it was kept by *Jonathan Humphries*, who was succeeded by *Joseph Ogden*. In 1771, Captain *Joseph Coultas*, whose daughter married George Gray, kept the ferry. During the Revolution the ferry was a very important point in all transportation westward from the city. At that time the ferry gave way to a bridge of boats, or "floating bridge."

¹⁵⁷ *Pennsylvania Packet*, Wednesday, March 4, 1789.

¹⁵⁸ *Henry Epple's Inn or Tavern*, No. 117 Sassafras, [Race] Street, north side above Third Street [now No. 313], known as "*The Sign of the Rainbow*," was a fashionable resort during the Revolutionary period, where gatherings of various sorts, political and social, took place. An Assembly dance was given here which was graced by Mrs. Bingham's presence. Washington was an occasional guest at Epple's Inn, as was Louis Philippe d'Orleans, when he lived in Philadelphia, and also Cornplanter, the Indian. The Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati met here in 1787. In 1806, the house became the place of residence of *John Warder*, and, in 1830, of his son-in-law, *John Bacon*, who lived there until his death in 1859.

Henry Epple, grandson of *Andrew Epple* (died in 1743), was commissioned Ensign in the City Battalion in October, 1775; he was made Ensign (or Second Lieutenant) in the Second Pennsylvania Battalion on January 5, 1776, and was promoted to First Lieutenant on November 11, 1776; he became first Lieutenant in the Third Battalion on April 1, 1777; was promoted to Captain on June 6, 1777; and resigned April 8, 1778. He was a member of the Patriotic Associations of 1778. On December 7, 1778, he was married, in Zion Lutheran Church, to *Barbara Burghalter*. In August 1780, he is recorded as a member of Captain George Esterly's Third Company, Third Battalion, Colonel

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William Will; and in 1784, a private in the Fourth Company, Fourth Battalion, Col. Will. On October 31, 1789, he endorsed the application of General Daniel Brodhead for the office of Surveyor General. In 1793, he is recorded as an "innkeeper and keeper of horses and chairs." He retired from the Inn in 1794, and died in Philadelphia on April 3, 1809. *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. ii, p. 983.

Andrew Epple, his brother, a merchant, was born in 1745, and was appointed Paymaster of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Regiment on February 15, 1777, vice Hugh Craig, which office he resigned on March 1, 1778. In August, 1780, he was a member of the Third Company, Third Battalion, Colonel William Will; and from 1784-87, was a private in Colonel Will's Fourth Battalion. In 1787, he lived in South Mulberry Ward. On October 31, 1789, he endorsed the application of General Daniel Brodhead for the office of Surveyor General. In 1790, he was executor for Colonel *Isaac Melcher* (died July 7, 1790). On Thursday, June 2, 1791, he was married, in Zion Church, to Mrs. *Francisca Brosius*, widow of *Nicholas Brosius* (died February 20, 1766), late of the borough of Reading. At this time he lived at No. 68 North Third Street. On April 22, 1793, he married *Margaret Ferguson*. On November 5, 1796, he dissolved his partnership with *William Banks*, broker. At this time he lived at No. 85 Chestnut Street, and the next year at No. 81 Chestnut Street. He died on August 26, 1814, aged 69 years.

¹⁵⁹ *Pennsylvania Packet*, March 6, 1789.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, March 7, 1789.

¹⁶¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 22, 1789, p. 2, col. 1; also, *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 454; also, *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, 1853, vol. xvi, p. 59; also, "Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, of Philadelphia, 1765-1798."

¹⁶² The *City Tavern*, also called the *New Tavern*, *Smith's Tavern*, and later *The Merchants' Coffee-house*, was completed in 1773 in the style of the best London taverns, and was opened in 1774 by *Daniel Smith*. It stood on the west side of Second Street above Walnut, No. 84, at the southwest corner of Bank Alley or Gold Street [now Moravian]. It was looked upon as the finest house of its kind in America, having several large club-rooms, two of which could be thrown together to make a large dining-room fifty feet long. There was every convenience and accommodation for strangers. It was the scene of the fashionable entertainments of the time, of the City Dancing Assembly, and of the brilliant fête given by M. Gérard, first accredited representative from France to the United States, in honor of Louis XVI's birthday. In September, 1774, the preliminary meeting of Congress was held here. The tavern was kept by *Edward Moyston* from 1779 to 1787; subsequently by *Samuel Richardet* (April 19, 1796 to 1799) and then by *James Kitchen*, (May 30, 1799-1807), who kept a marine diary and a register of vessels for sale, received and forwarded ships' letter-bags, and had accommodations for the holding of auctions. The building was demolished in 1852.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 299; vol. ii, pp. 982

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and 991. The *City Tavern* of 1814 was at 173 Chestnut Street, opposite the State House.

¹⁶³ "Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, 1765-1798."

¹⁶⁴ *Pennsylvania Packet*, May 6, 1789.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, May 8, 1789.

¹⁶⁶ *Robert Morris* lived at 190 High [Market] Street, on the South side one door east of Sixth Street. This house was subsequently known as Washington's House (see Footnote ¹⁶⁷).

¹⁶⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 27, 1789, p. 1, c. 2; Bingham's "Genealogy of the Bingham Family," Harrisburg, 1898; and *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 454.

¹⁶⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 8, 1789, p. 3, c. 1.

¹⁶⁹ *The Arch Street Meeting House* was a substantial brick building erected by the Society of Friends for devotional purposes at the southwest corner of Fifth and Mulberry [Arch] Streets. It was rebuilt in 1804. The present structure is 150 by 50 feet, and consists of a central portion and wings. It stands on a lot 360 by 366 feet, surrounded by a high brick wall.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. ii, pp. 1245 and 1259.

¹⁷⁰ *William Rogers* was born on July 22, 1751 (o. s.), and died on April 7, 1824, the last surviving chaplain of the Revolutionary Army.

¹⁷¹ The *Society of the Cincinnati* is an hereditary patriotic society, organized on May 13, 1783, by the American and foreign officers of the Continental Army, at the cantonnement on the Hudson River, near Fishkill, New York. The first meeting was held in the Verplank house, then the headquarters of Baron Steuben. As the officers who had fought in the Revolution were returning to their farms they named their society after their Roman prototype, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus. Membership was accorded to all Continental officers who had served with honor and resigned after three years' service, or had been honorably discharged for disability; and in turn to the eldest male posterity of such officers, male descendants through intervening female descendants, or in failure of direct descent, to collateral descendants judged worthy of membership. The Society was organized in thirteen State Societies, and the first general meeting was held in Philadelphia, May 7, 1784. The State Societies now meet annually and the general Society once every three years. The *Pennsylvania State Society* was organized on October 4, 1783, in the City Tavern in Philadelphia, with Major-General Arthur St. Clair as President; Brigadier-General Anthony Wayne, Vice-President; Brigadier-General William Irvine, Treasurer; and Lieutenant-Colonel Josiah Harmar, Secretary. It was incorporated on July 11, 1792. This Society started a fund for the purpose of erecting a monument to General Washington on July 4, 1810; and Major William Jackson of the Second City Troop, was chairman of the committee appointed for this purpose. Interest gradually flagged, and in 1824 leading citizens of Philadelphia started a fund for a similar purpose. In 1880, by order of the Court of Common Pleas, this citizen's fund, then in the custody of the Pennsylvania Trust Company, and amounting

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to \$50,000, was turned over to the Society of the Cincinnati to be used in connection with the latter's fund of \$137,000 for the erection of a Washington Monument. The cost of the monument, which was unveiled at the Green Street entrance of Fairmount Park by President McKinley in May, 1897, was \$250,000.

¹⁷² *Pennsylvania Packet*, Tuesday, July 14, 1789.

¹⁷³ *Dr. William Smith*, the first Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, was born on the banks of the Don, within a few miles of Aberdeen, Scotland, on September 7, 1727, and died in Philadelphia on May 14, 1803.

¹⁷⁴ *Pennsylvania Packet*, July 1, 1790.

¹⁷⁵ *Pennsylvania Archives*. Edited by Samuel Hazard, 1855, vol. xi. p. 763; also *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 464.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

Mr. William Jenkins Wilcox, of Harrisburg, has shown his interest in the Historical Society by sending photostat copies of papers concerning John Jenkins (1751-1827). John Jenkins enlisted in 24th Regiment, Connecticut Militia in 1776. Prisoner at Fort Niagara, 1777, and escaped in 1778. Was at Forty-Fort and afterwards with Col. Hartley at Tioga Point. Gen. Washington consulted him previous to Sullivan's Expedition and he was appointed guide to that general. Jenkins' Journal is included in Gen. Sullivan's Journal and the original is in Mr. Wilcox's possession.

THE END OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN INDIA ON MARCH 11, 1784. In a former article ("A Forgotten Victory of the American Revolution." *Pennsylvania Magazine*, January, 1913), we saw that the American Revolution was a world-war. (This phrase was actually used in the article of 1913, p 89). The fighting there described continued throughout 1782 and 1783, and only ended on March 11, 1784. A recently acquired English Regimental History gives us this date. *Historical Record of the Thirty-sixth, or the Herefordshire Regiment of Foot*. . . . Compiled by Richard Cannon, London, 1853, p. 39.) The records of the 72nd and 73d Regiments confirm this. All these are now in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Upon making this discovery I showed it to John Bach Macmaster, and he encouraged me to write this note.

ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

Note.—In the article of 1913, on p. 91, "200 Sepoys" should be 2000.

Book Notices.

BRANDYWINE—THE BATTLE OF CHADDS FORD AND BIRMINGHAM MEETING HOUSE, IN ADJOINING PARTS OF CHESTER AND DELAWARE COUNTIES, PENNSYLVANIA, SEPTEMBER 11, 1777. By Robert Bruce, Clinton, Oneida County, New York, 1922. 8vo., illustrated.

Mr. Bruce has in this pamphlet made an important addition to his historical publications by a well-illustrated booklet on the Brandywine campaign and battlefield. He sketches the military campaign which started at the landing of General Howe's army at Elk Ferry, August 25, 1777. Among the maps is one made as a result of the observations of the Campaign of 1777, published in London in 1784; and another the reproduction of the Pennsylvania Historical Society map, compiled from surveys made in 1846. The pamphlet is adequately illustrated and is an interesting memento to visitors to that historic spot. It is sent postpaid for 75c.

A SON OF THE MIDDLE BORDER. By Hamlin Garland. 12mo. Macmillan Co. \$2.

A DAUGHTER OF THE MIDDLE BORDER. By Hamlin Garland. 12mo. Macmillan Co., \$2.

"A Son of the Middle Border," and "A Daughter of the Middle Border," by Hamlin Garland are two prominent books of today which attract readers of all classes; those interested in history and biography,

as well as those who love "a well told story." They are an accurate and sympathetic record of over half a century of actual American history, interlaced with the intimate personal life and struggles of the author's parents and some near relatives.

To read these books seems at first a sacrilegious prying into the daily lives of these honest pioneers of the Middle West, but one soon realizes that there is nothing, even in the most intimate details, that will offend the fastidious reader.

Hamlin Garland, intrepid as a literary adventurer, author and critic, was brought up in far away Iowa, then truly the Middle West, for it was bleak, bare and comfortless.

In the first volume, much is gray, but this sombreness is lightened by the genuine affection and devotion existing in the family. Then in the second book again, against shadow contrasts, shafts of real sunshine reveal the historic mile stones these pioneers have covered, lifting for the reader the veil which gives him a beatific glimpse into the hearts of these older pioneers—now sadly less in number.

Literary recognition had come to Garland, and with it the New Daughter of the Middle West—a character beautiful, unselfish, charming but real. Then their two little girls, linking the past with the present.

All of this is described with both vitality and tenderness. Each scene and person is a vivid picture. One may open at random either volume, just as one would Boswell or Pepys, but it is safe to say after doing so, the reader will turn to the beginning, and then go straight through.

The old life of the Middle West is almost forgotten in our country, where centuries are crowded into twenty-five year spaces.

If a book embraces historical and biographical truth and human notes, clothed in literary dress, it is safe to predict it will live.

Hamlin Garland's last two books combine these essential elements.
H. R. W.

THE JESUITS. 1524-1921. A History of the Society of Jesus From Its Foundation to the Present Time. By Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., New York. The Encyclopedia Press.

In his preface the reverend author tells us that no Jesuit has thus far written a complete or adequate history of the Society. Although a corps of distinguished members of the Society are coöperating in the production of a universal history, such a scheme necessarily supposes a very considerable time and a work of colossal proportions. Therefore he has done well in preparing and publishing the present work for English-speaking readers. Although necessarily condensed and at times encyclopedic in style, the author is to be congratulated upon the accomplishment of a task that required great labor and great historical discernment. Without controversy and with no attempt to appeal to the emotions, he has presented in thirty chapters a story that rivets the attention, telling as it does of steadfast faith, absolute self-effacement and marvellous achievement.

The romantic career of St. Ignatius of Loyola as a soldier, a pilgrim, an author and the founder and first General of the Society of Jesus, is known to all students, but the mists of political and religious prejudice have too often obscured his purposes and his accomplishments, and too often they have been deliberately misrepresented. The outstanding fact responsible more than any other for the religious wars of Modern Europe was the effort of ruling potentates to mold the faith of their subjects to their own supposed advantage. *Cujus regio ejus religio* became a maxim. We feel its repercussions in our own time. Against this the first effective opposition was brought by the Jesuits. Their central purpose was to preserve the supremacy of the Pope and the universal ac-

ceptance of the Catholic Faith. All writers of the period, whether friends or enemies, testified to their success. The consequence was a bitter hostility which culminated in the eighteenth century. It was not confined to those outside the pale of the Catholic Church, but embraced many Catholics who held the belief, notwithstanding the repeated approval of the Pope's that the policy of the Society was deleterious to the advancement of the Faith. Infidels of the type of Voltaire, D'Alembert and Diderot had waged a vigorous campaign against the Jesuits in France, thus preparing the way for their expulsion by Choiseul, Minister of Louis XV, while Pombal in Portugal persecuted them with a savagery unprecedented in centuries. In Spain and Naples, as in France and Portugal, their colleges were suppressed, their property confiscated and their members imprisoned or driven into exile. Meantime, the heaviest pressure was brought to bear by the Catholic sovereigns of these countries on Pope Clement XIV, which he found eventually too heavy to resist. The result was a Brief of Suppression issued on the 16th of August, 1773. It carried with it throughout the world, excepting in Russia where the Empress Catharine took the Society under her protection, an official prohibition to continue the activities of the organization. The military or charitable missionary and educational work which had taken two hundred years to bring to perfection, was shattered. The enemies of the Church who recognized in the Society its very corps d' elite rejoiced, while those who realized how deep a wound had been inflicted upon the cause of religion were greatly dejected. In the Far East, in the forests of South America and the Missions of Africa, and on the islands of the sea, the greed of the political authorities had already largely arrested the progress of the missions and had destroyed a beautiful civilization among the Indians of Paraguay and California which sent back to savagery thousands of those who had been reclaimed. All over the continent of Europe excepting in Russia the education of youth was seriously affected. True to their vows of obedience though robbed, imprisoned and abused with a bitterness which in itself showed their merits, the Jesuits were submissive.

After forty years their patience met its reward. On the 7th of August, 1814, Pius XII issued his Bull restoring the Society to its pristine state throughout the Catholic world. It has had its full share of persecution since that date and is still held in abhorrence or suspicion in many quarters, but it continues to work for the salvation of men with a certainty that causes those who do not understand its spirit to marvel. Whether in science, in theological literature or in education, its members while never forgetting their mission for the salvation of souls, occupy the foremost place. With unconscious eloquence Father Campbell speaks of one of the scientific activities of the Society in which it has achieved the admiration of the world.

"Perhaps the famous phrase of St. Ignatius '*quam sordet tellus quum coelum aspicio*,' had something to do with the Society's passion for astronomy. 'How sordid the earth is when I look at the sky.' His sons had been looking at the sky from the beginning not only spiritually but through telescopes, and many of them have become famous as astronomers. This is all the more notable because star-gazing was only a secondary object with them. They were first of all Priests, and scientific men afterwards."

To whatever school of thought one belongs, whether a friend or an enemy of the Jesuits, or as is too often the case in these modern days, without concern on the subject of religion and therefore indifferent, Father Campbell's book must prove interesting and instructive. He is to be congratulated that he has given it to the world. W. G. S.

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THE REAL THOMAS PAINE, PATRIOT AND PUBLICIST. A PHILOSOPHER MISUNDERSTOOD.

BY HENRY LEFFMANN.

More than two thousand years ago a Greek philosopher devoted himself, as was the not infrequent custom of that group, to framing paradoxes—or, as we now call them—fallacies. One of these was that there can be no motion. “For,” said he, “a body cannot move in the place where it is, and it cannot move in the place where it is not. Therefore, it cannot move at all.” The world has gone on doing this sort of thing continually, and today, we have the doctrine of Relativity, of which it is said that the essence is that you cannot tell where you are unless you know what time it is, and you cannot tell what time it is unless you know where you are.

I must leave to mathematicians and logicians the task of rebutting the motion fallacy and explaining the doctrine of Relativity, but I refer to the paradox of Zeno because, while I feel that it is wrong as regards motion, it has some validity as applied to history. I doubt if history can be written fairly. Contemporaries cannot write it so, for they are too much under the influence of personal feelings, self-interest and prejudice;

those who come after cannot do it justly, because they fail to appreciate the entire environment in which the events unrolled. At best, we can get but an imperfect picture of the past, a distorted picture of the present and a guess at the future.

I am going to try, however, to take you back this evening into the environment of the last half of the eighteenth century, when certain events occurred that had a most profound influence on the history of the world. After much warfare and much diplomacy, the British flag had been established over the Atlantic slope, from the Arctic snows to the borders of the Gulf of Mexico, a region that literally stretched from pine to palm. From several distinct motives this region had been rather extensively settled. Escape from religious persecution had determined many; desire to improve their home conditions had impelled others. Some had come because the others were coming, intending to establish themselves in the professions and in business. There was an abundance of land; the woods were full of game and the streams of fish. The British monarchs, who granted to their favorites large tracts of land, had interest mostly in the direct profit that might come from the exploitation of these areas. The Spanish and Portuguese, who, by a geographic accident, had been directed strongly to the southern portion of the hemisphere, had found abundant supplies of the precious metals, and we were not astonished that when Charles II granted to Penn the territory of Pennsylvania, he reserved to himself one-fifth of the gold and silver ore found in the province. He also exacted an annual tribute of three beaver skins. The skins were easily found, but the province has never yielded any appreciable amount of the precious metals. Time was to show, however, that Pennsylvania contains stores of raw material far more valuable than gold or silver, for its coal, iron ore, oil and gas have been the

foundations of the greatest fortunes that the world has ever seen.

As the native population increased, and immigrants came who had no allegiance to the British crown, or had repudiated that allegiance, it was inevitable that the colonists should be steadily drawn away from the Mother Country. This tendency was all the stronger in consequence of the character of the population. The men and women who came to these shores, brave enough to face the risks of the sea voyage, wild Indians and other dangers, would have spirit enough to resist the conditions of absentee landlordism, for that was what much of the British Colonial administration was. More positive conditions tending to separation were at work. Manufacturing began to develop, and British manufacturing interests soon became alarmed by the danger of competition, and steps were early taken to thwart the colonies.

Parliament resolved that the establishment of industries in the colonies should be discouraged at all cost. An interesting phase of this antagonism is shown in connection with molasses. The colonies, especially the New England ones, were actively engaged in the importation of molasses, which was fermented into rum, and sent out to the African coast for the purchase of slaves. Parliament passed an act limiting the importation of molasses to British possessions. This gave a great monopoly to the British owners of the sugar lands, and led to extensive smuggling on the part of the colonists. The condition was serious, and we can appreciate the remark that John Adams makes in his reminiscences, "that we should not blush to acknowledge that molasses had a good deal to do with American independence."

It is not possible to enter here upon the details of the movement for independence. It is well known to all who have studied the contemporary literature, that

the people were much divided on the question. Some, like Joseph Galloway, were strongly opposed to the attitude of the Mother Country, but wholly unwilling to break away from allegiance; others were less loyal, but regarded actual separation as inadvisable. In the early 70's, Washington expressed himself as decidedly opposed to independence, and Franklin, in London, said that he had never heard anyone in America, drunk or sober, express a desire for separation. Man proposes, but economic forces dispose, and the conflict of commercial interests was hurrying the colonies on to antagonisms that could have but one outcome. As in all such cases, some leader was required to formulate the plans around which the people could rally. In the latter part of 1774, an Englishman arrived in this city, who was destined to be the favorite and aid of the nation's greatest leaders and to have great confidences imposed upon him, yet by reason of some seriously misunderstood writings of his later life, to have his memory execrated, and his whole career grossly misrepresented.

Thomas Paine was born in England in 1737. It is not necessary to trace his early life. He was brought up substantially under Quaker auspices, and learned a trade, but entered the revenue service of Great Britain. It was a service permeated throughout with corruption, and we need not be surprised if he fell, like his associates, into evil ways. He was removed, reinstated and again removed. He attracted the attention of Franklin, who advised him to come to America, and gave him a letter of introduction. He arrived in Philadelphia in the latter part of 1774, and soon became a successful newspaper writer. He was strongly impressed with the idea that the colonies could not get satisfactory conditions, nor secure justice and free economic life, except by separation from the Mother Country, but as just noted, even prominent Americans

were lukewarm to this view. The bloodshed at Lexington meant war, although probably no one saw this clearly at that time. The gathering storm of dissension with Great Britain found articulate expression in a pamphlet entitled "Common Sense," written by Paine, and published anonymously, not infrequent in those days, in January, 1776. It is admitted now by leading historians that this pamphlet, of which it is said 120,000 copies were sold, was the most important production of the time in drawing the American people to the independence movement. All the contemporary literature indicates this. I am not here, however, as a modern Parson Weems, to sublimate the subject of my discourse until he loses all semblance of humanity. Thomas Paine was a human being, and it is as a human being that he must be judged. I confess, therefore, that to me the text of "Common Sense" seems rather heavy. Very different, indeed, must have been the reactions of our forefathers to polemical literature than at present. Perhaps, there is no better example than the manner in which the resolution of independence was treated by the newspapers. On the 2nd day of July, 1776, the Continental Congress passed Richard Henry Lee's resolution, offered a few weeks before, declaring the colonies free and independent States. Surely, today, such an action would be displayed on the front page in type as large as the composing room could command. Yet the announcement was made in small type in an out-of-the-way place on one of the inside pages, without further comment. We cannot doubt that "Common Sense" aroused the greatest interest, yet I believe that if we can make the grotesque supposition of it having been published in the early months of our late war, it would have not secured one volunteer for the army nor sold a Liberty Bond. We must judge Paine in his environment, and it was he who was essentially qualified to appeal to the lukewarm, hesitating and indifferent,

and turn them in great numbers to the support of the cause. He did more, for he incorporated into the latter part of his essay a paragraph that lays down clearly the principle upon which the Declaration is based. A few weeks ago Mr. Carson aptly pointed out that the Declaration is not a document that founded a government. It merely cuts us loose from England. Many years of labor still remained for the great fathers of this country to weld these colonies into a nation, and Paine, by the way, was fully in sympathy with such a movement. In the closing portions of "Common Sense" is the following paragraph:

"Were a manifesto to be published, and dispatched to foreign Courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have ineffectually used for redress, declaring at the same time that, not being any longer able to live happily or safely under the cruel disposition of the British Court, we had been driven to the necessity of breaking off all connections with her; at the same time assuring all such Courts of our peaceable disposition towards them, such a memorial would produce more good effects to this Continent than if a ship were freighted with petitions to Britain."

About six months after "Common Sense" was published, Jefferson wrote the Declaration, which, after amendment by Congress, was adopted by the vote of most, but not all, of the members thereof. A careful examination of that document will show that with the exception of certain declarations about human rights, the positive feature is just what Paine advised, namely, a protest to the world at large of the unjust treatment to which the colonies had been subjected, of the many appeals they had made for redress, of the final exhaustion of their patience, and of their feeling that nothing remained but to throw off their allegiance. A perusal of the introductory and final paragraphs of the

Declaration will show the anticipations that Paine's sentences embody. The bulk of the text of the document is taken up with the twenty-seven specific charges against the King of Great Britain, and in accordance with Paine's view, it carries no petition to the Ministry or Parliament. The group of resolutions offered by Lee in June included that of independence, one looking toward a closer alliance of the colonies and one providing for foreign alliances. For a long while no definite action was taken on either of the latter, but suggestions of aid from France were made in 1775, although it took a long while to bring about actual help. In 1763 the treaty of Paris had taken from France all her possessions on the North American area, and, naturally, the French cherished the hope of recovering these lands, as they did of recovering Alsace and Lorraine. When the American colonies revolted the hour of France's revenge struck, but, for a long while, the French King hesitated to take open action. In this period private enterprises were made. It is not necessary to discuss here the business in which Beaumarchais was engaged, but Paine had a part in some of the affairs, for which he has been unjustly criticised. It is not likely that in those days, any more than in our own, such extensive operations in money were conducted with strict honesty, and Paine deemed it his duty to make public certain facts with which he had become acquainted through his official position. He had been made Secretary of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and, in the somewhat loose organization of the National Administration in those days, was practically the Foreign Secretary of the United States. The Silas Deane affair is not capable of thorough analysis at this day, but the only charge that can be brought against Paine is that he was indiscreet, and it may be said that discretion was not one of his strong points. In this affair he incurred the displeasure of Gouverneur Mor-

ris, and years afterwards Morris was able to do Paine an ugly turn. France, later on, became the open ally of the United States and sent ships, money and men to our shores. In a large remittance of money Paine was one of those chosen to take charge, which he did safely, arriving at Boston in August, 1781, with a large sum, which was very welcome to the struggling patriots. For several years he was more or less intimately connected with the armies in the field, and by means of his pen had served to maintain the spirits of the soldiers. His work in this direction was published from time to time under the title of "The Crisis."

The war closing with the victory of the Americans, the treaty of peace released the territory of the thirteen States and some additional areas from British allegiance, but in that treaty the several States were recognized as independent sovereignties, and this view was dominant for many years, and, indeed, still operates in many respects. Paine was not at all friendly to this States-rights view, and Washington was very much opposed to it. Jefferson was the exponent of the independent sovereignty idea, and we may be glad, I think, that fate put him in France during the sessions of the Federal Convention.

During his entire American residence, Paine had been active in the interest of the colonies. He had enjoyed the friendship and confidence of many of the great men who are now enshrined in our memories. He had enemies and detractors, of course. No man nor woman who leads an active life can escape antagonism. Washington is the great American hero, yet bitter denunciation was his portion during a great deal of his life. He went out of office under a storm of denunciation as great as any President has had to face. McMaster expresses a doubt whether he could have been elected to a third term had he been disposed to accept. Certainly, he would not have received unanimous support. Lin-

coln stands out as sharing the honors with Washington, yet a Delaware Senator, during the War of Secession, in open Senate, called Lincoln an imbecile. Said Liebig, the chemist, "Show me a man who has made no mistakes and I will show a man who has done nothing." It may be said, "Show us a man who has made no enemies and we will show you a man who had no active part in affairs of his country." It must be borne in mind that our forefathers, while not showing the peculiar political antagonisms of today, due largely to the overwhelming influence of the spoils system, were yet very bitter in their expressions. The Federalistic and States-rights tendencies were in open and bitter war, and epithets were handed about in newspapers and speeches that exceed in fierceness many of our wildest party rancours. Jefferson condemned the Supreme Court on account of its Federalistic tendencies, and said that the Congress was a collection of stock-jobbing rascals. One might consume hours in setting forth the scurrility and even indecency with which public men were condemned in those days.

After the war, Paine interested himself in several important matters, among others, in the design and construction of an iron bridge, but it is not opportune to consider this question here. Leaving the details of some of his labors, I pass to the second phase of his life, which has led to the unfavorable attitude of many persons toward him and to much misrepresentation and abuse.

On July 14, 1789, three months after Washington was inaugurated, the Bastille fell before a Paris mob. Many of us, at the mention of this incident, seem to see Defarge, of the wine-shop, standing at his gun, grown doubly hot in the service of four fierce hours, and we think of the numerous political prisoners that were released from unjust imprisonment. The cold facts of history, however, often destroy these popular opinions,

and, as a matter of fact, the Bastille contained at that time only seven prisoners, of whom four had been committed for forgery, two were committed as insane, a custom in those days, and the seventh was a young scion of an aristocratic family, who was such a consummate scoundrel that his relatives had him committed to prison to save him from the scaffold.

As in the bloodshed at Lexington, the fire lighted at the Bastille could not be extinguished without more blood, and France went on to the Revolution and the Terror. Burke's essay against the Revolution aroused Paine's ire, and he replied to it in an essay, entitled, "The Rights of Man." He incurred the enmity of the British authorities, was indicted, but escaped to France in 1792, where he was elected a member of the National Assembly. His position was remarkable, for he could not understand the language. He showed considerable courage in his attitude; among other matters, he voted against the execution of the King, advising that he should be held in banishment as a hostage, and declaring that his execution would alienate American sympathy. He was probably right on this point, but conditions had so far advanced toward the Terror that he secured only enmity and suspicion. During this period attacks on the church by French leaders became more and more severe. Finally, there was a complete official overthrow of the established religion, which was proscribed. Not unnaturally, there was a reaction, and those prominent in the new order set up ceremonies intended to mock the former faiths. Thus, the Commune of Notre Dame fitted up the church as a Temple of Reason, had a personation of the Goddess of Reason, and carried out absurd and offensive ceremonies. The great leader of the Revolution, Robespierre, was opposed to such proceedings. He was a deist, not an atheist. Employing his power to control the nation, he instituted, although amid much opposition, the

worship of the "Supreme Being" with himself as pontiff.

Such conditions could only result in a complete breakdown of religious faith, and Thomas Paine attempted to stay the movement by a treatise which he called the "Age of Reason." It was a strictly deistical work, and was, in fact, one of the many evidences of the change that had come over the minds of many thinking men in Europe. The schism that divided the church in the 16th century, substituted, as far as most of the Nordic race was concerned, an authoritative book for an authoritative church. Through the latter half of the eighteenth century the conflict of certain scientific and critical developments with the letter of the Scriptures became very active. A large number of thinking men felt that some re-interpretation was needed. It is not possible, in the space and time here available, to do more than indicate some of the salient features. The storm broke from several directions. In 1753, Astruc, a French physician, published, in Paris, a book entitled, "Consideration of the MSS. used by Moses in the Preparation of Genesis." It is the foundation of the modern system of criticism of the Pentateuch, known as "Astruc's key," since he was the first to point out the distinction between the Elohist and Jahvistic texts. In 1776 appeared the volume of Gibbon's history containing the terrible 15th and 16th chapters, in which the accepted views in regard to early Christian history were challenged. In 1782, Joseph Priestley published his "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," which was important as a foundation of the historical method of criticism now much in vogue. In this period, also, appeared the works of Buffon and Hutton, on Geology, which could not fail to challenge the chronology of the Bible.

The result of these and many similar publications was that a large number of learned and sincere men

turned against creeds and literal interpretations of Scripture, and sought a basis for ethical and moral stability, by what seemed a simpler method, a belief in a Deity who is revealed in nature, merciful, omnipotent, the creator and ruler of the universe. They sought to find evidence of such a Power in the manifestations of nature, and found them abundantly to their own satisfaction. In this way they became "deists," and so far from being "atheists," they scorned the ascription, and found no words too severe to condemn those who could not see the evidence of God in nature. They labored industriously to establish their thesis, and many of them became convinced that only by sacrificing the belief in a written revelation could a true faith be secured; that is, they sacrificed theology to save religion; religion being to them a system of morals. It was in this spirit that Priestley wrote his essay; it was in this spirit that Jefferson made up the expurgated copy of the Gospels, known as the "Jefferson Bible," and it was in the same spirit that Paine wrote his famous work, which earned him so much admiration from humble readers and so much condemnation from many eminent ones. The aim of Astruc, Priestley, Jefferson, Paine and many others of less fame was to substitute an age of reason for an age of faith. Paine's task was, however, specific. Fate had placed him in a nation in which the whole social fabric was breaking down. Church, Government, courts of law, had all been essentially wrecked, and extravagant tendencies developed. The "Age of Reason," which he wished to inaugurate, had no resemblance to the disgusting ceremonies in which the Goddess of Reason had figured, nor did he approve of Robespierre's cult of the Supreme Being. Paine's theology is that which is embodied in the Declaration of Independence. It rested on the "laws of nature and of nature's God," a phrase that we have every reason to believe was Jefferson's own.

It was in the latter part of 1793 that Paine began his work, which shows a most careful study of the text of the Bible, and which applies in the main the methods of treatment now usual among critics, except that there are a good many expressions that are sarcastic and offensive to devout believers. This is a blemish, but we must allow something for the spirit of the times and for the audience to which the appeal was made. The crucial point is the charge of atheism, which has been so often brought against the author. It is true that such a charge is not heard today to any extent, but two distinguished Americans have made it in recent years, Albert Bushnell Hart and Theodore Roosevelt. I did not attempt to argue the question with the latter, but I wrote to Dr. Hart, asking what evidence he had for the statement. He replied that he was wrong, and that today Paine would be considered a conservative Unitarian. Let me quote as evidence of Paine's views on the subject. He makes a profession of faith in the opening chapter, as follows:

"I believe in one God and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life.

"I believe in the equality of men, and I believe that that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy."

He then proceeds to express his disbelief in the several established religious cults, and to denounce them as making for the enslavement of the human mind. His definition of religious duties agrees very closely with that of the Prophet Micah: "Do justly, love mercy and walk humbly with thy God."

In chapter 9 he specifies the basis of his faith:

"It is only in Creation that all our ideas and conceptions of a *word of God* can unite. The Creation speaketh an universal language, independently of human speech or human language, multiplied and vari-

ous as they may be. It is an ever-existing original, which every man can read. It cannot be forged; it cannot be counterfeited; it cannot be lost; it cannot be altered; it cannot be suppressed. It does not depend upon the will of man whether it shall be published or not; it publishes itself from one end of the earth to the other. It preaches to all nations and to all worlds; and this *word of God* reveals to man all that is necessary to know of God.

“Do we want to contemplate His power? We see it in the immensity of the creation. Do we want to contemplate His wisdom? We see it in the unchangeable order by which the incomprehensible Whole is governed. Do we want to contemplate His munificence? We see it in the abundance with which He fills the earth. Do we want to contemplate His mercy? We see it in His not withholding that abundance even from the unthankful. In fine, do we want to know what God is? Search not the book called the Scriptures that any human hand might make, but the Scripture called the Creation.”

There is no doubt as to the classification of these phrases. They are not atheistical, but they are characteristic, intolerant utterances of deism. With the same positiveness that the churches of his day insisted upon the plenary inspiration of the Bible and its perfect adaptation as a guide to faith, he insists on the plenary inspiration of the creation and its adaptation as a guide for moral and ethical principles. The lines I have quoted are potentially as intolerant as any to be found in the sermons of the most uncompromising ecclesiastics. These utterances of Paine cancel all claims to his being a liberal in religion, and show him to be a bigot, as I have, in my personal experience, found all deists of his type to be, for, had anyone challenged his argument and declared it impossible to interpret nature so, such a skeptic would have been denounced. In this matter, Paine simply stands on a level with other human

beings, neither higher nor lower. Each of us determines individually the standards of morals and ethics and the extent to which we should be allowed to follow our inclinations. Society in its composite relation interferes and sets meets and bounds to such tendencies.

Paine broke abruptly, and even brutally, with the generally accepted views. After a long and active life, in which his allusions to dogmatic Christianity had been practically merely glittering generalities, he threw upon the English-speaking world, then generally accepting the Bible as the inspired word of God, without exception of any text, a book in which the sacred document was held up to scorn. Within the ranks of scholars much of what he said had been often said and long known, but Paine's book appealed to the masses, and undoubtedly led many away from the faith of their fathers. He may, indeed, be described in the language in which Byron describes Gibbon:

"Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer.

Which waked his foes to wrath that grew from fear;
And doomed him to the zealot's ready Hell,
Which answers to all doubts so eloquently well."

It can be shown that in Paine's day and at the present day the works of leading scientists and theologians contain many statements antagonistic to the literal interpretation of the Bible, but Paine's book had a feature that made it much more effective in arousing both approval and condemnation. He was for the time a very brilliant writer. As Dr. Robert Ellis Thompson said to me a few days ago, Paine was the first of the brilliant newspaper writers of the country. He was the forerunner of such men as Ed. Howe and H. L. Mencken. His writings, from "Common Sense," through "The Crisis," the "Rights of Man," to the "Age of Reason," were popular writings, while Priestley's essay

never got far beyond the scholar's circle, and Jefferson's Bible was not published until a few years ago, and then only in limited edition. We may, I think, compare the "Age of Reason" in its relation to the people to "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The character of Negro slavery was well known to all who investigated it, but Mrs. Stowe's novel reached the masses. The abuses of the British labor system, poor laws and law courts are well set forth in blue-books, but nobody reads these but the author, compositor and proof-reader, but "Hard Times," "Oliver Twist" and "Bleak House" have been read by millions. The writers of songs have had more influence on humanity than the writers on philosophy and science. Thomas Wharton, who wrote "Lillibullero," claimed that he had sung a King out of three kingdoms, referring to James II. The man was wise who said, "Give me to write the ballads of a country and I care not who makes its laws." Many of us remember the inspiring effect of the songs during the War of Secession.

In all his work, Paine was actuated by an intense human sympathy. This motive, indeed, was a dominant one in the founders of our nation. Most of them, for example, were opposed to slavery and would have abolished it, but for the strenuous objection of a few Southern colonies. Paine was one of the first to raise his voice against slavery, and to publish a powerful denunciation of it. Jefferson, who shared with Paine a deep desire for human happiness, but whose method of securing this was somewhat different, was also strongly opposed to slavery, and included in his draft of the Declaration a scathing denunciation of it and of the British King for his persistent encouragement of the traffic, but this was stricken out. It is far from impossible that Paine's statement suggested the phraseology that Jefferson used.

I have referred to Jefferson's Bible. He made it by clipping from printed editions of the Gospels such texts as he considered rational and valuable. He was entirely confident that he was right in his selection, for he writes to a friend that "a more beautiful or precious morsel of ethics I have never seen; it is a document in proof that I am a real Christian, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus." His claim is unfounded.

All men who try to dismiss dogma and creeds from the midst of society and base their religion upon an interpretation of nature will fail, for "religion is a social phenomenon. It is the expression of those things most treasured by the society which professes or practices them. These are "sacred things." From the primitive taboo, with its power of avenging sacrilege by supernatural terrors, to priestly and legal codes inflicting penalties, the mysteries of religion have been safeguarded from profanation. Persecution, viewed from the standpoint of the dominant group of society, is the preservation of the ancient belief from attack. It is part of the august process of maintaining the moral order." Canfield, *Early Persecutions of the Christians*.

As far as regards the charge of irreligion, which has led to unjust charges of immorality and drunkenness, Paine did not pass beyond the limits which modern ecclesiastics are going and who yet retain their positions in the church. Had Paine said that the Deluge was a failure, he would have been charged with blasphemy, yet that is what the Rev. Elwood Worcester says in his book "Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge," published while he was rector of St. Stephen's Church. If Paine had some of the things that the late Dr. Trumbull says in his two books, "The Threshold Covenant" and "The Blood Covenant," he would have been condemned, but Dr. Trumbull's books are not read by the masses; in fact, he put much of the

text in Latin so that it cannot be read except by scholars. One more instance will be sufficient. Paine may have been willing to express the following opinions:

“The Bible has many contradictions and inaccuracies and does not claim to be inerrant. It does not need inspiration of God, if it is true, and inspiration would not avail for its contradictions and inaccuracies. If God, the Father, freely forgives sinners, no atonement is necessary. If there is an atonement, God does not freely forgive.” But these sentences are from a comparatively recent work by William Newton Clarke, which is used as a text-book in the “Ministers’ Course in the Methodist Church.”

Let me, then, bring this discussion to a close. Paine, I think I have shown, was a patriot. Few men did more than he to secure independence and to promote that most important purpose, the federalization of the States. He stands with Washington, Jefferson and Franklin in the first aspect; with Hamilton, James Wilson and Madison in the second. He served in the army; he served in civil life; he labored for the good of humanity. His career in France was characterized by the highest devotion to the welfare of the French people. In opposing the execution of the King, he showed great courage and probably good judgment. In publishing “The Age of Reason” he had the highest motive, and, if the result was not what he expected, the same may be said of many publications of similar nature.

I have shown by a few quotations that distinguished leaders of the church have uttered equally drastic and destructive criticism of the Bible, and yet retained their positions, and I could fill many pages with similar sentences.

Thomas Paine has been much misunderstood, and has been cruelly abused by many persons, but he was a friend of humanity and a friend of political freedom,

and he deserves to be remembered with approval by all Americans.

“States are not great, except as men may make them;
Men are not great unless they do and dare.
All merit comes from facing the unequal;
All glory comes from daring to begin;
And there is one, whose faith, whose fight, whose service,
Fame shall proclaim upon the walls of time.
He dared begin, despite the unavailing;
He dared begin, when failure was a crime.”

THE PHILADELPHIA METHOD OF SELECTING AND
DRAWING JURORS.

BY T. ELLIOTT PATTERSON, OF THE PHILADELPHIA BAR.

(Delivered March 13, 1922, before The Historical Society of
Pennsylvania.)

*To the Wheel and From the Wheel—Into Court and
Out of Court.*

There are very few subjects more interesting to the average lawyer, and indeed to the public at large, than that which in some of its features comes before us tonight.

To the lawyer it calls up memories of the greatest tragedies and greatest achievements in human life, marked with features distressing and pathetic as well as humorous and exceptionally fortunate and happy.

Two illustrations come to my mind this evening suggested by the very locality where we are meeting, of the exercise of the right of trial by jury that made a distinctive impression upon the communal and legal history of our city. I refer to the Twitchell murder trial in the criminal court, and the equally noted Whitaker will case in the civil court. Both were tried in the old court buildings, then located on Independence Square, and both were participated in by one of the ablest and most powerful advocates, as well as one of the most profound and learned lawyers of the Philadelphia Bar of his day, if not in any period of its history—I refer to the late Furman Sheppard.

In the one case the question of life was at issue, in the other the question of property. Sometimes such striking contrasts help us to visualize the importance of the humble means and parts of our great system

of administrative justice, brought into use in all jury trials, great or small, where the right of trial by jury is exercised; for say what we will, reflect as we may, there is that element of question as to the outcome, that throws a glamour about the entire process, from the selecting of the jury to the rendering of their verdict, that commands our earnest and thoughtful attention. With no purpose of magnifying preliminaries, or over-estimating the essential requirements in the "superintending and managing the selection and drawing of jurors," but rather to stimulate the spirit of patriotic regard for this great institution of our English-speaking race, are we prompted to eulogy of the system as we take into our hand this little "scrap of paper," that but for the successful issue of the late world's war might have been blotted and helmeted out of our judicial system.

In this room on May 3, 1917, Hon. William Renwick Riddell, Justice of the Supreme Court of Ontario, delivered an address before our Law Academy of Philadelphia upon the Magna Charta.

A facsimile of that instrument, framed, placed upon an easel and draped with the mingled colors of the Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack, stood by the speaker's desk. Turning to it, in a few most tactful and graceful sentences he paid the highest tribute I ever heard or read from an Englishman to our American Fathers for teaching England how to take better care of her colonies." That she has continued to do so to the present time was evidenced by Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, India and Australia, that held true to the traditions of the mother country from Aug., 1914, to the treaty of Versailles, November 11, 1918, in which we, too, participated. In the mandatory, prophetic and statutory language of our constitution, "Trial by Jury shall remain as heretofore," it still remains.

But, however fine the tribute paid to our American fathers for their spirit of independence, and the lesson they imposed upon the mother country, it was at some cost to both parties, reminding me of Major Thorryngton's answer to the question, "How many British soldiers came over from England to participate in the Revolutionary War?"—he had never seen a statement and it was one of the questions to be answered to go into President Grant on the Major's application for a consulship—in desperation he wrote down, "a blank site more than ever went back," an answer that pleased President Grant so much that at once he received his appointment.

Justice Riddell told us that in Ontario "we have got rid of the jury system in the vast majority of cases, but it has free course and is glorified in most if not all the United States." He facetiously, however, went so far as to say, "the saving of time—and wind—is enormous." In criminal cases, however, they have not gone quite so far. But how different from the view of the eminent French writer, DeTocqueville, on the jury system of America: "The jury contributes most powerfully to form the judgment, and to increase the natural intelligence of a people; and this is in my opinion, its greatest advantage. It may be regarded as a gratuitous public school ever open, in which every juror learns to exercise his rights, enters into communication with the most learned and enlightened members of society (the upper classes) and becomes practically acquainted with the laws of his country, which are brought within the reach of his capacity by the efforts of the bar, the advice of the judge, and even by the passions of the parties. I think that the practical intelligence and political good sense of the Americans are mainly attributable to the long use which they have made of the jury in civil cases."

These sentiments and observations of this French-

man of the middle of the 18th century, after a careful study of our institutions are certainly in striking contrast with the Canadian Justice of our own day nearly a century later.

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As Americans, we are awaking to the importance of comparative study on those lines. Only a few mornings ago the *Public Ledger* informed us that over 200 Americans in Paris had registered for the course on French Civilization that was to be given in one of their universities, showing that the American spirit of intelligent inquiry and examination into governmental methods is still alert. (March, 1922).

JURY TRIALS IN PHILADELPHIA IN 1921.

Some idea may be formed of the amount of jury work in Philadelphia from the following data gathered from a tabulated report furnished me by Joseph P. Bartilucci, Esq., under the heading, "Disposals at bar of Court for year 1921, of the Common Pleas and Municipal Courts."

	Total.
Verdicts and findings for Plaintiff in the Common Pleas.....	1625
Verdicts and findings for Defendants in the Common Pleas.....	397
	—— 2022
Verdicts and findings for Plaintiffs in the Municipal Court.....	1027
Verdicts and findings for Defendants in the Municipal Court.....	569
	—— 1596
	——
	3618

A REPORT FROM THE DISTRICT ATTORNEY FOR 1921

Shows—Bills of indictment drawn.....	10,041
True bills found	9,020
Bills disposed of.....	7,581

Report for January Sessions, 1922, from his office shows: During the month of January, 1922, with four prison courts running, viz.: Rooms 453, 653, 442, and 285, 62 Homicide cases were tried, including 67 defendants, 30 of them being prison cases, and 32 of them bail cases, resulting in verdicts of first degree, 7; pleas, fixed as murder in first degree, 2; verdicts of second degree, 3.

A total of 65 homicide cases disposed of in January, and upwards of 250 General Prison cases and some bail cases.

The report of the Survey Committee on the administration of criminal procedure, appointed by the Law Association of Philadelphia, at the instance of the Courts, will give further interesting information along these lines.

COMPARED WITH CANADIAN AND ENGLISH COURTS.

In Toronto in 1913 the official report for the Division Court (the lowest trial court) of Canada showed that out of 63,675 suits only 117 were tried by jury, less than 1/5 of 1%.

In 1901 in England of the 783,655 civil actions tried only 1001 were tried by jury. These comparative statements have been made to show how our American Courts have held, in Philadelphia particularly, to the traditions of our fathers in keeping our people in touch with, and participation in the administration of justice, as established amongst us, as called, they come up to and go down from the discharge of their duties, safer, better, more contented citizens as recognized factors in the administration of justice.

And before taking up the routine work of the Jury Board, let me read to you the impressive words which quite possibly some of you heard when, administered in our criminal courts by the crier in his reading the indictment in a trial for murder in the first degree to which the prisoner has pleaded "Not Guilty." This form was given to me by Mr. Levi Hart, the senior Court Crier in Room 453:

"Gentlemen . . . of the jury harken to an indictment presented by the Grand Inquest of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, inquiring for the County of Philadelphia . . . To this indictment the prisoner at bar John Doe pleads—"Not Guilty," and for trial hath put himself upon God and his country—*Which Country You Are*—and if you find the the prisoner at the bar *John Doe* Guilty you will say so, if you find the prisoner at the bar *John Doe* Not Guilty, you will say so and no more—Good men and true stand together and harken unto the evidence."

THE ASSESSORS.

It shall be the duty of the several assessors of the city of Philadelphia to ascertain, by strict inquiry, the proper orthography of the name of each taxable person within his ward, the exact number of his place of residence, together with his present occupation, profession or business, and to state, plainly written, all such particulars in his assessment list. Act of April 13, 1859, P. L. 595, Sec. I. The lists are turned in to the City Commissioners, who have them printed, division by division, separately for each division of each ward, and the divisions of the said ward are bound into one book, known as the Assessor's List for that ward. There are 1430 divisions in the 48 wards of the city of Philadelphia, containing a list, as tabulated and furnished by the City Commissioners of (for the year 1921, from which the jurors for 1922 were selected) 754,124, from

which were selected the 15,000 names that were placed in the jury wheel last December for this year, 1922.

When the City Commissioners receive the returns of the divisions from all the 48 wards they furnish to the "*Board for Superintending and Managing the Drawing and Selecting Jurors,*" hereafter called the *Jury Board*, for brevity, a tabulated statement of the assessables of each ward and the grand total for the entire city. They also have these separate ward books printed and bound in heavy paper backs and a full set of them furnished to the Jury Board by sending them from the printer to the office of the clerk of the board. The Jury Board is composed of the 15 Common Pleas Judges and the Sheriff of the County.

The Ward Allotments.

The Judges and the Sheriff constituting the Board, draw their respective wards by lot, and as drawn by a Judge and the Sheriff, the clerk of the board records the drawing and together with the Judge and Sheriff certifies to the fact. The proportion to be marked averages nearly a thousand to a member.

The City Commissioners' Tabulation.

From the tabulation furnished by the City Commissioners the clerk of the Board proceeds to make up the proportion to be marked in each ward. It may be interesting to observe, that with an approximate population of 2,000,000, from which the 754,000 taxables were returned, and out of which the 15,000 names for the wheel were selected—Act of Apl. 20, 1858, P. L. 354, Sec. 2,—402,000 separate homes in Philadelphia were represented. And as stated in the Real Estate Board's Review for March of this year—"very uncongenial soil 'for European anarchy.' "

On the back of each ward book the clerk writes the name of the Judge to whom it is allotted, and under his name the proportion of names to be marked from

that ward, and personally delivers them under seal to each member of the board, who when he has marked up his required number returns them to the clerk to be written on separate slips of paper of same color, ruling and dimension, the *name, surname, occupation, residence, and ward*, as required by Act of Assembly. The September Assessment is the one from which the names of "sober, healthy and discreet citizens"—Act of Apl. 20, 1858, P. L. 354—are selected. As the clerk can not proceed with the writing until the books come back from the members of the board, which varied from the 12th of October to the 26th and later, last year, but little time was left in which the 15,000 names had to be written and typewritten before the 10th of December, and in the wheel—Act of April 20, 1858, P. L. 354, Secs. 2 and 3; also Act of March 13, 1867, P. L. 420, Sec. 7.—The delay was not on the part of the members of the board, but in the late work of the assessors and the return of their lists to the city commissioners, who have to print and furnish them to the board.

Klemmer vs. Railroad, 163 Pa. 521 (1894), at pages 529-530, recognizes the importance and clearly states the responsibility and requirements of those intrusted with the selection of the names for the jury wheel. Also see 65 Pa. Supr. Ct. 365 (1916).

COMPARISONS.

The written slips have first to be compared with the ward books, then arranged alphabetically and typewritten and compared again, and then together with typewritten lists in duplicate delivered under seal to all the members of the board for comparison before they deposit them in the wheel.

Filling the Wheel.

On a day fixed by the board, the Sheriff brings the jury wheel before them, and the board produces the

key, which is kept apart from the wheel, and after inspection of the wheel to see if there are any names remaining from the old filling, and clearing it of the same they proceed to deposit the slips in the wheel. Generally when they come to the board meeting they have signed the typewritten lists, certifying to the fact of their correctness, but if not, they sign them at the meeting. After they are signed and a certificate attached signed by all the board certifying to the filling of that date, the clerk gathers up the 96 copies, takes them to his office, arranges them in numerical order of wards, and binds one set for deposit in the office of the Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, as required by the Act of Assembly, and retains the other set for the use of the Board. In 13 years the clerk has known but one instance of the set on deposit in the Supreme Court being referred to. As soon as deposited, which is on or about the 1st to 10th of December, the newly-filled wheel is ready for immediate service. The period of exemption from jury service in Philadelphia is now limited to one year by Act of March 27, 1865, P. L. 799.

Drawing for Service.

About the first week in every month, orders are received by the Sheriff from the courts directing him to furnish the required number of jurors for the respective courts for the succeeding calendar month. To instance the work of the past week, which commenced on Monday and ended on Friday morning, 1614 names were drawn for the coming month of April, for all of the Civil Courts and Criminal Courts and the Grand Jury.

The Wheel in Court.

The Sheriff brings the wheel into court and the clerk brings the key, and in the presence of the court the wheel is opened and the Sheriff proceeds to draw, one

by one, the names for service. As drawn the clerk writes down the name into the jury book, which is arranged beforehand by proper heading and numbered lines, and the drawing continues through to the end of the required number. As drawn and finished, room by room, the slips are placed in properly-endorsed and corresponding envelopes, sealed in court, and initialed by the Judge before whom the drawing is conducted.

The clerk on his return opens the envelopes and compares the slips with the jury book, and proceeds to arrange them in alphabetical order for typewriting for the respective rooms, and courts, as indicated by the orders given to the Sheriff. Five (5) copies are made for each room in the civil courts, and four (4) for the criminal courts. Two (2) copies of the civil lists are furnished to the Prothonotary, and two (2) copies to the Sheriff, the Prothonotary receives none of the Criminal Court lists, but the Sheriff receives copies for all the courts, Civil and Criminal, and the Grand Jury, and prepares the notices, which are served on each of the jurors or left at his place of residence, according to requirement. These notices are sent out 10 days before the time of service, and are served by the Sheriff's Deputies, some of whom have had rather amusing experiences since women have become eligible to jury service. One of the deputies who is with us this evening told me of summoning a young woman, who became quite indignant and asked him in very decided tones, "What right have you with my name?" and when told it had been drawn from the jury wheel, came back at him with, "Who had the right to put my name in the wheel? No, sir, I'm not coming," and only after quite persuasive argument and an intimation that possibly an officer of the court would have to come for her on the day appointed if she did not appear did she submit. She had no excuse to offer, and was not like her sister, a milkmaid up the country, who a few days

ago was summoned, but could not appear because, while engaged at milking, the cow kicked her shin and broke it, and her excuse had to be presented that she was done up in splints.

Talesmen and Special Jurors.

Some of you possibly have been, and at least you are likely to be very summarily summoned to attend as jurors in murder trials, especially where the panel has become exhausted and has to be filled by calling for immediate service from the wheel. In such cases the court directs the Sheriff to bring in the jury wheel and draw the additional number that may be needed. Generally, when this is done, there are a number already accepted, and they have to wait until the full number of 12 has been secured. For every juror needed five names are drawn with instructions to the sheriff to bring in forthwith or by 10 o'clock the next morning someone from each of the five names placed in his hands. The reason for this prompt requirement is the fact that the trial cannot continue or proceed until the full 12 are secured, accepted and sworn.

In the civil courts the number required there is sometimes exhausted before the end of the term, when additional names have to be drawn to carry on the business. In all these instances the wheel is brought into open court and the names drawn. In a murder trial the names are usually read aloud by the sheriff as drawn and written down by the clerk in the presence of the Court and the Prisoner and his counsel. If it is near the end of the day, it seems quite impressive, as in the lateness of the hour the prisoner and his counsel watch carefully the proceedings and the court remains in session until the full number of names have been furnished to the sheriff, five for every one needed, and as in one instance where 60 were called 300 names had to be drawn to secure the 60. If it is a "forthwith

order" the sheriff has to bring them in as soon as served however inconvenient to him or to them.

OUR SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA,

in its relation to our jury system.

In *Commonwealth vs. Maxwell*, 271 Pa. 378 (1921) Mr. Justice Schaffer wrote a very exhaustive opinion, covering 11 pages, on the right of "women jurors" in Pennsylvania, which I would commend to the good women of our State who are interested in their rights as jurors, to secure copies of and read.

At the present time there is going through the press Mr. Chief Justice Moschzisker's "*Trial by Jury*," a most valuable contribution to the legal literature of our State. In his lecture or chapter four (4) he gives special attention to our Philadelphia system. I have purposely refrained from reading the proof, which was kindly offered me, excepting the above chapter, which I was requested to do while it was still in typewritten form. It was, however, by one of his predecessors in that high office, Chief Justice Black, that special tribute was paid to the venerable system of trial by jury.

The Tribunal Defined.

In *McFadden vs. The Commonwealth*, 23 Penna. State Reports, page 12 (1853). Black, C. J.

"Until they have taken the oath they are not jurors, and have no more control 'of his (the prisoner's) fate than any other equal number of citizens. His trial cannot begin until the tribunal which is to try him is organized and qualified. If he is in jeopardy at any earlier period, he is in jeopardy from the hour when the first informal accusation was made, and at every step of the subsequent proceedings against him.' . . . The right of the Commonwealth and that of the prisoner to challenge for cause stand upon the same ground.

One is as sacred as the other. It cannot be exercised after the juror has lifted up his right hand, or taken the book in obedience to the directions of the officer, or after the formula of the affirmation has been commenced.”

The Tribunal Exalted.

In *Ex-Parte Milligan*, 71 U. S. 2-142 (1866), thirteen years later, as counsel in that case, Judge Black, in his argument before the United States Supreme Court, said: “I do not assert that the jury trial is an infallible mode of ascertaining truth. Like everything human, it has its imperfections. I only say that it is the best protection for innocence, and the surest mode of punishing guilt, that has yet been discovered. It has borne the test of a longer experience, and borne it better than any other legal institution that ever existed among men. England owes more of her freedom, her grandeur, and her prosperity to that, than to all other causes put together. It has had the approbation not only of those who have lived under it, but of the great thinkers who looked at it calmly from a distance, and judged it impartially: Montesquieu and DeTocqueville speak of it with an admiration as rapturous as Coke and Blackstone.”

Trial List, No. 499, March Term, 1922.

The trial list for March term, 1922, for three weeks, commencing Monday, March 6th, was produced.

Number of pages in this list, sixty-eight, each page representing about thirty cases. Sixty-eight pages, averaging thirty cases to a page, would amount to two thousand cases, representing at least two parties each, making four thousand parties, requiring two counsel each, would be four thousand counsel. Averaging four witnesses to a case, eight thousand witnesses; with seven hundred and sixty jurymen for that period, and

this is exclusive of the spectators, who, indirectly, acquire knowledge as to the manner of administering justice, suggests the far-reaching educational effect of our jury trials.

This list is for the Courts of Common Pleas alone, without reference to the Grand Jury, or to our Criminal Courts, or to the Civil and Criminal trials in the Municipal Court.

In Pennsylvania, no guilty man is convicted, nor innocent man acquitted, without the right of inquest by the Grand Jury, and trial by the twelve petit jurors. And the elimination of the one, or numerical change in the other, from the unanimous twelve (12) to any lesser number, would not be in keeping with our State's high regard for these time-honored institutions of our country. Money and time are minor considerations in comparison with these established and well-tried safeguards of life, liberty and property of the people.

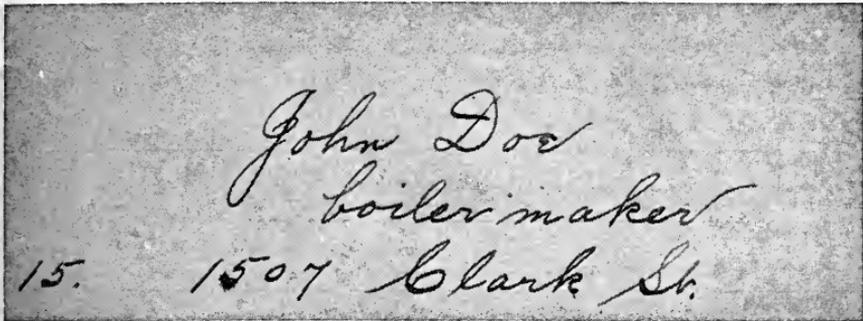
“Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set.” Proverbs 22:28.

Conclusion.

But aside from encomiums from the highest to the very ordinary citizen, as an inheritance from our forefathers as well across the water as in our own land, it is with us essentially American, and under our representative democracy is a most important factor not merely in protecting the lives, liberty, property and reputation of our people, but as a great common school for them to become intelligent factors in the administration of justice throughout our country, “which country you are.”

Philadelphia, March 13, 1922.

FORM AND SIZE OF SLIP.



JUDGE'S CERTIFICATE TO HIS WARD LISTS.

.....WARD
 Compared and found Correct
JUDGE

THE BOARD'S CERTIFICATE.

CERTIFIED LIST OF NAMES PLACED IN THE JURY WHEEL FOR YEAR 1922.
 PHILADELPHIA, DECEMBER 1921.

WE, THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD FOR SUPERINTENDING AND MANAGING THE DRAWING AND SELECTING JURORS, in the several courts for the COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, HEREBY CERTIFY, that the foregoing list of 15,000 names, selected from the FORTY-EIGHT (48) WARDS of the City of PHILADELPHIA, IS A CORRECT LIST of the names, residences and occupations of the taxables selected in due proportion from the several Wards, by the said Board, to serve as Jurors, in the said several Courts, for the next ensuing year, and that the names with their respective residences and occupations, were written on separate slips of paper, and in the presence of the said Board, were this day of December, A. D., 1921, in Room of the City Hall in said City, placed in a closed wheel, securely locked, provided by and kept in the exclusive control of the Sheriff of said City and County.

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THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, TO WIT:

To the Sheriff of the County of Philadelphia—GREETING:

We Command You, That, in your proper person, you draw from the proper wheel containing the names of the persons selected for Jurors according to law, the names of Twenty-four persons, to appear on Monday, the day of next, at Ten o'clock in the forenoon of that day, to be GRAND JURORS in our Court of for the said City and County of Philadelphia: and further, that you the said Sheriff do summon the persons whose names shall be so drawn, and every of them, to come before our said Court at the said time and place to enquire of and perform all those things which on our part shall be enjoined upon them, and that you the said Sheriff, have then and there this writ, and the names and surnames of the persons so summoned as aforesaid, with their additions respectively, in a panel hereto annexed, and otherwise make return at the day and place aforesaid, how you shall have executed this writ.

WITNESS the Honorable President of our said Court of at Philadelphia, this day of A.D., 19

CLERK.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, TO WIT:

To the Sheriff of the County of Philadelphia—GREETING:

We Command You, That, in your proper person, you draw from the proper wheel containing the names of the persons selected for Jurors according to law, the names of PETIT JURORS, to appear on Monday, the day of next, at Ten o'clock in the forenoon of that day, to serve

in our Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery for the said City and County of Philadelphia: and further, that you the said Sheriff do summon the persons whose names shall be so drawn as aforesaid, to make up the Juries requisite for the trial of all issues, which may be then there depending for trial in our said Court, and that you the said Sheriff, have then and there this writ, and the names and surnames of the persons so summoned as aforesaid, with their additions respectively, in a panel hereto annexed, and otherwise make return at the day and place aforesaid, how you shall have executed this writ.

WITNESS the Honorable President of our said Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery, etc., at Philadelphia, this A.D., 19

CLERK.

COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER AND GENERAL JAIL DELIVERY FOR THE CITY AND COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA.

COMMONWEALTH } vs.

AND NOW, to wit, this ... day of ... A.D. 19... present, Hon. ... Judge ... Esquire, Assistant District Attorney, and ... the defendant, with his counsel, ... Esqr ., and it appearing to the Court that ... talesmen are required in said Court for the trial of the above indictment, and upon motion of the District Attorney it is ordered by the Court, that the Sheriff forthwith produce the jury wheel in open Court and draw therefrom five names for every talesman required, to wit, ... names;

AND IT IS FURTHER ORDERED, that a Venire shall issue requiring said Sheriff to bring into Court on ... any one of said persons so drawn to serve as tales jurors upon the trial of said indictment.

Judge.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of said Court, this ... day of ... A. D.

Pro Clerk.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, ss.

To the Sheriff of the County of Philadelphia,

GREETING:

WHEREAS the foregoing names of ... persons, were this day drawn in open Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery for the City and County of Philadelphia, from the proper wheel, upon a prayer for ... talesmen to serve as jurors in the case of the Commonwealth vs. ... Sessions, 190 ... No.

We Command you, the said Sheriff, forthwith to summon ... persons, one out of each five of the names so drawn, to appear in our said Court

to act as talesmen in the said issue; and that you have then and there this writ, and the names and surnames of the persons so summoned, with their additions respectively, in a panel hereto annexed, and otherwise make return at the day and place, as aforesaid, how you shall have executed this writ.

WITNESS the Honorable ... President

Judge of our said Court of Oyer and Terminer, &c., at Philadelphia, this ... day of A. D. 190

..... Clerk.

COUNTY OF PHILADELPHIA, ss.

Venire Facias.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA.

To the Sheriff and Jury Commissioners of the County of Philadelphia,

GREETING:

WE COMMAND YOU, and every of you, that, in your proper persons, you draw from the wheel containing the names of the persons selected according to law, to be jurors in the Courts of the said County, the names of _____ persons to be jurors in our Court of Common Pleas No. _____ for the County of Philadelphia, Room _____ for the _____ Period of Term, 191 _____ to be holden at Philadelphia, in and for the said County, on the _____ day of _____

next, A.D., 191 _____, at ten o'clock in the forenoon of that day: AND FURTHER, that you, the said Sheriff, do summon the persons whose names shall be so drawn, and every of them to come before our said Court at the same time and place, to make up the juries requisite for the trial of all issues in the pleas depending and for trial by jury in our said Court, AND that you, the said Sheriff, have then there this writ, and the names of the persons so summoned, with their additions respectively in a panel hereto annexed, and otherwise make return at the day and place aforesaid how you shall have executed this writ.

WITNESS the honorable _____ President Judge of our said Court, at Philadelphia, this _____ day of _____ in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and _____

Pro Prothonotary.

Sheriff's Certificate.

ROBERT E. LAMBERTON, Sheriff aforesaid, being duly sworn, says that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, the Jurors in the annexed Panel have been served in the manner set forth in the return thereto; that the Summonses to those returned as served were served ten days before the _____ day of _____ 19 _____; that all the said Jurors to whose names the letter "P" is prefixed were served personally; and that all the said Jurors to whose names the letter "L" is prefixed were served by leaving a Summons at the residence of each Juror, with an adult member of the family.

Sworn to and subscribed in }
open Court: } *Sheriff.*

NOTICE TO JUROR.

COMMON PLEAS, No. 1 (Room A).

No. _____

SHERIFF'S OFFICE.

Philadelphia, _____ 19__

Sir:

You are hereby summoned to appear at the Common Pleas Court, No. 1, City Hall (Broad and Market Streets), Room No. _____ second floor, on Monday, the _____ day of _____ next, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, as a JURYMEN for the Court of COMMON PLEAS for the County of Philadelphia.

ROBERT E. LAMBERTON, Sheriff

Mr. _____ No. _____ Street

_____ Ward.

Sheriff's Return.

TO THE HONORABLE THE JUDGES WITHIN NAMED.

WE,

The Sheriff and Board for selecting Jurors of the County of Philadelphia do hereby Certify and return: That the Jurors named in the annexed Panel were duly drawn according to Law and the requisitions of the within writ.

.....
Sheriff.

.....
Sheriff and Board for Selecting Jurors.

And I, the said Sheriff, do further return, that I have summoned all the said Jurors,

The names and surnames of the Jurors so summoned, with their additions respectively, are contained in a Panel hereunto annexed.

.....
Sheriff.

LIST OF GRAND JURY.

24 Grand Jurors for a Court of Oyer and Terminer, General Jail Delivery and Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the City and County of Philadelphia, to be held at Philadelphia, commencing _____ (date).

Name.	Occupation.	Residence.	Ward.
.....
.....

I CERTIFY that the above is an accurate list of the names of persons drawn by the Board for Superintending and Managing the Drawing and Selecting Jurors to serve as Grand Jurors for a Court of Oyer and Terminer, General Jail Delivery and Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the City and County of Philadelphia, to be held at Philadelphia, commencing _____ (date) at 10 A. M.

(date)

.....
Clerk of the Board.

120 *Philadelphia Method of Drawing a Juror.*

LIST OF JURORS.

			Term 1922.
Petit Jurors for Room	Panel, for	(date)		
Name.	Occupation.	Residence.	Ward.	
.....	

I CERTIFY that the above is an accurate list of the names of persons drawn by the Board for Superintending and Managing the Drawing and Selecting Jurors to serve as Petit Jurors for a Court of Oyer and Terminer, General Jail Delivery and Quarter Sessions of the Peace for the City and County of Philadelphia, to be held at Philadelphia commencing (date) at 10 A.M. (R. Panel.)

(date) Clerk of the Board.

REPORT TO THE BOARD OF DRAWINGS FOR
YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 1921.

Number of names placed in the wheel December 3, 192014,000
 Number of additional names required to be marked, written and
 typewritten and placed in wheel Oct. 7, 1921 1,400

 Total number of names placed in wheel for 192115,400

DRAWINGS—REGULAR, SPECIAL AND TALESMEN.

		Talesmen				
		No. Used	Drawn	Used	Returned	
JANUARY	Regular	1894				
January 11, '21	—talesmen	20	100	20	80	
January 27, '21	—talesmen	35	175	35	140	
FEBRUARY	Regular	1754				
February 11, '21	—talesmen	30	150	30	120	
February 23, 21	—talesmen	40	200	40	160	
MARCH	Regular	1594				
March 8, '21	—talesmen	15	75	15	60	
March 15, '21	—talesmen	24	120	24	96	
March 28, '21	—talesmen	40	200	40	160	
APRIL	Regular	1674				
April 12, '21	Special, C. P.	90				
MAY	Regular	1594				
May 5, '21	—talesmen	80	400	80	320	
JUNE	Regular	654				
JULY	Regular	104				
JULY,	Special for Mu-					
	nicipal Ct. for					
	Aug. 15.	80				
AUGUST	Regular	104				
SEPTEMBER	Regular	254				
OCTOBER	Regular	1854				
October 24, '21	—talesmen	70	350	70	280	
NOVEMBER	Regular	1494				
November 2, 21	—talesmen	80	400	80	320	
DECEMBER	Regular	724				
TOTAL NUMBER USED		14302	(2170)	434	1736)	14,302

Remaining in wheel, December 1921 1,098

NOTE OF EXPLANATION.

The total drawing—14,302 of names used are copied into the jury book by the clerk, from the slips as drawn from the wheel by the Sheriff and certified to by him in open Court or at the Judge's chambers. The slips containing the names of talesmen used—434—were returned to the clerk of the Board by the Sheriff for the record of the Board.

The names of the unused talesmen—1736—were returned to the wheel by the Sheriff in open Court on the completion of the panel or a few days thereafter.

The slips containing the names of specials were returned to the clerk of the Board for record the same as those of the regular drawings.

.....
Clerk.

JURORS FOR THE FEDERAL COURT.

The selecting and drawing jurors for the Federal Courts is independent of the State Courts. The United States Jury Commissioner and the Clerk of the District Court for the United States have the selecting and drawing of jurors for the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, and for the year 1921 selected three thousand (3000) names and drew about one thousand (1000). These names were selected and drawn from the following ten (10) counties comprising the district: Berks, Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Lancaster, Lehigh, Montgomery, Northampton, PHILADELPHIA, and Schuylkill.

As the report of the district Federal Jury Trials for 1921 will not be made up until after July, and there is no completed tabulated record at hand, the United States District Attorney, George W. Coles, Esq., kindly offers any information they may have after that date, but too late for this paper.

JOURNEY TO BETHLEHEM.

BY JOSHUA GILPIN.

(Continued from page 38.)

We called this evening at Dan^l Strouds to deliver our letter from S Sitgreaves. he returned from the election soon after & treated us with much politeness, we supped with him & his family which I think is one of the nicest I saw here & live as handsomely as they in the City, he is a man of very considerable intelligence, has been in very good company & appeared capable of giving us more information than all the rest of the country put together— He gives us the same character of G—— L—— we have uniformly had of his being very slippery and inclined to play tricks, rather a low man, & he thinks that were L^lands not the best in the country he would not hesitate at calling the best he could find his own & showing us them— D. S.—— has but a very poor opinion of the value of any of Levers lands, he does not doubt their soil but their situation in places where it would be ignorance indeed to expect any general settlement to take place, & the roads must be supported at the expense of each farm, Mills, Black smith &c are at great distances and the time of one man would be wholly taken up to attend each of them, he would not buy them at any price & thinks them worth nothing from these disadvantages, tho' he says he differs from most persons in his opinion, and perhaps for this reason the lands may be worth something, tho' he may be ever so correct— D. S. has ideas of a settlement which ought to *enrich* its possessors & of course is a very proper person to converse with— He is well acquainted with Lever's

Tobyhanon farm which he admits to be really a valuable property both in soil & situation & worthy attention & the only part of the property he thinks which is— D. S. ideas of the value of lands generally is more rational than of any person I have met with, he thinks that all the landed property of this country has a gradual rise according to the settlement & will thus improve but that much cannot be done by sending men out or forcing the business, that there has never been any real causes for lands to have ever so suddenly become an object of merchandise as they have done & that it has fully proved so by their sinking from the forced state of price &c to the former one of a par with other things— The Beech Woods Lands are here much preferred to any country between this & them & have the general opinion in favor of their becoming very valuable, the line of division between them & the other common lands is about 20 miles & altho' the timber is heavy they appear the nearest land proper for general settlement, the hills are regarded as quite equal to the vallies—this country is of the nature of our 12 tracts on the head of Chest & Clearfield.—

13th. We had remained at this place this morning to permit G. Levers to fulfil his appointment which he did not do I suppose he slipped to the Election yesterday under the only pretense we should permitted him to leave us—

We employed ourselves till dinner in walking about this Settlement with D. S. and having conversation upon the improvement of this country—

I am convinced that the only object in purchasing lands here would be to settle a number of families of different employments to supply each others necessities, which would certainly answer well, and if there were adjoining lands left for sale would always command purchasers— If land is otherwise bo't it must have but little attention and lay for the advance of the

lands generally in which it may again answer well as population is extending gradually as a wave over this continent & could we fix upon spots into which it may rush would prove to more immediate advantage— In purchasing the best lands in detached places one advantage is given to settlers tho' it is a small one, that of their making use of the adjoining ones as a range for creatures &c. & for hunting— Afternoon D. Stroud called on us & proposed our riding which we did with him about 4 miles up Broadheads Creek to view the extent of their valley which is generally very fine several handsome houses of stone &c he showed us a tract of cleared land of 60 acres for which he gave D^s. 900— Broadheads Creek was originally called Analomink by the Indians & is a fine mill stream— On our ride saw several new clearings country mostly stony & rough timber pine hemlock &c. The Pitch pine & White pine are both very plenty especially on Morris & Nicholsons Lands the White pine is a very beautiful tree, its straightness is very elegant as it reaches to a height of about 160 ft. & the leaves are a bright green & no where thick so that it interrupts nothing, the hemlock is quite different its height is nearly the same but its leaves are flat horizontally & in layers of leaves & limbs the same of an excessive dark green & intercept even the rays of the sun, its shape is broad at the lowest branches & pointed at the top so that it is like a cone, it grows to an excessive thickness in the trunk, at the ends of the limbs from the leaves hangs the little cone which bears the seed & is auburn & beautiful among the dark shades of color. The hemlock is always accompanied by the birch & I could not but recall the observations of St. Pierre on this subject as I found his remarks strictly verified—he observes that the fir has the shape of a regular cone but that its neighbor the birch has its limbs slender & often hang gathering round its trunk & has the form of an inverted pyramid

—the stiff leaves of the fir or hemlock remain unmoved by a breeze which continually gives the birch a tremulous motion— The bark of the hemlock is very dark the beech very light colored, the Beech affords food to the beavers on its roots while the Hemlock nourish the squirrels & rooks on its branches yet these trees with the sugar maple are inseparable & where they grow the land assumes the name of beech woods & is totally a distinct & different kind from all others, the thickness of the branches interwoven a-top prevent the light from touching the soil or at least the rays of the Sun & owing to that it is extremely moist without underwood & has a small dark green vine peculiar to itself & runs over the moss which covers everything & is extremely pretty its flower is a white berry red about the size of a pea. the roots of the moss run above ground very much & make the soil uneven tho' they are covered with this moss— Along broadheads creek are several of the Hemlock & White pine in damp situations which bear from their bows a white moss hanging down several yards & many of the trees nearly covered with it— has a singular & elegant appearance—as we passed thro many parts of the woods we found that all the young timber was destroyed, in places for hundreds of poles nothing on the ground but large trees & this is owing to a practise of the hunters of this country who from time immemorial have set fire late in the fall annually to the woods both for the purpose of clearing them & to prevent future years from assisting the timber to grow to obstruct their pursuit of the Deer— this kind of lawless depredation as dangerous to the settlers as injurious to the community of Landholders has been often strove to be remedied without effect, travellers have been surrounded by the fire on the public roads; those who understand the business when they see the fire surrounding or pursuing them with the wind, set fire to the spot they are on till it burns away

& get on it when the general blast arrives. The woods under fire makes a tremendous appearance—

On our ride we obtained some information respecting G—— L——'s lands and returned to our Inn at 8 oClock where soon after G. Levers came to us he had not been able to have come before thro the indisposition of his wife— The mill opposite to our lodgings is situate in one of the finest mill streams I ever saw & at a place which is a curiosity the beautiful strata of stone which are at the dam & thro which the stream has worn a very smooth channel the cataract of water over some rocks at the dam & the excessive clearness of the stream is beautiful— They are erecting a new stone bridge of three large arches, immediately over the dam & the water flows thro' the arches immediately over the cataract—

We arranged the plan with G. L. for the movements of the next day & retired to bed.

14. Set off after breakfast with G. Levers up Broadheads Creek to see his lands on Cranberry to which we came in riding about 10 miles he found them with some difficulty, the first described to lay in the name of Laurence Cuncle 200 acres on the waters of Broadheads Creek—was a tract of White oak land some of the finest trees I ever saw, a flat lying rather high & in one place of about 40 acres I apprehend the other part was rather wet & low & a rich hickory bottom— Stony in places—the second tract on the Cranberry one line of it running thro' the Cranberry Pond but being so wet & low we saw little else than the adjoining country & the tracts round from which we would judge it to contain a very excellent soil & bottom which would require to be drained. the timber mostly Wok's Maple Sugar Beech & hickory the tract is in the name of James Davis 233 A^s broad—neither of these tracts have any settlements nearer to them than three or four miles & the roads if they may be called so within about

2. excessively rough & over ridges of stones, the country round hilly rocky & broken & not practicable to be settled—

On our road or way home we were wet with rain during which had to stop to feed our horses with oats from a rock on the top of an extreme high ridge & had a delightful view of the slope of the country from thence over Strouds valley to the Water Gap of the blue mountain about 16 miles & of the blue Lehigh hills beyond it to a very great distance, the profile of the Gap gave us a fresh idea of its greatness—no art could give to the people of this country a most useful director than this to prevent their being lost as they can see it from the top of every hill, & regulate their course by it—we returned down the Broadheads Creek home about 7 o'clock & concluding to start very early the next morning retired early to bed—

15th. Rose this morning about 5 o'clock & set off with G. Levers to see some of his lands lying upon the headwaters of Jones's & McMichael's Creeks and in our way came to an Inn kept on the North & South road to Cooperstown kept by John Larmes where we found it so rainy as it had been all our way that it was neither prudent nor answerable to our business to attempt going into the woods— The road there from Strouds town 8 or 9 miles is over a great number of pine ridges some of them stony, the land very thin & rough passed only one or two small farms in our way— The Settlement at Larme's is a fine one made about 30 years ago by the father of the present holder, all whose family but him were killed about 20 years ago at the conclusion of the american war by a party of 6 indian ravagers one of whom I. L. shot— The house & land was purchased twice by I. L. but the title afterwards lost again & is held by Judge R Peters & is in the body of a large quantity of his land which is not of the first quality the family have of their own land & J. Peters

about 200 acres cleared for the house & I P's part they pay about D^s. 32.— 79 annum—they have a house barn Blacksmiths Shop & weaving room handy— On our way here we lamented the destruction thro' the woods by the fire & the mischief of the hunters in so wantonly sporting with the wealth of the country for their pleasure. Their custom is to form a ring round about a wood of 2 or 3000 acres with leaves &^s. to which they set fire the deer finding themselves enclosed. contract themselves within the circle & do not break thro' till they find it on all sides & in getting out are shot by the hunters as they spring over it into the plain which the fire has consumed— I believe the settlers here are much more a lawless banditti & subject to more disorders of every kind than on our western waters as I never had to remark any such doings for altho' the woods there were in places burnt it was only accidental & by fires breaking out of their clearings which is excusable & is never designed or general as here— The Settlement of I Larmes we reached to breakfast about 8 oClock & found there had been brot there about 2 oClock in the morning by a hunter one Dennis Coe a fine buck shot by him on the waters of the Woltenpapack about 22 miles & sold on his way to Strouds, I think the fattest I ever saw & he says he has since his residence at that place killed about 300 & not one finer or larger, we had fine stakes from him for breakfast and they equalled every description I ever heard of them. the buck which was brot here neated the hunter about as follows.—

2 hind quarters 40 ^{lbs} each 80 at 4 ^d	3.55
2 forequarters 40 ^{lbs}.....at 2.....	88
Skin	2.—
6 ^{lb} tallow.....@ 1/.....	.80

D^s. 7.23

our breakfast today at a public Inn consisted of Coffee, —Venison Stake, porcht eggs. a roast chicken, honey, raddishes for which we paid 2/ each. I bot of our land-lord about 18^{lbs} of the back of the loin of our buck at 6^d which we sent down to Strouds to meet us at dinner at 6 oClock this evening.— The rain abating we concluded to continue upon part of our business and left the Inn at Larmes for G. Lever's lands on the head-water's of Jones's & M^cMichael's Creeks. Our bill at Larmes's.

4 breakfasts.....2/.....	1.8
20 qts of oats.....8 ^d	67
12 ^{lb} venison at.....6 ^d	67
hay.....2/ a snack for 4@2 ^d	38 2.85
	<hr/>
Guide a woodman.....	.50
	<hr/>
	3.35

The hunter who brot us the venison was the compleatest fellow I ever saw, he was a strong active hard new englander fairly fitted for business of this kind & in his pursuits had rambled thro' half America, and combined a very tolerable education which qualified him for keeping a school in N. E. with a desire of seeing all his time & money would permit hardships were to him no barriers & his habits of life prevented his feeling himself a stranger anywhere & he appeared equally fitted for entertainment in a city or resting on a rock. his deportment was very decent he leaves his home for hunting with but little provision & goes on accomodating himself to his fare & his manners to the people till a change of his desire or a gratification of it induces his return & we may say every place is his home & as to the ease that others more civilized seek, he seeks it not because he always has it— The Western Woods fort Pitt, the Genesee & lake countries, heads

of Susquehannah, Lake Champlain & the streams of Delaware were about equally known to him & he conversed of them all as places he visited as I do the streets of Philadelphia—

From his man I obtained considerable information of the State of Settlements about our lands on the Elk forrest and am inclined to believe no improvements are so forward as we have understood, I have also had the same hints from several others & combined them with my own knowledge of the slowness of the advance of people among the beech woods. these circumstances appear requisite a property of that kind should be known to us & induce me much to see them.

I may here mention that the Larmes have the care of the property of Judge Peters & prevent the burning of their woods by raking the leaves around them every year & burning them with care to prevent its spreading, by which means when the general fire comes down from the forrest the combustible, communicable matter is previously destroyed & their is not any connexion.

Larmes plantation being the oldest near it has been considered a central spot & the miles are marked from it on the trees northward towards Copperstown. it is called at constantly by travellers we have met two Jersey men Joel Wolverton & his brother who were about removing & after being all thro' this country & the beech woods were determined to make a settlement on the Cayuga or Seneca Lakes near Genesee he gives a promising account of that country and both of the soil & improvements & emigration, Land he says he thinks may be had there for cash in large Lots for D^s. 2— 79 acre & is equal to any part of America.— I think this is worthy of more inquiry as the present is certainly a very dull time with landholders, the settlements & speculations have been forced & have failed & in it have operated as much to prevent the object of improving the country as to involve the persons engaged, lands

were never much more an object at one time than another but those who have thought so in going too far have injured their purposes, made them more heavy than ever & I wish to enquire if they have not left the way open for those who are not embarrassed to do something handsome, as the gradual population of these countries cannot be prevented in the end.

About 40 miles from this place is a village of *Wilsonville* at which Judge *Wilson* has expended about D^s. 40,000. in making a manufactory of sail canvas, which I understand made 16 yds before it dropped the buildings are now going to decay—a little town remains there well situated where there is accommodation for travellers.—

Thro' all the western part of this country with which I have any knowledge there appears to extend ridges of a similar soil & appearance to be passed tho' they vary something in breadth—After passing a rich country to the blew mountain, sometimes or mostly narrower to the northward & going over it the great limestone valley is found, reaching to an irregular hill country in which there is little good land but in vallies, to the *Allegheny M^{ts}* on the western part of which is an unvarying line of beech woods hemlocks &c. to amasing growth.—and these may properly be denominated the wilds of America, as from the labor of improving them they certainly appear like to be left for ages.—from this line we fall into a fine rich open soil generally flat enough & capable of extensive cultivation & genial to extensive population & improvement of the last description are our *Westmoreland* tracts of the former are our *18 Huntingdon*— As the mountains contract towards the *North River* & heads of the *Delaware* some variations may be expected, the vallies between the mountains narrower & more beech lands & over the ridges more flats which extend towards the *Genessee Lakes*—

We have already passed our large bodies of Morris & Nicholson surveys almost to any quantity which are certainly the worst lands to be found, but I think were the titles good they might be bo't with advantage at their present prices, some parts of them would answer for farms but timber is here becoming of considerable value wherever they can be got off. We found much of their land offered at 10 or 13 cents an acre on which there is very tolerable wood, this will answer well for staves on which I made from the best information I could obtain the following estimate— 10 trees white oaks on an average will make 1000 staves & one half being given to make them is 20 trees

1 M. Staves at Phil ^a	D ^s . 40.—	
cartage from stump to water.....	D ^s . 12.—	
raft & bringing down to Phil.....	6.—	
risk	2.—	20.—
	<hr/>	
20 trees bring 1 D ^s . ea. }	.....	20—

The question then is what quantity is on an acre.

The rise of lands in spots proper for settlements is very sudden as soon as they are resorted to & I think good lands easy for cultivation with moderate advantages cannot fail of being good purchases, bo't as 2 D^s.— ₹ acre. but I think that this country is too much known for it, & perhaps the more settled parts of N Yk—but as emigration is yet nearly as great as ever or at least is gradually so a place may be discovered having some fixed object which would prove well— Strouds family bought their present Settlement 34 years ago for £350.—and the settler 4 years after would have been glad to have regained it at 10 times the sum, they have made from it the means of holding here about 4,000 acres for which I apprehend they would not take D^s. 20 ₹ acre.

At Larmes we had sent for his brother to conduct

as thro' some about 7 tracts of G. Levers lands on M^c.Michaels creek but which the wetness of the woods prevented us from doing & we only received from him a description of them as follows.

John Keyser	} these generally pretty good
John Porter	
John Dawes	
John Kinsey	
John Kinsey	
John Martin	
Henry Gutshalk	

the soil rich but stony on the hills the meadows fine flat bottoms wet & rich soil. Settlements within about 4 miles road within about 2 miles.

on our way home we passed thro' the following tracts on Jones's creek—

William Farmer	} all these lands were taken up by Robert Levers for the benefit of the timber, the soil is excessively stony & nowhere fit for cultivation except on the pine ridges where it is poor. apprehended from description to be the same quality & unnecessary to be seen & may yield a crop—we would not value this land as worth anything as the timber is nearly all either been cut or destroyed by the fire at least none grows up a new.
Benj ⁿ . Yardley	
George Wormsley	
James Fox	
Samuel Engle	
Robert Miller	
Benj ⁿ . Yardley	

We reached Strouds to dine about dusk the hunter by whom I sent had bro't. our venison & had it ready for dinner & it proved quite to our satisfaction was very nice & tender, we had to our table our land lord & his son I. Stroud— Our landlord being an old colonel & fond of entertainment acted his character & was very agreeable— Our hunter on coming down had made his way here with as much amusement to them & ad-

vantage to himself as he had done among us, he was certainly a man of good information & wit enough to make his relations well attended to—

We have observed thro' all this country the excellent effects labor on the people generally in the mode of their life, the robustness & solidity of their muscles, none of them inclining to fatness & all active.

16. This morning it rained so heavily we were detained wholly at our Inn we had otherwise concluded last night to move on Pim Nevins for N Yk & I had it in debate to see our lands on the Lacawacriver as I wished much to be informed of our interest there but the delay of rain put the matter out of the question as I would not have consented so long a stay during the uncertainty of the weather.— During the morning the object of our Journey. G. Levers lands became as often before the subject of our debate & from the best information we could obtain we believe, that their dispersed situation remote from Roads & from each other & from all the present houses from which they are seperated by excessive rough ridges will render it inelligible to purchase them with a view of sending out persons under an assurance of their being in good & proper situations added to this, their quality is irregular some of them not adapted at all for settlement,—to depend on having upon them the people who generally have settled about these woods would be almost encouraging a set of lawless depredators, as many of them would only purchase for the privilege of cutting timber and getting all the value from the first working of the soil, & leave it a barren waste, not able to fulfil their engagements we are therefore of opinion that a purchase of these lands at a very low rate say about .27 cents ⌘ acre might be a good speculation & would not higher & that by taking care of the timber should not be injured & preventing settlers something might be made from their rise in value.— We think

that to purchase upon terms equally low, the adjoining lands of Morris & Nicholson would be enhancing their value in our hands as perhaps nearly all of Levers's lands might be settled & Nicholsons serve them for timber & a range, they would also become of value the moment a settlement is made to join them, but untill a settlement was formed on our own plan I would decidedly prevent a person from going on the lands upon any terms unless his character was wholly to be confided in—

My friend P. N. thinks that should we purchase any quantity of lands on Speculation he would have all the timber sold for what it would bring as it might pay for the land, & that there is every appearance of the wood being soon replaced if the fire could be generally prevented as it does not destroy the roots so wholly as to prevent it from growing again.—& while trees are on the lands they are plundered.

Our Inn is the general resort of the wild people of the country a store being also in it, we were much disturbed with the rudeness of their manners, not attributable to design, but to their mode of life which I think is pardonable on that consideration— Every one is on a degree of equality & from their seeing few persons at their own farms treat everybody as intimates, our appearance excited some attention & distance but no introduction was ever expected from others most of the people who came here were germans.

After dining again on our buck the back of one side of which had now dinned 12 persons & had a meal for two to spare we prepared to leave the Inn I paid the following bill in which

Dinners were charged at 2/..	27	} ams. for 4 persons 4 Days 22.93
Madeira wine.....	50	
Oats at 3 ^d	3	
Lodging at.....	20	

We concluded to keep together on the road to Easton thro P. N. designed to get to N Yk by the readiest way he could, we directed G. Levers to take a different road from the one by which we came & led us over a small hill to a valley between it & the base of the blue mountain & stopped at an Inn of Henry Housen a Dutchman about 4 miles from Strouds early in the evening to lodge.—this valley is one of the richest we have seen since we set out & has some very well improved farms tho' its breadth is little more than half a mile—its greenness of fine cultivation up the hills & the sides of the blue mountain is very great & handsome, the ride here was over a rough road in places on the ridge we crossed covered with round pebbles with which the surface of all the country is all covered in places but are never found below the soil.— On our way here we had a fine view of the blue mountain, the mists or low clouds which came with an easterly rain enveloped its top & its height being hid we might indulge the idea of its being much higher.—

Our friend P. N. thinks the hills & grass of the woods well adapted to raise sheep & promote the growth of the best wool, which a richer soil will not do, but they are very little attended to here at Stroud's they have them but owing to the wolves are driven every night into folds.—

The Maple Sugar is made through all this country but is extremely laborious.

The trees are tapped or bored about 2 inches deep with a small auger the last of cold weather when it softens for Spring & always the better if a soft or wet snow is on the ground in a general thaw the holes furnished with a hollow stick or reed to lead the juice or sap into a wooden trough placed beneath which is emptied into a kettle not further off than a quarter of a mile in which it is boiled to a consistency & if the

maker understands it is granulated by stirring if not, is poured into a bason, the shape of which it preserves as a cake of tallow & is afterwards cut as used. a very fine tree may yield 80 gallons of juice but the average is not more than 20 or 25. the strength of the juice varies from 4 or 5 gallons yielding a pound of sugar to 7 or 8 doing it according to the strength of the tree being exhausted by its continuance in running— The juice this tree affords is astonishing & that it does it without the least injury to its growth I have heard of the juice of some trees which have never been tapped falling from the branches

At Supper this evening we had, a mutton chop, fried bacon, porched eggs honey, apple pye, cucumbers coffee. for which we paid 1/6 each.

17. Our bill at Henry Housen's was for three 22/10 We left this Inn about 7 oClock & kept down thro' the valley which we found better cultivated even than the part we rode thro' last evening it also widened & we passed several fine grazing farms, the cleared fields which the lands are rich enough to induce it up the hills & often the sides of the mountain are elegant beyond description.— After passing out of the valley previous to my calling on G. Levers we had again a view of the extensive valley opening to the west & of the rises of several Mountains & the Pocono from it a full prospect of the wilderness we had passed thro which appeared almost again desirable from this height.— After getting G. Levers from his house we proceeded thro' the wind Gap the prospect of which from the west side again amazed me in its extrem lowness & dip in comparison with the rest of the top as I could observe it better than when I went & I do not think it equals more than an fourth of its heighth—

The Lake which is on the western side of it is about 1½ miles from it & is a mile long ½ mile wide & very

deep—it is called Lake Papoonamey*— I was sensible that in passing thro' this Gap before & in the attempt of my friends to ascend it they had not discovered its beauties as they tried it on the north side & having with me a person who knew it, I wished to try again & proposed it but they declined, my desire to do it was such however that I persevered in going up the south decline, so as to have a full prospect of the valley towards Bethlehem, but the trees for some height admitted it but partially & in order to gain it more fully I continued to ascend the way not being very difficult, till the top appeared not very far & from the emulation of gaining the utmost ridge went further than I intended.

We however gained the utmost summit & I considered myself amply repaid for my labor & fatigue in the most extensive prospect I had ever enjoyed, as the point on which I stood gave me a rich & varying appearance in every direction.— Facing to the north west my view opened perfectly clear from every interruption over a precipice & lengthy descent of rocks of about 200 feet such as are very common on the sides of these mountains, the country below appeared for the first ten or twelve miles as a map down below us every house road & stream & field perfectly discernable, the situation of Lake Papoonamey and the very tolerable cultivation in the valley immediately beneath were very handsome, after this distance the cultivation was less frequent & was perhaps a little obstructed by a gradual elevation of mountains which rise from the valley as far as my eye could extend; these appeared over each other in succession to an amazing distance & almost untill their distinction from the clouds was lost by the azure shades of the horizon.— The last distinguishable object was the Pocono mountain which I had seen this morning

* Intended for "Poponming." Heckewelder calls it "Ponoming," meaning "where we were gazing." It is now known as "Long Lake." (G. P. D.)

much nearer I thought than at its extreem view, but from this height it appeared to rise much in sight. part of it was intercepted by the mists of the morning which had been cloudy & which added much to its grandeur, the beauty of my prospect on this side was highly increased by the chequered shades of light the cloudyness of the day caused over it,—this is often seen extremely beautiful on a limited space when one or two shades are thrown in about a mile but here our extent was almost unlimited & the distance of a mile was not known, the whole horizon was varied & the shades of light & clouds dispersed irregularly over it the enlightened spaces gradually with distant objects were less in sight & more numerous with their distance & were lost under the decline of the verge of our limits of view.—on the east side our view was too much shaded by the mist & intercepted by trees but the small spaces which I could see were equally elegant it generally terminated in the irregular summits of the Lehigh hills, the richness of this country is in our view equal to its comparative product the farms & houses extend almost to infinity & at places the little dutch towns on the hills are conspicuous & interesting, Nazareth is distinctly seen. on the North is opposite part of the Gap the other side of the mountain about the same heigth but the space between being so short is no less a curiosity than the two unbounded views. the trees rise in succession from the road where one can almost look upon them & are growing upon all the craggy precipices to the top, this mountain slopes down into the prospect of the western valley & in a short or narrow part of the view & without running into it reaches till its course fades in the general distance and azure mists—on the south the forests of the top of the mountains soon close the extent but these are worthy of observation as on the summit of the ridge the trees are of considerable size & beauty even among the rocks, the pines are numerous & extremely

pleasant, their own Stature is everywhere grand, but on this ridge which I consider one of the wonders of nature they are not only conspicuous but comparative of its durability as they shade its summit with an everlasting green.— We descended with more difficulty than we got up as the rocks were slippery, but without accident or much fatigue & rejoined our company at Hellers Inn soon after they had arrived as we rode fast fearing they would wait—we judged our walk up & down had been two miles.— We breakfasted at Jacob Hellers's—paid for G. Levers my part of y^e whole 50 cents—we proceeded on myself for George Palmers & my friends for Easton in their way for N. Yk. we kept company as far as Nazareth, thro' which country we had many fine prospects the land 4 miles from Hellers miserable oak barrens & a poor shelly stony surface but within the remainder of the distance rich & delightfully varied & finely cultivated.— we passed a mile before we reached Nazareth a little moravian town & at Nazareth we parted my friends taking an eastern course Nazareth contains about 30 houses is a very neat little village finely situated in the center of neat cultivation & good farms & land, has a moravian nunnery & upon the same establishment as at Bethlehem & being determined to see the latter place & to be informed of the order of it, I thought it not necessary to appear here I accordingly continued my road toward G. Palmers. the Deputy Surveyor, and passd thro' Christian Spring, the country all the way to his house is finely improved as near Nazareth, several very rich farms passed a confiscated estate of I. Galloway had all the way views of the Blue M^{tn}. & of the Lehigh hills on all of which the Sun shone while shade was over us in the valley.

I found G. Palmer absent but opened our business fully to his Son and left our papers & he promised me he would engage his father's attention to it.—

G. P.'s house is very pretty from the end of his lane I had one of the finest prospects I ever saw particularly the passage of the Lehigh thro' the blue M^{tn}. which I took during the remainder of the afternoon & at dusk came to lodge at Cyders Inn. about a mile from G. P.'s where we had supper & very decent accommodations the landlord one of the most attentive & honest dutchmen I have found.—

I omitted to mention that the blue mountain at Hellers's Gap & extending Southward many miles is the property of Tench Cox (?) he purchased many thousand acres at 4/6 £ acre, without as I can perceive a single inducement on account of estimated value, the timber cannot be got from it in any quantity forever, it is however a *solid estate* & could he have visited it often might have been supposed to have been bought for its prospect.— The passage up the mountain from the road thro' the Gap I am sure could be improved with little expense to accommodate horses—its perpendicular height 1200 ft.

18. Paid at Cryder's bill for G. Levers & myself

2 Suppers.....	25	.....	.50
1 p ^t . Lisbon wine.....			.25
16 quarts oats.....			.53
hay.....	2 horses	.....	.40 D ^s . 1.68

Set off early in the morning for Bethlehem the Landlord offering to accompany me about 2 miles as the road was difficult—which I accepted—about a mile from the Inn I parted from G. L.—who had been very civil and behaved with great propriety towards us & with prudence to others during all the time we had been together & had as much to say of the conduct of others towards him as they had to complain,— It is very certain that all of the people about where he lives—excepting the Strouds are a very rough set have been always in quarrels & were often endeavoring to prejudice us by

relating stories which we discarded as of no consequence true or false—Prejudices certainly exist against him among very respectable people & too serious if they have not been raised by the means I have mentioned to have arisen from trivial causes—

My Landlord partly for the purpose of showing me the road & as I had praised the country of letting me see some of its finest views, accompanied me about 5 miles towards Bethlehem & explained the distances we saw as we passed & I am satisfied in pronouncing the whole distance to Bethlehem to be thro the most picturesque country I ever travelled the eminences not great but as much so as requisite to see perfectly over the hills of the ground before us & the chain of the Lehigh & blue mountains the latter at great distances bounding the sight & from the directions of our sight in very irregular summits I could most cheerfully acknowledge that the farmer in seeking to bring the wilderness to fertility gave the whole face of nature its most charming appearance & perhaps the most proper disposition to his uses in the alternate benefits of woods & cultivation is that of all others the most agreeable—

After returning from the unsettled parts of this country, where in its infancy it must remain for some time in general rudeness & descending into vallies the most beautiful & luxuriant in produce & prospect in America I could with pleasure apply the lines of Goldsmith as they arose perhaps because they might have been excited by a similar enjoyment.

Far to the right where Apenine ascends
Bright as the Summer Italy extends
 Its uplands sloping deck the mountains side
 Woods over Woods in gay thiatric pride—

Many of the Germans in this country are certainly free from the roughness for which they are so noted

I met & was treated with great politeness by many of them who appeared to great advantage as little was expected, they attend by far too little to teaching their children english and will want english manners till they do & they will continue as a separate colony, almost all the children speaking & writing nothing else but dutch

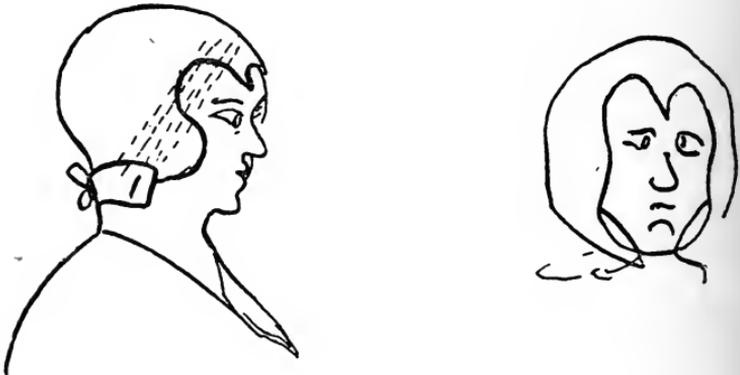
The road to Bethlehem leads thro the Irish Settlement, few of the original improvers remain on it I reached my first Stage to breakfast about 10 oClock

Determining to spend a few hours to see this place I sent for the person who is stiled the father of the family who called on me after breakfast & to whom I made known my intention. This old man about 70 years of age is almost always near the Inn when not showing the institution in order to offer his Services to Strangers & to take them thro free of any restraint so natural on seeing a place so new— He is universally saluted with the title of Daddy Thomas, which I found unvaried and not singular & of course adopted it.

Daddy Thomas walked with several persons who had waited for this purpose at the Inn down to the schools of the girls which I think consisted of six rooms in each of which we saw about 14.—& this divided according to the several ages & proficiencies of learning, begin^s with reading writing &c. to drawing embroidery in Silk & muslin & music & painting as we went thro' the rooms our guide was frequently called to by the children by his title,— In the girls schools they were mostly attended by a mistress one of the Sisters particularly so at the arts of Drawing needle work & music & were not interrupted by our coming, & it gave us much pleasure to see the specimens of considerable ingenuity— Whether from the affection the old Sage bears all his dear children as he calls the girls or from a disposition to show his familiarity the ceremony of kissing was again gone thro' to all who attracted his attention & which the young women permitted

He took great pleasure in informing us of such as had come for instruction from great distances such as N. Carol^a. Antigua Marietta N. E^d. &c. &c. and said upon the whole their project equalled their expectations— During the time we were in the girls school I observed a whiteness of complexion universally if not a sallowness attributable to close confinement or to exercise only under particular rules & am satisfied that the mind does not enjoy any relaxation while under the rules of others uniformly designed to suit all the bow may gain something of its straitness if unstrung, but to give it its full power it may be necessary to apply a force to the contrary side

The modes of play exercise &c. are too much reduced to system they play under the eye of the Sister who accompanies them & they do become reduced to their order of acting & I have little doubt mode of thinking from enticement & from knowing no other. After the schools we passed thro' the Sisters house remarkable



for its extreme neatness, the dormitory is in the garrett which is made very roomy & pleasant, the beds are all single & I suppose are about 60 formed in three rows thro' the length of the house, in the center of this chamber there burns a lamp all night under a ventilator which carries thro' it the air from the closeness of the

room.— I could observe no peculiarity in the women's dress except a stiffness of lacing & the wear of scolloped caps with rounds to cover the ears & a point in the front which were very singular & universally put on infants & old women, they were originally used from one being presented to one of their sisters by Catherine Queen of Denmark who received them from their persecution at their rise in Germany. they are generally made thus. the whole is covered with bookmuslin or fine worked lawn

After passing thro' the sisters house we led into the store room where we were to buy some of their work, which I did but & think there was no assortment as the whole was contained in four drawers. they said they had sold more than usual this season—

I had told Daddy Thomas I wished to see other parts of the institution particularly the Church and water works but by the time we were done here he said the men were going to dinner & nothing would be done till afternoon, so accordingly I went to the Inn to my own, about 3 o'clock Daddy Thomas again called at the Inn but not to take me further about the town, it was he said under an engagement to go with another party thro' the same business we were at this fore noon & to leave them in the same manner, and as I saw that was their regular form with which visitors were treated, I was determined to do as well as I could for myself— Of course I first tried the Water Works on the Monocasy, which is a wheel working three pistons in brass cyinders to force the water thro' leaden pipes into a small stone reservoir on a high part of Bethlehem whence there are four conduits to the gardens cultivated at separate houses & to the houses for washing & other purposes. My next visit was to the Bretherens house. which appeared almost empty as many are employed out of doors, several only in the lower apartment were at looms making clothes shoes &c the only thing.

we could find here was the prospect from the top of the house which gives a good sight of the town—in one of the chambers is a small organ on which one of them played for us & was very fine indeed. My last effort was to get into the Church which I accomplished with some difficulty. the room is simple, fitted up with an orchestra at one end a small pulpit in the middle. the forms are all very plain benches mostly without backs, the men here are separated from the women & retire by different doors, round this chamber are hung 14 paintings of one their ministers of the principal events of our Saviour's life from the annunciation to his ascension & are striking pieces, in another room, the old meeting room are paintings of several of the Nuns, the Brethren & Sisters by the same artist.—

I returned to the Inn about 4 o'clock & prepared to go— I shall however give some further remarks before I leave it— This institution was founded about 62 years ago from the funds of the Society in Germany originally founded or patronized by Count Zinsendorf, by the purchase of 4000 acres of land on which part of the buildings were erected the rest, I suppose have been added from the increase of the money of the institution so that at this time the buildings of the concern here consist of the houses for devotees of the sect. the Brothers house, Schools, Sisters house, Married Sisters houses, Widows house Church, Parsonage, two large Stores a large Inn a grist mill, Brewery, Tannery, Snuff Mill & several single houses, all which are either rented out & an annual sum thence arises or persons are hired to conduct the several branches for the benefit of the institution, the excess to be applied to the support of their foreign missionaries, the helpless in the community being first attended to—

I am informed the moravian missionaries have been for many years thro' all the interior of this continent & have at several times attached the Indians to them

& engaged them on the mission before the war they had three Oconomies (establishments of the same kind as at Bethlehem) on Muskingam river a stream of Lake Erie at one of which there were engaged 100 Indians, & as their principles lead them to decline war they remained for some secluded from their bretheren— So considerable a number as this was missed by the Nations who took part with the English & the chiefs feeling their weakness & knowing no reason for their exemption sent them word they were in the way of their War Path & soon followed with their whole number & took them away.—

Their Oconomies have been at times established in most parts of Europe, America & Asia, from their origin in Germany to which remittances are made of the profits of the several Institutions and I suppose with some parts of this the missionaries are supported.

I wished to know particularly the situation in which the several workmen stood, but Daddy Thomas always evaded my question either by pretending not to understand it or giving me a very partial answer—from enquiry of some of the others I was informed that the bretheren worked for themselves & paid their own board, & if they left the place took with them their property, owing however to the difficulty of understanding their broken english & I think the art of the head of them very little intelligence is to be got. The greatest appearance of civility is always kept up & a vast profession of attention to strangers, & the time of the visitors is so taken up in going thro' what is commonly shown them that there is no opportunity for enquiries & you think to have it when you are done & everybody disappears and the common persons of the houses are as ignorant of its general system & purpose as any other persons of the same employments in any other place—

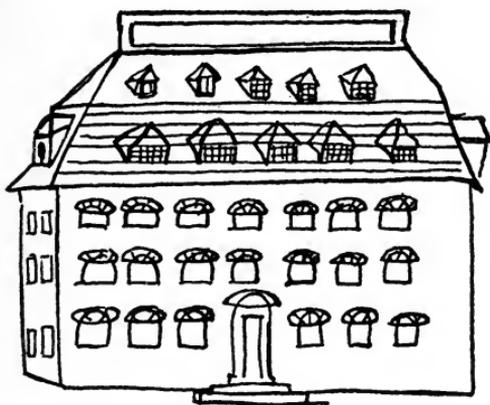
The farm surrounding this village is the most pleas-

ing part of the business as the Moravians have very justly the merit of the finest cultivation of the country their dairy &c. is very extensive & handsome but nothing being to be gained by showing these to strangers Daddy Thomas never troubles himself with else than to whip one thro' the schools & into the store till one purchases some expensive things & one is left to seek all the rest as well as they can.

The attendance at the tavern is certainly very indifferent no servants have their appropriate tasks & are all dutch without common attention if the horseler is directed to do certain parts of his duty to dust harness &c. he says uniformly "yough"—but never does it & instead of the company being seperately accommodated all are shown into one or two rooms up or down stairs, sometimes a preference is supposed to given by inviting to any upper table, but it is given to so many that they find no room at it—and this may be called crowded civilities. I must however except from this the landlady who behaved to me at both of my being there with much kindness & an attention which marked a decided desire to please her guests.— The houses are all built as it were to imitate the most ancient dutch cloisters the windows inside all have a low arch & are very deep the entrances or passages wide & a person seems lost in the emtyness of them, some of them are only lighted from one end—

The external appearance of the town is very unpleasant, the ground plot would afford a handsome view of the adjacent country but the immense piles of buildings facing each other & in the center of which one sees the town obscure it & give nothing pleasant in its place. the tavern the brothers house the store the Sisters house the Widows house the Brewery are all buildings about 80 to 100 feet front with three rows of windows in the walls and two above them in the garretts on the roofs which are no where painted, the windows which are

are painted yellow which adds to its gloomyness. the external appearance is this—



either of these buildings in a city would be at once taken for its jail.—

I may here mention the order observed with regard to marriages, which are under the direction of the governors of the settlement— When these think the circumstances of a man or judge his disposition require or dispose him to marry they take up the matter & name to him one of the women whom they think suitable whom however he may refuse if he does not. but the influence of their stations is sometimes used to bring it about. the affair thus drops. their reason for this mode is they say to prevent the bias of fortune or beauty & to preserve considerate order in the family— How ductile must the minds of the young Moravians be to have all their desires of partiality exchanged for the judgment of those whom one may suppose have outlived all the feelings which would enable them to form one!— I think that of this place so much famed for its order my opinion will differ from those who generally speak & all who have written upon it— Whatever may have been the motive of origin of the business at this place & what its merits I do not pretend to judge as none of

the sect here would inform me but certainly as it relates to others, it appears a means of making money by every means which a very combined establishment can afford. The Stores tanneries & various mills are means of great profit as is also the tavern & farm & toll bridge the original purchase of 4000 acres of rich lands here & much more at Nazareth, Litiz, Christian Spring & other places about 10 miles round at about one tenth part of their present value has been prodigiously advantageous. I suppose at Bethlehem alone the value of their property is at least £100,000—

The profits of entertaining strangers is very considerable and conducted with much art the purchases of their little manufactures is at a most extravagant rate. at the time they wish to make you think they are doing you a favor to let you have anything so nice so handsome & proofs of such superior ingenuity & skill.—

I left Bethlehem in the afternoon about 4 oClock & enjoyed another view of that beautiful sweet flowing stream the Lehigh the shadiness of the walks on each side are extremely rich and pleasant one of the Sisters with the girls was enjoying it.

I did not reach Quakertown where I lodged till two hours after dark took supper & retired about 11 oClock, to set off early in the morning.

I omitted to mention among others of the Moravian Customs, that of their conduct to infants. In order to attach them from their first perceptions to the Sect & to the rules the children are taken from the Parents indiscriminately as soon as they are weaned & brot up particularly under the care of the Elders & Governors of the Institutions in order that they may regard that as their home the Heads of the Congregation & the other children as their parents & sisters &c and fall in, without further knowledge to the general employment & enthraldom of the Institution.— Many children of independent persons have been here at

school and so taken with the designing kindness with which they are all treated that they have left the place with great reluctance—

It is the custom at Bethlehem farm where they clear the land & where they understand business of this kind better than in any other place I have ever been at, to cut up all the wood of every kind whatever into cord lengths & on passing their new clearing on the South Side of the Lehigh I had occasion to observe it they had the wood piled cord height, completely round a field of about 50 acres, which was hauled away & replaced by fences as wanted.

Bill at Bethlehem

Breakfast	2.4	
Dinner	2.6	
oats & hay.....	2.-	6.10

Bill at Quakertown—Enoch Robberts's

Supper	2.6	
Lodings 1/ oats & hay 4/	5.4	7.10
Servants at both places.....		3.—

£17.8 D^s. 2.35

I reached the turks head 12 miles on my road to Breakfast which I had tolerable

Bill & oats for horse 2/9 Serv. 5^d. . . . D^s. —.45

I returned homeward the road I set out & with nothing new to remark till I came to Chestnut Hill where I took a road which I was informed would lead over towards Schuylkill & having a very good knowledge of the direction it ought to lead me thought it needless to take very particular directions, I thought likewise that the more I kept to the South should the road fork the nearer it would lead me into the Schuylkill road to the City— Whether it was owing to this to my taking all the left-hand roads or to its being really a difficult one to travel

I found my path grow less & less distinguishable till I had *none*, & was also disappointed in endeavoring to keep my course for my desired road as I was led to the top of a precipice over a little run which it was impossible for me to get over— Knowing however there must be a road which I had left to the right I steered that way sometime & found the one I ought to have kept thinking it however very strange that having already wandered so much in real forrests without erring my way I should be lost so near home— My road led me soon down a steep defile between rocks on each side & a run of water along the tract to a small bridge over the Wissahickon a little stream emptying into Schuylkill & after crossing keep close on the southwest side of the Stream (which was here raised by a mill dam) and a very rocky side of the hill. This little creek which I so often had heard of & which I so little expected to have been on, is universally acknowledged & famed for being the most recluse & affording the most romantic Scenery of any place of this country— It is a spot I had very often wished to see, & could have known what I saw to be it from description. Several mills are erected along its course & give it very beautiful waterfalls its bottom & sides are all rocks on the latter very steep & covered with moss & fine projections the sides of the hills very near the stream & very Similar to the streams of water in general in our interior woods near the heads of the rivers so much so that had I not known myself lost near home I should have fancied myself upon them, not only from the general face of the view but here I soon found similar trees, shrubs &c. to the product of such Situations to the westward universally & which I believe no other part of this country will exhibit— Along the margin of this Creek & on the declivities of the hills grows the hemlocks of the beech land, tho' their size is small, & a few of the birch the extraordinary appearance of these trees, & the situations in

which I had always & alone found them before, where I had wandered among them as I did then was very singular & as they were accompanied with other similar trees as in the wild woods was very striking, the Laurel Maples &c & a thick moss—. I considered this little recluse a short scene which might explain many of our situations when very distant from home, as I passed strongly impressed with these ideas my attention was drawn on one side by a noise up one of the steepest declivities near the road & the first thing which struck my sight was an Indian,—my surprise was again raised & very agreeably as I thought nothing more was wanting to the scene without it was game. The Indian was in the employ of Jno Livezey a Miller on the stream & was a native of Long Island, in this country about a year—his name was John January— From a Dutch boy who was with him I found myself in the road I had desired, and which led me by a small powder mill to the Ridge Road on the banks of Scuykill & along its very beautiful prospects of the highest improvements this country affords to my home at the Cliffts, was made more agreeable by the extraordinary Scene I had just passed thro' & its beautiful situation is I think little depressed in my view by all the varieties I have seen since I left it.—

THE SECOND TROOP PHILADELPHIA CITY
CAVALRY.

BY W. A. NEWMAN DORLAND, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S.
Major, Medical Corps, U. S. Army; formerly First Lieutenant and
Surgeon of the Troop (April 1, 1898–November 10, 1903.)

[*For References see pages 167–172.*]

(Continued from page 77.)

The Fourth of July, 1791, was celebrated in the usual manner, the main exercises being carried out under the auspices of the Society of the Cincinnati. In the morning a detachment of militia, including the City Troops, escorted the Society to Zion German Luthern Church,¹⁷⁶ in Fourth Street, where an oration was delivered by Robert Porter, a member of the Cincinnati; after which the customary dinner and other festivities were indulged in.¹⁷⁷ Early in the next month, on August 4, 1791, the death of Colonel Michael Ryan,¹⁷⁸ a local military celebrity, who was the first officer to instruct the militia of the city in the use of arms. The officers of the militia, the respective corps of uniformed cavalry, artillery and infantry, and the members of the Society of the Cincinnati, attended his funeral on the 5th instant.¹⁷⁹ The cavalry troops also attended in a body, on December 21, 1791, the funeral of Andrew Bunner,¹⁸⁰ who was a volunteer in the dragoons of the city, and a successful merchant. He died on Monday, December 19, and was interred in Christ Church burying ground on Wednesday.¹⁸¹

The customary New Year's reception was held on January 3, 1792, pursuant to the following order:—¹⁸²

“Philadelphia, January 3, 1792.

“GENERAL ORDERS.

“By the special Command of His Excellency the Governor of this State to me directed, I have to request that the Officers of the several Battalions of Musquetry, Infantry, Artillery and Cavalry of the City and Districts of Philadelphia, will assemble at the State House this Day, the 3^d Instant, precisely at two o’Clock, duly uniformed, with their Side Arms, then to receive Further Orders.

“THOMAS PROCTOR, Lieut. of the City and Districts.”

The first local celebration of the birthday of the illustrious President of the United States occurred in 1792, and it is interesting to note the elaborate preparations among the military for the event. No less than two notices and official orders issued from the office of the City Lieutenant; and on the morning of Wednesday, February 22^d, there was a large military parade; while both Houses of Congress walked in Procession to wait on the President . . . , to congratulate him on the anniversary of his Birth Day.¹⁸³ The notices and orders for the day follow:—

“Philadelphia, Feb. 16, 1792.

NOTICE.¹⁸⁴

“The Officers of the Militia Battalions of the City, the Northern Liberties and Southern District of Philadelphia, are requested to assemble at the State House properly Uniformed, at half past 2 o’Clock, on Wednesday next, the 22^d Instant. The Volunteer Corps of Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry, will Parade at same Place at 11 o’Clock to take Orders for the Firings and Exercise of the Day. It is also particularly requested, that such Officers of the Army of the United States as may be in this City on that Day, will join the Proces-

sion of their Fellow Officers and Citizens as above, at half past 2 o'Clock.

“Thomas. Proctor,¹⁸⁵ Lieut.
of the City and Liberties.”

The following Circular to Commandants was issued the same day:—¹⁸⁶

“*Philadelphia, February 16, 1792.*

“*Preparatory to the Anniversary of the Birth Day of the President of the United States,*

SIR,

The Officers of the Militia of the City, Liberties and Districts of Philadelphia, are requested to assemble at the State House, at half past two o'Clock on Wednesday next, the 22^d instant, in order to proceed in a body to pay their respects to the President of the United States, to congratulate him on the Anniversary of his Birth Day, and to assure him, that they consider the prolongation of his life as a blessing to his country.

“*Lieutenant's Office of the City and Liberties.*”

The following Orders accompanied this Circular:—

“ORDERS

“FOR WEDNESDAY FEBRUARY 22, 1792.

“The Volunteer Companies of Artillery and Infantry, are to march to Market and Ninth Streets, to perform the duties of the day, it being the Anniversary of the birth of The President of the United States—
GEORGE WASHINGTON.

“The Morning Gun to be fired at the Artillery Park, and the Standard of the Union erected on the *Congress Hall.*

“The Infantry Companies to commence firing at 12 o'Clock.

“Captains [Jeremiah] Fisher's, [John] Thompson's and [John] Morell's [Morrell's] Artillery dis-

charge fifteen rounds from 12 pounders, at 1 o'Clock; after which the front division of Infantry take up the line of march and proceed down Market street. 1st. Eight videts in front; 2d. The standards of colours. 3d. Field Officer of the Day. 4th. The Band of Music. The Artillery and flag gun in the center of divisions. The rear division of Infantry close the same. Drums, *etc.* in rear of the cannon.

“In passing the Governor of the State, the Officers perform the Marching Salute. The like duty on passing the President of the United States. Drums, *etc.* three rolls. The Music re-echoes the favorite tune of God bless George Washington. The troops then proceed to Front Street, down Front to Chestnut Street, thence up said street to Sixth street. When passing the Congress, Officers Salute, Drums and Music, as before. Two files of Musqueteers attend the musicians, while serenading the President and heads of departments precisely at the hour of 12 o'Clock, A. M. The Bells of Christ Church commence their pealings at the same time, and continue with intervals during the day.

“When the Procession enters the porch of the President's house,¹⁸⁷ 15 discharges of cannon are to be fired—The third discharge of 15 cannon, to be fired when the President is dining; and the evening gun at sun setting.—After which the guns are to be housed, and the soldiery dismissed.

“ORDER OF PROCESSION.

Eight videts advanced in front,
A division of Infantry, from files abreast;
when arrived at the President's the division
opens to the right and left—Rest firelocks—
Drums, *etc.* Three roles, *etc.*
Field Officer of the Day.
Standard of the United States

The President and Vice-President of the Cincinnati
The acting Officers of the Cincinnati; by files.

The Members of the Cincinnati

The Commissioned Officers of the Continental Army

The Officers of the Cavalry

The Field Officers of the Militia

The Officers of the Artillery.

The Captains of Militia

Band of Music.

Heads of Departments of Civil List.

The Read Division of Infantry; dress as in front.

“On returning from the President’s the Troops march by the left. When arrived at the State House, open to the right, and left, and rest firelocks. The procession passing through the center.

“Fire Works to be Exhibited in the Evening, in Market Street.

* * * The Revelle to beat in the Morning.

“Thomas Proctor, Lieutenant
of the City and Liberties.”

“February 21, 1792.”

The custom thus brilliantly inaugurated continued to be observed throughout the lifetime of General Washington, and ultimately developed into the National Holiday as we know it.

A unique event occurred the following month, in which Captain Bingham and his fellow officers of the Troop participated. About the middle of March [19th] Ogiheta, otherwise known as Mr. Peter Jaquette, one of the principal Sachems of the Oneida Nation of Indians, died in Philadelphia, and was buried on Wednesday, March 21st.¹⁸⁸ This young chief was educated in France, whither he had accompanied M. de la Fayette on his return from the United States. On

March 21st the following general invitation appeared:—

“☞ This Day the Field Officers, and the several Officers of Battalions, of Artillery, Cavalry and Infantry of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia are hereby invited to the Funeral of Mr. PETER JAQUETTE, one of the principal Sachems of the Oneida Nation, at 4 o'clock this Afternoon, from the Hotel of Mr. Oellers,¹⁸⁹ in Chestnut Street—His Remains will be interred with the Honors of War.

“March 21,[1792].”

The funeral proceeded from the hotel to the Presbyterian burying-ground in Mulberry [Arch] Street, where his remains were interred. “The corpse was preceded by a detachment of the Light Infantry of the City, with arms reversed; drums muffled, music playing a solemn dirge. The corpse was followed by six of the Chiefs as mourners, succeeded by all the Warriors now in this city; the reverend Clergy of all denominations; Secretary of War, and the Gentlemen of the War Department; Officers of the Federal Army, and of the Militia; and a number of Citizens. The concourse assembled on this occasion, is supposed to have amounted to more than 10,000 persons.”

At this period in the history of the City Militia it was the custom for each organization to hold an annual election for officers. Accordingly, in May, 1792, we find the following notice:—¹⁹⁰

“CITY CAVALRY.

“The gentlemen composing the First Troop, commanded by Colonel Samuel Miles, are requested to meet Thursday afternoon [May 10], at Six o'clock, at the City Tavern, to elect their officers.

“The gentlemen forming the Second Troop, commanded by the Hon. William Bingham, are requested

to meet in like manner, on Friday afternoon [May 11], at the city Tavern.

“THOMAS PROCTOR,
“City Lieutenant.”

“May 8, [1792].”

And again:—¹⁹¹

“CITY CAVALRY.

“The Gentlemen forming the Second Troop, commanded by the Hon. William Bingham, are requested to meet this afternoon at 6 o’Clock, at the City Tavern, to elect their Officers.

“THOMAS PROCTOR,
“City Lieutenant.”

“May 11, [1792].

There was, however, a slight change in the plans as regarded the place of meeting, as we learn from the following account of this election:¹⁹²—The gentlemen composing the Volunteer Corps of Horse, of this city, lately commanded by the Hon. William Bingham, Esq., having met the 11th inst. [May, 1792] at Mr. Epples tavern, in pursuance of a notification from the Lieutenant of the city and Liberties and a letter from Mr. Bingham signifying the incompatibility of his situation with his wishes to accept the honor of a second appointment to command the corps being read, the members proceeded to an Election of officers, and the ballads being taken, the following gentlemen were unanimously elected:—¹⁹³

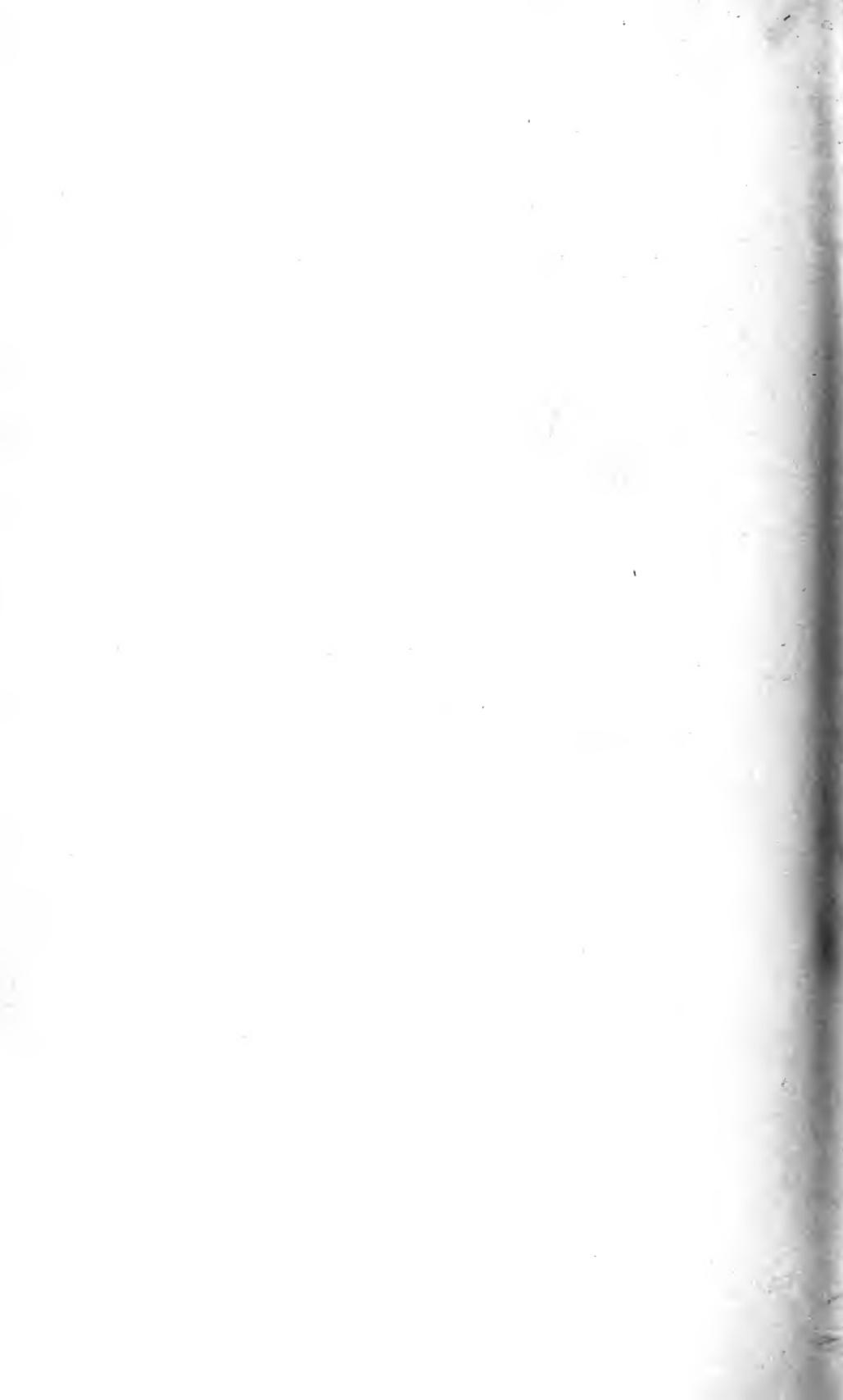
William Jackson, Captain,
Jacob Cox,¹⁹⁴ First Lieutenant,
John Melbeck,¹⁹⁵ Second Lieutenant,
Abraham Singer, Cornet.”

It was during Captain Bingham’s administration as Troop executive that the sons of many of the most prominent families of Philadelphia identified themselves with his command. General Washington had,



WILLIAM JACKSON
Nat-1759—Ob-1828

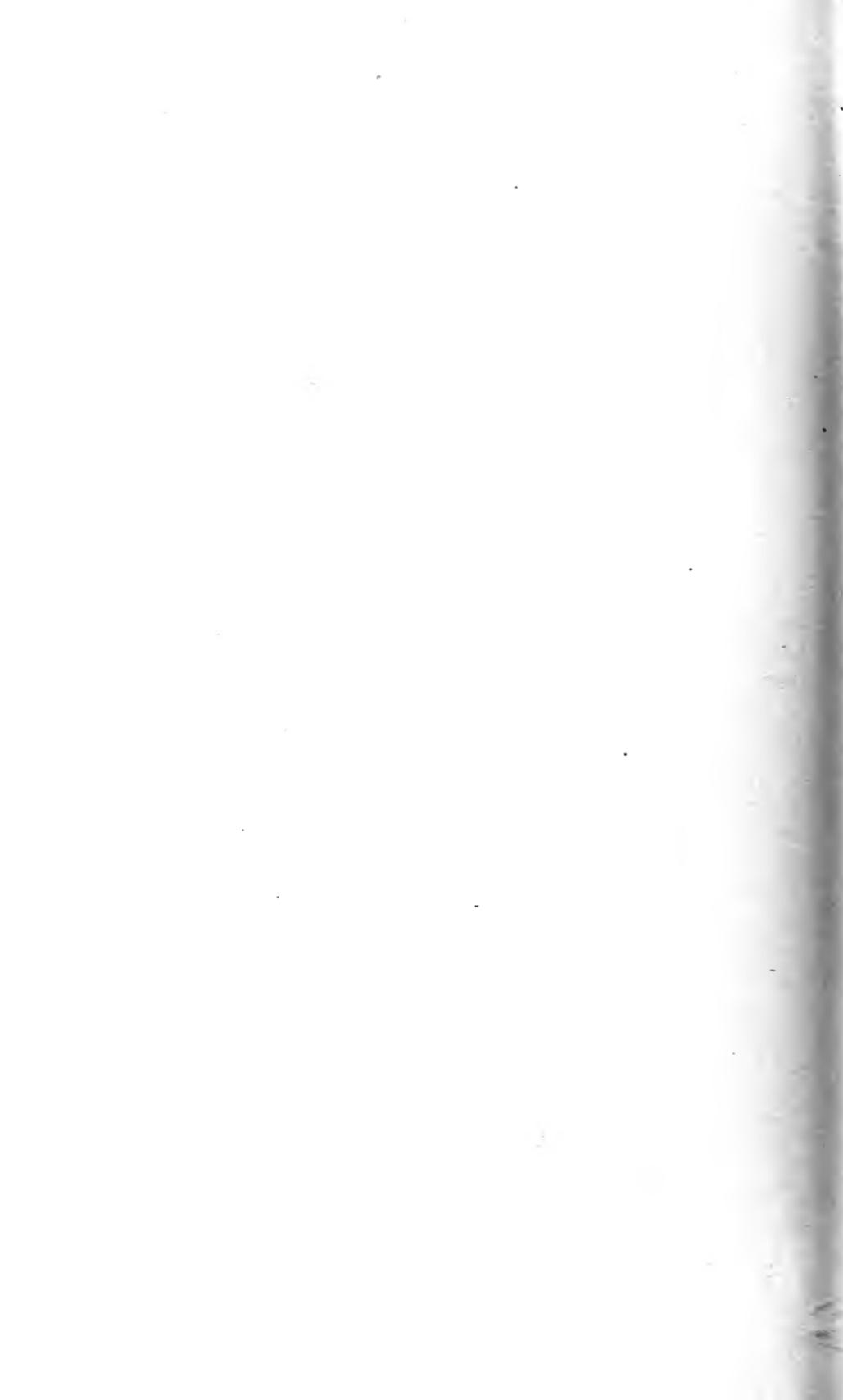
From the original painting in the Historical Society of New York





JACOB COX

From a miniature by Rembrandt Peale
in the possession of the family



some time previously, expressed his belief that there was need for an additional troop of educated men to act as aides-de-camp and couriers for him; and this belief, coupled with the distinguished record of the commanding officer of the Second Troop, prompted many of the well known young men of the city to volunteer for this service, and their names are at this time to be found on the rolls. This at once established the Troop as one of the crack military organizations of the city.

CHAPTER VII.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM JACKSON.¹⁹⁶

Major William Jackson, distinguished for his Revolutionary and civil services and highly regarded as a scholar and gentleman, was born in Cumberland, England, on March 9, 1759. His parents died when he was quite young, and he was brought to Charleston, South Carolina, when he received an excellent education. When but sixteen years of age, in June, 1775, he entered the Continental army as a Lieutenant in the First South Carolina Regiment of Infantry, and faithfully served his country during the eight years of the contest for independence. His superior education and attainments secured for him the esteem and confidence of the officers of the Southern army, and Major General Lincoln selected him as his aide-de-camp. With that brave officer he shared the dangers of the southern campaign. He was in the expedition against St. Augustine, Florida, in 1778, and at the battle of Stone's Ferry, in 1779. He was commissioned as Captain on October 9, 1779; took part in the attack on Savannah; and was in the siege of Charleston, being frequently under fire; became a prisoner of war on the surrender of Fort Moultrie on May 12, 1780. He and General Lincoln, as prisoners on parole, acted as commissioners for the

exchange of prisoners. He retired from the army on January 1, 1781. The same year, when but 22 years old, he was appointed Secretary of Legation to France, and accompanied the accomplished Colonel Laurens to the French court. Here he was actively and usefully engaged in the arrangements which were the result of the demand for aid made by Colonel Laurens on the French King. It is known that among the important consequences of that mission was the expedition under Count de Grasse and General Rochambeau, by whose combined operation with the American army the capture of the British forces under Cornwallis was effected.

In 1782, Captain Jackson was appointed Assistant Secretary of War, which office he resigned on October 30, 1783. In 1784, he is recorded as a private in the First Company, Sixth Militia Battalion. After the close of the war Major Jackson visited Europe on private business, and on his return took up the study of law with William Lewis, of Philadelphia, and was admitted to the Bar on June 9, 1788.

In 1787, when 28 years of age, he was appointed Secretary of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and signed and certified that document. To this highly honorable post he was first named by General Washington; and at the termination of the labor of that body of patriots and statesmen he received a vote of thanks for his services. In addition to the official record of the acts of the Convention Major Jackson preserved full private notes of the proceedings and debates, which, at the request of General Washington, were not published during his lifetime. In 1787, he became a member of the Society for Political Inquiries, of which Benjamin Franklin was President.¹⁹⁷ After the organization of the Government, President Washington, in 1791, appointed Major Jackson as his aide-de-camp and private secretary.

He thereafter always enjoyed a large share of the President's esteem and confidence.

On May 24, 1788, when 29 years of age, Major Jackson was elected First Lieutenant, and, on May 11, 1792, when 33 years of age, Captain of the Second Troop of Light Dragoons of the city of Philadelphia, succeeding his future brother-in-law, Captain William Bingham, in command of that body. On the same day he was appointed Major of the Cavalry Battalion which was formed at that time. He retained the captaincy of the Troop—until September 2, 1793, when he was succeeded by Abraham Singer. On Wednesday, November 11, 1795, he was married by Bishop White, in Christ Church, to *Elizabeth* (born in Philadelphia, March 27, 1768; died in Philadelphia, August 5, 1858, aged 90 years), daughter of *Thomas Willing* and *Anne McCall*.

On January 14, 1796, President Washington appointed Major Jackson Surveyor of Customs at the port of Philadelphia to succeed General Walter Stewart. This office he held until 1801, when he was removed by President Jefferson. His conduct in office was without reproach. From 1801 to 1815, he edited the "Political and Commercial Register." He was an active and prominent member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and Secretary of the Pennsylvania Society from 1785 to 1787 and again from 1800 until his death. He was at one time a member of the Hand-in-Hand Fire Company of Philadelphia. On August 29, 1814, he was Chairman of a meeting of citizens held in Washington Hall for the purpose of forming a Military Association to act under the direction of the Committee of Defence. In 1818 and 1819, his brother officers of the Revolutionary army appointed him their Solicitor to Congress to obtain for them an equitable settlement of the half-pay for life.

The talents of Major Jackson as a writer were of a superior order, and few men possessed a more exten-

sive classical knowledge. "His style was fluent and vigorous, and ornamented with the lore of antiquity and the richest gems of modern literature." By the appointment of his brethren of the Cincinnati he pronounced an eulogium upon Washington which was "admired by all for the beauty and eloquence of the composition, for the faithful expression of the feelings and sentiments of his associates, and of the gratitude and veneration of the whole American people to the Father of his Country." In the relations of private life Major Jackson had many friends; as a husband and a father he was kind, affectionate and exemplary.

Major Jackson died in Philadelphia on Wednesday, December 17, 1828, when almost 70 years of age, leaving a wife and six children. The Second Troop attended his funeral in a body, as did the State Society of the Cincinnati. He was buried on Saturday, December 20, from his residence, No. 132 Spruce Street, interment being in Christ Church burying-ground. His son, *William*, also a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, married *Martha*, daughter of Dr. *Thomas C. James*. His daughters were *Ann Willing* (died February 11, 1876), *Caroline Elizabeth* (married, October 25, 1830, to *Philip Physick*), and *Mary Rigal*.

CHAPTER VIII.

MAJOR JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION, 1792-93.

Major William Jackson officiated as Captain of the Second Troop for sixteen months only, and consequently his administration was both short and uneventful. The same day that he attained his captaincy a cavalry battalion was formed in the city for the first time in the history of the local militia; of this, the commander of the First Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse

was commissioned as Colonel, and Captain Jackson, of the Second Troop, was named as Major.¹⁹⁸

The sixteenth anniversary of American Independence was celebrated in the city on Wednesday, July 4th, 1792. The Second Troop joined in the ceremonies, for which the following remarkable and verbose orders were promulgated:—¹⁹⁹

“ORDERS.

“Philadelphia, July 2^d, 1792.

“Wednesday, the 4th inst. being the anniversary of the Independence of the United States of America,

“The morning gun will be fired at the artillery park at the dawn of day, and the standard of the Union hoisted.

“The volunteer company of artillery, and the volunteer companies of infantry, and cavalry of the city, liberties and districts are to parade at the state-house precisely at nine o'clock in the morning, completely uniformed and accoutred.

“The corps being formed, will march to the center square²⁰⁰ of the city, to the left of the artillery park, and exercise in battalion, etc.

“The manœuver performed, the line will take up its march down Market to Ninth-street, where the firings for the day will be performed, viz.

“1st. The infantry under the command of the Senior officer, will commence the firings at half after twelve o'clock, of fifteen rounds.

“2^{dly}. The corps of artillery commanded by Captain [George] Hoffner, will discharge 15 rounds from 12 pounders, at one o'clock.

“3^{dly}. The line to form—the flag gun and music in the center, whence they will proceed down Market to Front-street; and on passing the residence of the President of the United States, and the Governor of the

State, the officers to perform the marching salute, drums, etc., etc.

“The troops to proceed in order to Front street, and march up the same to Arch street, hence by Fourth-street to Market-street, and by the same to Ninth-street; where having arrived—the infantry to form in front of the artillery, and exercise, their firings as before.

“4^{thly}, The corps of artillery, at half after three o’clock, will fire their second discharge of fifteen rounds—and the third discharge of fifteen rounds, half after four o’clock—the evening gun at sun setting.

“And fireworks²⁰¹ at Oeller’s hotel, will close the celebration of the day, while on the Fourth of July THE HEARTS OF ALL GENUINE CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES will expand with joy and gratitude to the Supreme Being, for the happiness enjoyed by their country; their minds will be elevated with the reflection that the glorious spirit of freedom which declared and accomplished the American Revolution, has spread and is spreading itself thro’ a considerable part of Europe.

“That its operation is so irresistible and extensive as to afford the bright prospect that a great portion of the human race are about to break the fetters of ignorance, which have too long degraded and held them subservient to the base interests of despotic power.

“THOMAS PROCTER, Lieut.

of the City and Liberties.

“NOTE.—That in honor of the day, it is expected that each commissioned officer of the Militia of the City and Districts will appear in uniform.”

REFERENCES.

¹⁷⁶ *Zion Lutheran Church* was situated at the southeast corner of Fourth and Cherry Streets. Its cornerstone was laid on May 16, 1766, and it was consecrated on June 25, 1769. It was at the time the largest and handsomest church in America. In 1777, it was used by the British as a hospital. In 1793, the congregation lost 625 members by the yellow fever. The building was entirely destroyed by fire on Christmas evening, 1794, but it was rebuilt in a little over a year, with the tower higher than before. In 1829, the Fourth and Cherry Street site was abandoned, and a new church built on Franklin Street above Race.—*Watson's Annals*, vol. iii, p. 313.

¹⁷⁷ *Pennsylvania Packet*, June 24, 1791.

¹⁷⁸ *Michael Ryan*, a resident of Dock Ward, was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in Colonel Wayne's Fourth Battalion, in October, 1775. He was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain John Lacey's company of Colonel Wayne's *Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment* on January 8, 1776; he was Captain in the *Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment* from January, 1776, until his resignation on June 13, 1779. On February 17, 1776, he was appointed Adjutant of Colonel Wayne's Regiment (*Fourth Battalion*); and became Brigade Major on November 18, 1777. He became Captain Lieutenant in the Fifth Regiment on January 23, 1778. He was Inspector of General Wayne's division from March 20, 1778, to June 12, 1779. He was promoted to Major of the *Tenth Pennsylvania Regiment* on October 23, 1777, and served until May 19, 1778. On June 9, 1779, he took the oath of allegiance to the State. In 1780, he was made Brigade Major of the First City Brigade; and on June 19, 1780, was appointed Inspector General of the Pennsylvania Militia with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He was a member of the Masonic Fraternity, of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. He died on August 4, 1791.

¹⁷⁹ *American Daily Advertiser*, August 5, 1791.

¹⁸⁰ *Andrew Bunner* was married on December 20, 1770, to *Sarah Fisher*. On December 16, 1777, he was appointed to take subscriptions for the Continental loan in Philadelphia County.

¹⁸¹ *American Daily Advertiser*, December 23, 1791.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, January 3, 1792.

¹⁸³ *American Daily Advertiser*, February 23, 1792.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, February 18, 1792.

¹⁸⁵ *Thomas Proctor*, son of *Francis Proctor, Sr.*, (who was Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Artillery, Continental Line, on November 29, 1775, but was dismissed on December 8, 1775; and who took the oath of allegiance on July 30, 1779), was born in Ireland in 1739, but came to this country in early life. On December 7, 1766, when 27 years old, he was married, in Zion Lutheran Church, to *Mary Fox* (died July 15, 1789). He was a carpenter by trade, and continued in this

business until the Revolution, residing in Dock Ward. On October 27, 1775, he was commissioned Captain of the First Company of Pennsylvania Artillery in the organization of Associators of Philadelphia, and, in July, 1776, his company was attached to Colonel Samuel Miles' Regiment (*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 329). On August 14, 1776, he became Major of the *Pennsylvania Artillery Battalion*, and, on February 5, 1777, was commissioned Colonel of the *Fourth Continental Artillery*. Part of his command was captured at Bound Brook. He participated in the battles of Brandywine, Chadd's Ford and Germantown. He was a member of the Patriotic Association of 1778. On September 3, 1778, his regiment was drafted into the Continental Army. On May 18, 1779, he was commissioned Colonel of Artillery in the United States army, which office he resigned on April 9, 1781. He was Sheriff of Philadelphia County from October 20, 1783, to October 14, 1785. In 1786, he was Colonel of the *First Regiment of Pennsylvania Artillery*; and from September 10, 1790, to 1793, was Lieutenant of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, succeeding Colonel William Henry. In 1791, he was commissioner from Pennsylvania to treat with the Miami Indians. He was commissioned Brigadier General of the Pennsylvania State troops by Governor Mifflin on April 12, 1793, and headed the First Brigade of the City of Philadelphia in the suppression of the Whisky Insurrection of 1794. On Friday, June 17, 1796, he was commissioned Major General of the First Division, P. M., which office he filled until his resignation on Wednesday, December 18, 1799, when he was succeeded the same day by Thomas Mifflin. He was recommended as Major General of the Division on Monday, April 21, 1800, and served until May 4, 1802, when he was succeeded by *John Shee*. He was a Mason; a member of the Carpenters' Association from 1772; and a member of the Hibernian Society of Philadelphia. He died in Philadelphia on March 16, 1806, in the 67th year of his age, and was accorded a funeral with military honors. He was buried in St. Paul's Episcopal Church burying-ground, Third Street below Walnut Street. Martin Dubs, merchant, of the Second City Troop, was one of the securities of his administrator. His brother, *Francis Proctor, Jr.*, was born in Nova Scotia; enlisted in the Artillery Company on October 30, 1775, was commissioned Lieutenant in the Company on November 29, 1775, became Lieutenant and Fire Worker on June 19, 1776; Captain Lieutenant on March 3, 1777; and Captain in the First Pennsylvania Regiment of Artillery on July 16, 1777. He took the oath of allegiance to the State on October 9, 1781; he became Second Major on December 24, 1782, ranking from January 1, 1782; and resigned on January 1, 1783.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 330; also, information obtained from General Proctor's great-grandson, Hugh Boyle Houston, of Philadelphia.

¹⁸⁶ *American Daily Advertiser*, February 23, 1792.

¹⁸⁷ *Washington's house* was No. 190 High [Market] Street, on the south side one door east of Sixth Street. It was the mansion built by *William Masters*, sometime before 1761, whose daughter, *Mary*, married *Richard Penn*. He lived in it until 1775. During the Revo-

lution the house was occupied successively by General Sir William Howe, until 1778; General Benedict Arnold, until July, 1780; and Sieur Joan Holker, Consul-General of France. The house was burned down in 1780, but was rebuilt by Robert Morris, who occupied it until the removal of the seat of the Federal Government from New York to Philadelphia, when it became the home of President Washington during his administration. President John Adams occupied the same house during his administration. The house was subsequently in 1800, turned into a hotel by *John Francis*, who called it the *Union Hotel*. He kept it but two years, when the building was finally torn down.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 389; vol. ii, pp. 882 and 990, *Watson's Annals*, vol. ii, p. 289.

¹⁵⁸ *American Daily Advertiser*, March 21, 26, 1792.

¹⁵⁹ *Philip Oellers' Hotel* was situated on the south side of Chestnut Street above Sixth Street, opposite the Arcade, on the site subsequently occupied by the "The Evening Bulletin." It was built in 1780 as the Episcopal Academy, but was afterwards converted into a hostelry. It was destroyed by fire on December 17, 1799, together with [John B.] *Rickett's Circus* or *Amphitheatre*, which was situated at the southwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets (formerly, 1792-95, at the southwest corner of 12th and Market Streets, and then known as *Rickett's Manège and Circus*).—*Watson's Annals*, vol. i, p. 486. In 1785, *Philip Oellers* kept the "*King of Poland*" in Vine Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets, (*Watson's Annals*, vol. iii, p. 345). He was the son of *James Oellers* (who took the oath of allegiance to the State on August 31, 1778; was as innkeeper with hotels both in Philadelphia and Germantown, and who was recorded as a merchant in 1782. In 1784, he was a private in the Second Company, Sixth Battalion, Colonel Joseph Dean). In April, 1779, he was a private in the First Artillery Company, Captain Joseph Watkins. His son, Lieutenant *James P. Oellers*, U. S. Navy, was born in 1782 and died on February 21, 1849, at the residence of his son-in-law, *James C. Wessels*. Lieutenant Oellers' wife, *Sarah*, was born in 1786 and died on August 30, 1848, aged 62 years. Their son, *James S. Oellers*, lived at No. 127 Catharine Street.

¹⁶⁰ *American Daily Advertiser*, May 9, 1792.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, May 11, 1792.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, May 14, 1792.

¹⁶³ *American Daily Advertiser*, May 14, 1792; also, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, vol. iv, p. 73. Extract from the Executive Minutes of the State of Pennsylvania, (T. M.) vol. i.

¹⁶⁴ *Jacob Cox*, merchant, was the son of a Quaker merchant, *Moses Cox* (born March 29, 1734, in 1784, spoken of as "a cripple," died March 27, 1805), a member of a Swedish family which settled at Elkton, Maryland, and *Elizabeth Price* (died at the corner of Third and Union Streets, on December 10, 1831 aged over 100 years). *Moses Cox* was in business at No. 173 South Second Street, and lived at the corner of Second and Spruce Streets. He also owned property on Little Dock Street and near Gray's Ferry, living at the latter place

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during the yellow fever epidemics in the city. He took the oath of allegiance to the State on June 30, 1778. *Jacob Cox* was born in Philadelphia, on May 9, 1761. In 1777, he was a private in Captain James Price's (died March 25, 1802) Company, Pennsylvania Militia, Colonel John Hannum. On August 10, 1780, he was a private in Captain John Barker's Company, Third Philadelphia Regiment, Colonel William Will, (later Colonel Shee); in 1784-85, he was a matross in the Second Artillery Company, Captain John Connelly; and, in 1788, a private in the Second Company, First Philadelphia Battalion, Colonel Gurney. On Thursday, March 26, 1789, he was married by Bishop White, to *Catherine (Kitty) Hiltzheimer* (born October 8, 1768; died at No. 226 High [Market] Street, August 31, 1842), daughter of *Jacob Hiltzheimer* (born in 1729; took the oath of allegiance to the State, August 13, 1777; a member of the Patriotic Association of 1778; Quartermaster during the Revolution; for eleven years a Representative of the City in the Assembly; died of yellow fever, September 14, 1798) and *Hannah Walker* (born June 6, 1740; married October 28, 1761; died March 9, 1790), in the presence of Governor Mifflin and other dignitaries. His home and place of business as a dry-goods merchant was at the southeast corner of Fourth and High [Market] Streets, No. 128 High Street. On May 4, 1788, he was elected Cornet of the Second Troop, and on May 11, 1792, was elected First Lieutenant. On April 30, 1794, he joined the First Troop, and, in September, 1794, he is recorded as Adjutant of that Troop. He was placed on the Honorary Roll of the First Troop in 1804; and was also carried on the Honorary Roll of the Second Troop. He died in Philadelphia on February 21, 1812, in his 51st year. His children were:—*Hannah Hiltzheimer* (born December 24, 1789; died February 25, 1790); *Jacob Hiltzheimer* (born December 12, 1791; died March 4, 1793); *Eliza* (born February 9, 1794; married February 27, 1817, to *Jeremiah Parsons*; died July 7, 1877); *Jacob B.* (born September 17, 1796; died December 29, 1800), *Margaretta Freeman* (born May 6, 1801; married October 14, 1819, to *Alonzo Wakeman*; died December 18, 1889); another *Jacob Hiltzheimer* (born July 23, 1803; died, unmarried, November 3, 1834); and *Catherine* (born December 18, 1805; died April 2, 1806). *Jacob Cox's* uncle was *Paul Cox*, whose son, *Moses Cox, Jr.*, merchant, was in 1794, a private in the Third Company, First Philadelphia Regiment, Colonel Gurney; and who died on August 7, 1798. This *Paul Cox*, on July 4, 1776, was a private in the Third City Battalion and served as a delegate to the Lancaster convention. On February 13, 1777, he was appointed a member of the State Navy Board, on June 23, 1777, took the oath of allegiance to the State, and the same year was Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Battalion of Philadelphia Militia. In October, 1779, he was a Commissioner for the purchase of salt. On April 15, 1780, he was commissioned Colonel of the Fourth Battalion, Philadelphia City Militia. *Jacob Cox* had five sisters, as follows:—*Susan (Susanna)*, who married *Robert Erwin, Jr.*, on September 29, 1796; *Margaretta*, who married Major *Constant Freeman*, U. S. Army, on May 22, 1797; *Betsy*, who was married on June 15,

1797, by Bishop White, to Captain *Poole*; another sister was married to a Mr. *Lawrence*; and the fifth to Mr. *Council*.—Information obtained largely from Mrs. E. H. Lee, of Philadelphia.

¹⁹⁵ *John Melbeck*, son of *John* (died August 20, 1820) and *Maria Melbeck (Malbec)* and brother of *Samuel Melbeck*, was born in 1756, and was a broker and commission merchant of Philadelphia, located in 1793, at No. 13 North Second Street. On May 18, 1779, he "was named Junior Warden in the military or travelling warrant granted to Montgomery Lodge of Masons, No. 19, in the First Pennsylvania Regiment of Artillery in the service of the United States." He held this office until 1787. In 1784, he was a private in the Sixth Company, Fourth City Battalion. With Peter Benson and Abraham Singer, he was a member of the Light Infantry Company of Philadelphia County, in 1786, commanded by Captain Eleazar Oswald. On September 11, 1786, he was elected Ensign in the Fifth Company, Third Philadelphia Battalion of Militia. On April 12, 1787, he was married, in Zion Church, to *Elizabeth Hess* (born in 1769; died December 21, 1831, in her 63rd year), of Philadelphia, daughter of *Joseph Hess* (died September 11, 1799). In 1787–88, he is recorded as a private in Captain Charles Syng's Fifth Company, Third Battalion, Colonel John Shee. On October 31, 1789, he endorsed the candidacy of General Daniel Brodhead for the office of Surveyor General. On December 14, 1789, he dissolved his partnership with *G. W. Leck*; and, in 1790, he was reported as bankrupt, living in Market Street North side near the Delaware River. On May 11, 1792, he was elected Second Lieutenant of the Second Troop. On September 12, 1794, he was elected a member of the First City Troop, and served as Corporal in that organization during the Whisky Insurrection. He resigned from the First Troop in 1796, but was reinstated on April 24, 1802; and was made an Honorary Member on May 24, 1805. He was also carried on the Honorary Roll of the Second Troop. In July, 1798, he became First Lieutenant in Captain Joseph B. McKean's Volunteer Troop of Cavalry, and participated with this Troop in the suppression of Fries' Rebellion. He was involved in the riot in St. Mary's churchyard on February 9, 1799, (*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 497); the same year his office was at No. 69 South Front Street; and on September 30, 1800, he is named as Captain of a military organization known as "*The Troop of True Blues*"—the Sixth Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry—which body he commanded from 1799 to 1802 (*American Daily Advertiser*, September 30, 1800). He died in Philadelphia on Saturday, September 8, 1849, in his 94th year, and was buried from the residence of his son-in-law, *Clement Ellick*, Ridge Road above Coates [Fairmount Avenue]. Interment was in St. John's burial ground, Race Street above Fifth. His son, *John Melbeck*, in 1813, was a private in the Ninth Company of Philadelphia Militia under Col. Rush.

¹⁹⁶ "The Provincial Councillors of Pennsylvania." by Charles P. Keith, Philadelphia, 1883, p. 98; also, *American Daily Advertiser*, December 24, 1828.

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¹⁹⁷ *Pennsylvania Packet*, April 4, 1787.

¹⁹⁸ "Official History of the Militia of Pennsylvania." By Major Clarke, Philadelphia, 1910. Page 143.

¹⁹⁹ *American Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1792.

²⁰⁰ The *Center Square*, the first Park in America and the central one of the five which Penn laid out, was originally known as *Market Square* and later (May 19, 1829) as *Penn Square*. It remained without any inclosure for more than one hundred years. It was the first market place and place of fairs in Pennsylvania. For many years this square, at the south side, was the common hanging ground of the city and county—up to the building of the water-works (pumping-house and reservoir) in 1799–1800. The Center-house with its pillared portico and dome was long a conspicuous object. It was a marble building, popularly known as the "Pepper Box," designed by Benjamin Henry Latrobe (May 1, 1764–September 3, 1820), with a reservoir capable of holding 16,000 gallons of water. It was subsequently used as a depository for oil employed in lighting the city. There was at one time a Quaker Meeting-house erected in the center of the square (in 1682), and in this Meeting-house the first State Assembly met in 1683. Later a race-course—the first in the city and perhaps in the country—was established here, the races continuing up to the time of the Revolution, being discontinued in 1775. During the Revolutionary War the Center Square was used for company and regimental drill exercise. "Here Washington and his tattered Continentals pitched their tents; here General von Steuben, drillmaster of the Army, was a familiar figure." In 1783, the French Army, under Count Rochambeau, six thousand strong, encamped on the Center Square and the surrounding commons; here the "Marseillaise" was sung, while new, for the first time in America. General Wayne also encamped here on his return from the Western Expedition against the Indians. The Square was the parade-ground of the McPherson Blues and Shee's Legion. Dunlap's company (the First City Troop), Captain John Morrell's Volunteer Green Cavalry (the Third City Troop), the Second City Troop under Captains Singer, Francis, and Thomas Cadwalader; and many other organizations—"Fencibles, Rangers, Fusileers, Guards, Blues, Grays, Greens, artillerists, cadets, horse, infantry, and pikemen"—exercised in the neighborhood. After the Revolution the Center Square was the place of interest when the Volunteers and Militia paraded. It was beautifully laid out with trees and grassplots, a circular road surrounding it—the original old race-course. Early in 1827 the central house was torn down. In 1865, a jubilee was held here in celebration of the close of the Civil War—the last use of the Square for any public occasion. In 1871, ground was broken here for the erection of the great public building which now occupies the entire space.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. ii, p. 856; vol. iii, pp. 1842–44.

²⁰¹ The fireworks were postponed on account of bad weather.—*American Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 1792.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

NOTE BOOK OF EPHRAIM BLAINE WHILE HE WAS ACTING AS SHERIFF AT CARLISLE, PA., PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION.

The book contains receipts signed in the proper handwriting of three Signers of the Declaration of Independence, James Wilson, George Ross and James Smith, and also contains receipts to Colonel Blaine for claims placed in his hands for collection against General Arthur St. Clair, Alexander Hamilton, and others. The book also contains an entry of the birth of Ephraim Blaine, Jr., and also the date of his drowning. He was the son of the marriage of Colonel Ephraim Blaine to the widow of a Mr. Duncan, whose second he was in the fatal duel between Duncan and Lamberton.

The book was found in York County by John Hays, a member of the law firm of Hinder and Hays, practicing at Carlisle, Pa., and was presented by him on the 11th of October, 1890, by letter to the Honorable James G. Blaine. It is now presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by James G. Blaine, Jr., the present Vice President of the New York Trust Company at 57th Street and 5th Avenue, New York City, N. Y. The letters accompanying the gift and its title are hereto annexed:

Carlisle, Pa., October 11, 1890

Hon. James G. Blaine,

My dear Sir:

I send you by Adams Express today the Receipt Book of Ephraim Blaine while Sheriff of this County before the Revolution, which a few years ago came into my possession.

I send it to you because I think the older male line of the family has a better right to it than one of the female line and because you may find it of some interest—enough to induce you to keep it in the family name.

It is of some interest in itself because of the autographs in it—three of signers of the Declaration of Independence—Ross, Wilson and Smith,—and a number of judges and others who became eminent.

It also contains receipts to Col. Blaine for claims for collection against many persons indebted to him—among others Genl. Arthur St. Clair, Alexander Hamilton, etc.

Near the back of the book you will find an entry of the birth of Ephraim Blaine, Jr. and which I take to be the date of his drowning at Middlesex. He was the first of the marriage of Col. Blaine to the widow of Wm. Duncan whose second he was in the fatal duel between Duncan and Lamberton.

You may therefore find the book of enough interest to preserve it and hand it down as a family relic.

Yours truly,

John Hays

New York City, November 16, 1921

Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Sirs:

I have in my possession a receipt book which belonged to a paternal great-grandfather of mine named Ephraim Blaine. Mr. Blaine was

Sheriff of Washington County, Pa., for many years and during the Revolutionary War was a Quartermaster General in the Army of the North with the rank of Colonel. This receipt book contains a considerable amount of detail regarding claims collected by Colonel Blaine. There are many signatures of well-known Pennsylvanians, particularly a number of autographs of three of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

The receipt book has remained for some time in my safe-deposit box. It may or may not have historical value; if it has, it seems to me where it is is not the place for it. I am not quite sure in my own mind, if it is of value, that I want to give it away as yet. If the book were of sufficient interest to your Society would it be possible to loan it to you subject to withdrawal by me upon proper notice? I would be obliged to you for any opinions or suggestions you may have to offer.

Yours very truly,

James G. Blaine, Jr.

Philadelphia, December 23, 1921

James G. Blaine, Jr., Esq.,
My dear Mr. Blaine:

Your letter of November 16th in relation to your possession of a receipt book belonging to your paternal great-grandfather Ephraim Blaine is at hand.

It may indeed be full of interesting matter and the name of Blaine is held in the highest esteem by the members of our Society and the public at large because of the distinguished services rendered by four generations of the family to the public.

I am quite well convinced of the historic value of that book and I quite agree with you that a private safe-deposit box is not the most suitable repository of an historic treasure. It ought to be accessible to the students of history and writers of books, of course under suitable restrictions as to time and place of consultation. In other words, it ought not to be part of a general library, subject to general call.

It is just the kind of a book that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania would treasure among its archives.

It is not for me from motives of delicacy to suggest that you should make a gift but it is proper for me to say to you candidly that it is contrary to the policy of the Society to become simply the custodian of other people's property, subject to withdrawal by the owner on proper notice. Such trusts, if accepted, would be decidedly embarrassing, as, apart from the responsibility of taking care of the property of third parties, we would never know at what time our exhibits or boasted items of deposit would be withdrawn. The policy of the Society is fixed and cannot be departed from. I think you will acquiesce in the propriety of this.

With the Very Best Wishes of the Season, believe me,

Cordially yours,

Hampton L. Carson

New York, January 3, 1922

Mr. Hampton L. Conor, Pres.
Dear Mr. Conor:

Thank you for your kind letter of December 23rd, which I appreciated.

It will give me great pleasure to present the Historical Society of Pennsylvania with the note book of Ephraim Blaine. I feel that if the book has any really historical value it would be very selfish for me to keep it for myself. I know of no more fitting place for the note book to reside permanently than in the Pennsylvania Historical Society in the State of Pennsylvania where the Blaine family originally came from.

If you will tell me how, to whom and where to send it, I shall be glad to do so at once.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

James G. Blaine, Jr.

Philadelphia, January 6, 1922

James G. Blaine, Jr., Esq.,

My dear Mr. Blaine:

Your letter of the 3rd inst. has given me much pleasure, and if you will forward by express, at the expense of the Society the Ephraim Blaine Note Book, addressed to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, it will not only give me pleasure to present it in your name to the Society at the next meeting of the Council on January 30th, but to see that a suitable acknowledgment of its receipt is made.

It is by contributions such as this that the real treasures of a society are built up, and I appreciate your notable assistance.

I can quite pardon you because of the illegibility of my signature for having read it "Conor."

I am, with appreciation,

Very sincerely yours,

Hampton L. Carson

New York, January 13, 1922

Mr. Hampton L. Carson, Pres.,

Dear Mr. Carson:

Thank you for your very courteous letter of January 6th. I am sending to you by American Express the Ephraim Blaine note book, together with a letter to my grandfather from John Hays showing how the note book came back into the family.

Some time at your convenience would you have someone in your organization send me just a few lines as to who James Smithe was, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence? I know about the rest, but I do not know much about him.

Trusting to have the pleasure of meeting you personally in the near future, and with many thanks again for your helpfulness in this matter,

Very sincerely yours,

James G. Blaine, Jr.

Philadelphia, January 20, 1922

Mr. James G. Blaine, Jr., Esq.,

My dear Mr. Blaine:

I herewith acknowledge the safe receipt by express of the Ephraim Blaine note book, together with a letter to your grandfather from John Hays of Carlisle, Pa., showing how the note book came back into your family.

Permit me to express my high sense of appreciation of the value and interest of this gift.

It will give me pleasure on Monday next to present this book, together with Mr. Hays' letter, to the Council of the Historical Society, and you will receive an official acknowledgment.

I take pleasure in sending you a brief biography of James Smith, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, whose signature appears in the book. This biography is extracted from the 5th volume of Appleton's Encyclopaedia of American Biography.

It will give me great personal pleasure to have you lunch with me on the occasion of your next visit to Philadelphia, and to take you around to the hall of the Historical Society and exhibit to you some of our treasures. I think I can safely assure you that there is no State historical society which can match us in the richness of our collections

of manuscripts covering Colonial and Revolutionary periods, and the War of 1812. In these respects, we can only be approached by the Manuscript Department of the Congressional Library at Washington, and on many lines we are superior even to the Government Collections.

Believe me to be, with renewed expressions of grateful recognition of your spirit and generosity in presenting the Society with this important book.

Very cordially yours,

Hampton L. Carson
President

Book Notices.

THROUGH THREE CENTURIES. COLVER AND ROSENBERGER LIVES AND TIMES, 1620-1922. By Jesse Leonard Rosenberger. Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1922. 8vo. \$2.50.

The particular interest in this volume on the part of Pennsylvanians begins with page 295, in a chapter which describes the Rosenberger family as having been prominent in the annals of Montgomery County since the year 1729, when Henry Rosenberger settled in that county, in Indian Creek Valley, Franconia Township. He was a Mennonite, who, like many others of his faith, had fled from Germany on account of religious persecution. From him was descended Jesse Rosenberger, who was the father of Jesse Leonard Rosenberger, who, however, did not stay long in Pennsylvania, but became a Baptist clergyman in Ohio, and later in Minnesota, and in Lake City the younger Jesse was born. The detailed description of family life on the upper Mississippi is most vivid and instructive.

T. L. M.

CAZENOVE JOURNAL, 1794. A RECORD OF THE JOURNEY OF THEOPHILE CAZENOVE THROUGH NEW JERSEY AND PENNSYLVANIA. (Translated from the French.) Edited by Rayner Wichersham Kelsey. Philadelphia History Press. 1922. 8vo. \$1.80 post paid.

This interesting journal is of his procedure from New York to Chambersburg and his return to Philadelphia. It contains the rough notes taken along the way. He doubtless had in mind the preparation later of a more elaborate treatise upon his experiences. His notes are full of references to the price of commodities along the route, as well as the production of crops and the prices of the farms. It is not strange that he finds little to impress him in the manners and customs of the people whom he met. He comments freely concerning the entertainment at the inns, and his conclusions, although faulty in some respects are remarkably accurate in things of any importance. The volume is well illustrated by reproductions from the manuscript; a view of Bethlehem found in the journal, and the map of the journey. It is doubtful whether such a diary has ever had the attention and care in its preparation of so many specialists. The list of associates covers two pages. The original French manuscript was purchased by the Library of Congress in 1900. Cazenove's trip to America was taken in the interest of the Holland Company, which he served for many years. The volume is thoroughly indexed by Miss Mary Ellis.

T. L. M.

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THE INDIANS OF THE PAST AND OF THE PRESENT.*

BY GEORGE P. DONEHOO, D.D., STATE LIBRARIAN.

It is a very great privilege and honor for me to address the Historical Society of Pennsylvania upon the topic of The American Indian. My good friend, Dr. Montgomery, suggested the theme of my address. I can think of no spot on the American Continent more suitable for an address upon this theme, for here the American Indian was given a "square deal" by William Penn, the only conqueror of the American Indian who overcame them by love and honest good-will, rather than by sword and rifle. So far as I know, this is the only spot on the face of the earth which was won from the aboriginal peoples occupying it, without the use of armed force.

The history of the American Indian would have been vastly different had every Colonial Governor and all white settlers treated them as did this wise and good man and the people who came here with him.

The history of the American Continent would be entirely different. One can hardly imagine what might have been the history of America had the policy of

* An address before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 22, 1922.

William Penn dominated in all of the vast region between the Delaware and the Pacific. The American Indian welcomed the white man to the shores of this New World, and he was defrauded, debauched and ill-treated and ever driven westward to the setting sun. It is a strange fact of history that the people who drove out the Indian from his ancestral habitat and made of him a "perpetual ward," should welcome the outcast and down-trodden from every land and make of them adopted sons with all of the rights and privileges of citizenship.

The name by which the aborigines of America are known was first used by Columbus in a letter dated February, 1493, in which he mentions the "Indios" he had with him. It was the belief of Columbus that he had reached India. This name has passed into the history and literature of the world.

There have been various attempts to substitute a more correct designation for the American aborigines. Amerind, a combination of the first two syllables of American Indian is probably the most commonly used. American and American Race have both been suggested, but the name Indian has been so interwoven with geographical and botanical names, as well as in the poetry and history of the continent that the name, misleading as it is, will likely remain. In geography such combinations as Indiana, Indianapolis, Indian Bay, Indian Creek, Indian Mountain, etc., are spread over the map from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Many wild plants have "Indian" in such combinations as Indian-apple, Indian-bark, Indian-corn, Indian-fig, Indian-hemp, etc. There are several hundred such compound botanical terms in which the name Indian occurs.

To the first explorers of the continent the Indians were simply classified as Indians, and were thought of as belonging to the same family, and thus the different languages met with were simply dialects of one related

language. This bunching of all Indians in one general group regardless of linguistic or tribal classification was the cause of much misunderstanding and led to many errors of policy on the part of the Colonial authorities and early settlers. Even now many students of American history do not realize the vast difference between a Sioux and an Algonquin, for example. Not simply a difference in customs and laws, but a difference which extends to the very roots of their languages, so that the Siouan and the Algonkian languages bear no more relation to each other than do Chinese and English.

The great diversity of Indian languages on the North American Continent is one of the most remarkable facts in American Ethnology. The founder of systematic philology relating to the North American Indian was Albert Gallatin, whose work was published in 1836 by the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass. The next most important work concerning the Indian languages was that of Powell, in the Seventh Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1891. Powell found that there were 58 "distinct linguistic families" north of Mexico. This number has been reduced to 56 by the combination of two groups.

One of the very marked features in the distribution of languages is the great difference between the number on the Pacific coast when compared with the Atlantic. Over one-third of the total number are found in California and Oregon. On the Atlantic coast the greater part of the entire region is covered by the Algonkian and the Iroquoian groups.

There is a great difference in the phonetics of these languages. Some are rich and melodious and others are harsh and unmusical. The harshness produced by the grouping of consonants is peculiar to nearly all of the languages of the Northwest coast. Richness and melodiousness belong to both the Algonkian and the

Iroquian groups, hence the beauty of nearly all of the Indian place names east of the Mississippi. Susquehanna, Ohio, Juniata, Kittanning, Mahoning, Wissahickon are examples of the hundreds of beautiful Indian names which still remain in the region occupied by these groups. The Indian languages are rich in their vocabularies and systematic in their structure.

The question as to the Indian population at the time of the discovery of the continent is a subject upon which there is much disagreement. There are two extreme views: One that the continent was filled with millions, and the other that the Indian population at present is about what it was when the Europeans first came. Both of these views are probably wrong. There is a tendency to magnify the past and to assign to the same period the building and occupancy of all of the pre-historic remains. On the other hand, it is an established fact that whole tribes have disappeared, and once prosperous tribes have been reduced to almost nothing through wars, pestilences and the vices of the white man; smallpox, tuberculosis, removals, starvation and vice have carried off the Indians by thousands. One smallpox epidemic which originated in Missouri in 1781 swept northward and eastward to Lake Superior and then westward to the Pacific and carried away the Indian by the tens of thousands. Another epidemic in 1801, and still another in 1837 cut down the population of the Plains tribes fully one-half. An epidemic of fever in California in 1830 carried away fully 70,000.

The wars with the early settlers in the West as well as in the East was a source of continual decrease. In California alone it is estimated that the wars and massacres by the early gold miners reduced the population from 250,000 to about 20,000.

A conservative estimate of the Indian population in the region now covered by the United States at the

time of the discovery of the continent would be about 846,000, according to James Mooney. The Indian population of Pennsylvania and New York and the number of fighting men in the various tribes has always been very much overestimated. In 1759 George Croghan at the Treaty at Fort Pitt collected data covering the number of "fighting men" in the various tribes. The Delaware had about 600, the Shawnee 300, the Miami 300, the Wyandotes 300. These figures indicate the approximate population of the tribes living on the upper Ohio, to which region most of the Indians in Pennsylvania had gone by 1759.

The Indian population of Pennsylvania has been very much overestimated by those who are unfamiliar with the facts relating to the migratory habit of the Indians during the different seasons. During the fishing season many of the Indians from even the Ohio River region were found along the Susquehanna and even Delaware. During the hunting season the Indians from the Delaware, Susquehanna and Ohio are to be found in the hunting grounds on the mountains or at the headwaters of the rivers. During the corn-planting season they were at their usual village sites. As a consequence the same Indians were often counted three or four times. Anything like an accurate estimate of the Indian population is to be arrived at only by taking the number of "fighting men" as given by the tribal chiefs. The Indian population of Pennsylvania was probably at its highest at the time of the commencement of the Dutch and Swedish settlements on the Delaware. The cause of the commencement of the decline was the war of the Iroquois confederation against the related Iroquoian tribes. The Erie, Wenro, Neuter and Susquehannocks were practically blotted out by this war, which ended in 1675 in the victory over the Susquehannocks.

Indian villages were not nearly as large as is popu-

larly imagined. When David Brainerd visited Shamokin in 1745, he recorded in his journal, "The town lies partly on the east and west shores of the river and partly on the island. It contains upwards of fifty houses and 300 inhabitants." Shamokin was at that time one of the four largest, if not the largest Indian village in the Province.

In 1756 Jo Heckman, a Delaware, was sent to the Ohio by George Crogan to get information as to the number of Indians in the various villages. He found that there were 140 men, chiefly Delaware and Shawnee, at Kittanning, and about 100 at Logstown. At this period Kittanning and Logstown were the two largest Indian villages on the Ohio.

In this address I have thought it wise to confine my remarks to the Indians of Pennsylvania, as it would be impossible within the limits of the evening to cover the larger field. In fact, it is not possible to give more than a mere outline of the history of the aborigines of Pennsylvania:

The first mention of the aboriginal peoples of this State is that which is made by Captain John Smith in his "True Relation," in which he makes frequent mention of the Susquehannocks, or as he writes the name, the Sasquesahanocks. As Smith's voyage of discovery up the Susquehanna River was made in 1608, it may be said that the written history of Pennsylvania commences in that year. Before that time the student of the aboriginal people of this State must depend entirely upon the results of archaeological investigation, and, I am sorry to say, the archaeology of Pennsylvania is still in its infancy.

In order to have a foundation to build upon I have taken the period of John Smith as a starting-place. At that time the three clans of the Delaware, or Lenni-Lenape, were living on the river which bears their name. The Turkey Clan occupied the land along the

lower river, the Turtle Clan the region about Philadelphia and the Wolf Clan the upper stretches of the river, in what was known as the Minnisinks. The Susquehanna River, from Chesapeake Bay to the borders of New York State, with the exception of the Wyoming Valley region, which was occupied by the Massawomecks, was peopled by the mighty and dominant Susquehannocks, who also occupied the West Branch to its headwaters. The Ohio River region was the habitat of the "Black Minquas," and its headwaters to Lake Erie by the Erie, Neuter and Wenro. To go back of this historic period to the earliest known occupants of Pennsylvania, according to tradition and archaeological remains, we would find the Cherokee and probably the Shawnee on the upper Ohio and Allegheny. The Talligewe or Alligewe, after whom the Allegheny River was named, was an Iroquoian Tribe and the name is another form of the name Cherokee. In passing it may be stated that the three great river systems of the State bear the names of the three great tribes which once occupied the Delaware, Susquehanna and Allegheny, which latter name was once applied to the Ohio.

The earliest known white man to visit the Susquehannocks was Stephen Brule, who was sent by Champlain to Carantouan in 1615 to hasten the coming of 500 Susquehannock warriors to aid him in his war against the Iroquois. Brule went to Carantouan, near Waverly, but found that nearly all of the warriors were out hunting. He then made a tour of exploration of the Susquehanna River to Chesapeake Bay and returned to Carantouan. It is to be regretted that Brule left no journal of his experiences on this trip, as it would be of inestimable value in settling many disputed matters in relation to the Indian occupancy of the river. A brief report which he made to Champlain three years later is all of the record which remains of

this most historic tour. Sir Thomas Dale and Samuel Argoll were the first Europeans to commence the trade with the Susquehannocks in about 1608. Sir William Clayborne was probably the first white man to establish trading posts on the Susquehanna, in about 1634. In 1631 Clayborne obtained from Charles I a license for carrying on trade with the Indians. He established a trading post on Kent Island, in the Susquehanna, in about 1634. The long dispute of Clayborne with the Calverts concerning his right to these lands was held to be null and void by England, although Canassatego, the Iroquois diplomat, at Lancaster in 1744 acknowledged the validity of the Susquehannocks' deed of 1652, by which Clayborne was given the Island of Kent and Palmer's Island. Canassatego said to the Maryland Commissioners, "We have had your deeds interpreted to us and we acknowledge them to be good and valid, and that the Conestogue or Susquehannah Indians had a right to sell those lands unto you, for they were then theirs; but since that time we have conquered them; and their country now belongs to us."—I quote this statement of Canassatego because it is of interest in showing the grounds upon which the Iroquois laid claim to the entire region along the Susquehanna once occupied by the Susquehannocks. It was because of this "right by conquest" that the Iroquois acted as the owners of the Susquehanna lands in all of their dealings with the Penns. The Susquehannocks were, after years of warfare, finally overcome by the Iroquois in 1675. This overwhelming of the Susquehannocks by the Iroquois in such a short time is one of the tragedies of early Pennsylvania history. The chief cause for the struggle between Holland and Sweden, and of Great Britain, for the possession of the lower Delaware was to gain the rich trade in peltries with the Susquehannocks, or Minquas. Captain Cornelius Hendricksen, in his report made in

August, 1616, to "the High and Mighty Lords States General of the Free United Netherland Provinces," says, "First, he hath discovered for his aforesaid Masters and Directors, certain lands, a bay and three rivers situate between 38 and 40 degrees.

"And did there trade with the inhabitants: said trade consisting of sables, furs, robes and other skins. . . . He also traded for and bought from the inhabitants, the Minquas, three persons, being people belonging to this company, which three persons were employed in the service of the Mohawks, and Mohicans; giving for them kettles, beads and merchandise."

It is probable that these three men who were ransomed by Captain Hendricksen had been captured by the Susquehannocks near the headwaters of the Susquehanna River while carrying on a trade with the Mohawks as representatives of the Dutch Company on the Hudson.

The extent of the trade with the Minquas can be estimated by reading the report of Governor John Printz, of New Sweden, for 1647. In this report he states that because of the conflict with the Dutch he had suffered the loss of "8000 or 9000 beavers which have passed out of our hands," and which he should have obtained from "the great traders, the Minquas."

The chief cause of the struggle between the Dutch and the Swedes on the Delaware, and the reason for the erection of the various forts was the commanding of the "paths" leading to the Minqua villages on the Susquehanna.

It seems rather strange that the trade with the "River Indians," as the Delaware were called in the early records, never amounted to very much, and that the struggle by Holland, Sweden and Great Britain for the possession of the Delaware River was in order to control the trade with the Minquas living on the Susquehanna.— The Minquas was the dominant com-

mercial Indian tribe of Pennsylvania from say 1616 until 1675. These dates mark the "Golden Age" of this once powerful tribe, which was gradually overcome by the Iroquois confederation.

The Allegheny, or Ohio, river region is of great interest because of the number of aboriginal tribes whose traditions carry them back to the headwaters of this stream.

One of the earliest traditions is that which is given by Heckwelder relating to the Eastward or Northward migration of the Delaware and Iroquois. This tradition is taken for the *Walum Olum*, the sacred tribal history of the Delaware. According to this historical tradition, the Lenape lived in the Western part of the continent. For some unknown reason they decided to migrate eastward. After a long journey of "many nights' encampment," which may mean years, they at last reached the "Namaesi-sipu," or "River of Fish," which has been identified with the Mississippi. Many modern students, however, identify it with the Detroit river. The Lenape here met with the Mengwe (Iroquois), who were also migrating eastward. The spies which the Lenape had sent into the unknown country returned with the report that the region to the eastward was occupied by a powerful tribe, which had many fortified villages along the great rivers and lakes.

This tribe was called the Alligewe, and was fierce and war-like. The warriors were strong, very tall and possessed great courage. The Lenape then sent messengers forward, to the Alligewe, asking permission to settle in their country, which was called Alligewining. Loskiel, in his history of Moravian Missions, gives the form of Alligewinengh, and the meaning, "a land, into which they came from distant parts." The name, however, probably means "the place of the Alligewe." This request was refused, but the Lenape were given permission to pass through the land of the Alligewe,

in order to reach the region to the eastward. When the Lenape commenced to cross "The River of Fish," their great numbers alarmed the Alligewe, who made an attack upon them, driving them back over the river with great loss of life on both sides. The Mengwe, who had been spectators of this conflict, offered to assist the Lenape, if, after the country was conquered, they would be allowed to share it with the Lenape. This request was gladly granted and the united forces began the fight for the conquest of the land of the Alligewe. The fortified places along the river fell one by one, and after many years of severe fighting, the Alligewe were driven southward. The Mengwe (Iroquois), in accordance with the agreement, took the lands to the northward, in the vicinity of the Great Lakes, and the Lenape (Delaware) took the lands south of those chosen by the Mengwe. At a later period the Lenape again divided, some crossing the mountains and settling along the lower Susquehanna and Potomac, and others going still farther to the river, the later English name of which they were to bear (Delaware), instead of their own Indian name of Lenape.

It is now generally accepted by students of American Ethnology that the Alligewe, or Talligewe, were the Cherokee of historic times. We know that the ancestors of the Cherokee inhabited the Ohio region, and were probably the builders of the many mounds found along the Ohio river. They were driven southward by the Iroquois, a kindred group of tribes. Possibly no river on the continent has seen as many changes in the races of Red Men living along its shores as has this most historic stream.

In the Jesuit Relation of 1635 the "Rhierrhonons," identified as the Erie, and the "Ahouenrochrhonons," identified as the Wenro, are mentioned as living south of Lake Erie and the Iroquois domain. This would place these tribes on the headwaters of the Allegheny.

There is no doubt but that the Erie, or Panther, Nation, spread over the region southward from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. According to Herrmann's map of 1670, the "Black Minquaas" are placed in the region west of the Allegheny mountains, and on the Ohio, or "Black Minquaas River," as it is designated. According to the Jesuit Relation, both of these tribes, the Wenro and the Black Minquaas, traded with the people on the upper Delaware, going back and forth by the trail to the waters of the West Branch, down to Shamokin, then up to Wyoming, and then across to the Delaware, near the Water Gap. The Legend on Herrmann's map reads, "A very great river called Black Minquaas River—where formerly those Black Minquaas came over the Susquehanna, as far as Delaware to trade, but the Sasquhanna and the Sinnicus Indians went over and destroyed that very great Nation."

There is also reason for thinking that the upper Ohio was once occupied by one of the Siouan tribes. The stream was called the "River of the Akansea," because the Akansea formerly lived upon it. The Akansea, Arkansas, or Kwapa, was a Siouan tribe. Those who went down the Mississippi were given the name Kwapa, or "people living down the river," while those who ascended the river were called Omaha, or "people living up the river."

It must be remembered that all of the early names for the Allegheny and the Ohio were applied to both streams alike. The present Allegheny was looked at as being the continuation of the Ohio. The Monongahela river was but a tributary of Allegheny, or Ohio river.

I have left the consideration of the Indians of the Delaware region as the last of the three geographical divisions of the State, as many of the facts relating to the Susquehanna and Ohio have a bearing upon the aboriginal inhabitants of the Delaware.

The Delaware, or Leni-Lenape, as they call themselves, was the most important confederation of the Algonkian group. They occupied the entire Delaware river basin, including New Jersey and Delaware. They were called "River Indians" by the early Dutch and Swedes; Delawares by the English, and Loups, or wolves, by the French. The Algonkian tribes of the West called the New England branch Wapanachi or "Easterners." The Nanticoke, Shawnee, Conoy and Mahican had traditions connecting them with the Lenape.

The Delaware proper was composed of three divisions: the Munsee, Unami and Unalachtigo, or the Wolf, Turtle and Turkey clans. As has already been stated, the traditional history of the Lenape is found in the *Walam Olum*, of which an outline has been given.

The Unalachtigo clan, which name means "people who live near the ocean," occupied both sides of the lower region of the river. Their chief village was Chikokoki, on the site of Burlington, N. J.

The Unami, or Turtle clan, occupied the region from the mouth of the Lehigh southward to about the Delaware line. Many of the Unami had moved eastward into New Jersey, in order to be farther away from the Minquas.

The leading village of the Unami was Shackamaxon, which was also probably the Capital of the Delaware Nation. The head-chief of the Unami Clan was always the head-chief, or "King," as they were called by the various European writers of the period, of the Delaware nation. This was always the custom of the Delaware, even after they had been driven westward into Ohio during the Revolution. The Munsee Clan of the Lenape occupied the upper region of the Delaware in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Their chief village was at Minisink, in Sussex County, N. J.

This clan differed so much from the other two clans of the Lenape, speaking even a different dialect, that they have frequently been regarded as a separate tribe. In many respects the Munsee was the most prominent of all the Lenape divisions. They were the most warlike and occupied a very prominent place in all of the Indian wars in Colonial Pennsylvania. Because of the fraudulent "Walking Purchase" of 1737 they were obliged to remove to the Susquehanna and then to the Ohio. This fraud made the Munsee the bitter foes of the white man and everything relating to him. The Shawnee and the Munsee, together with the warlike Seneca, made a trio of hostile Indian foes which carried death and ruin into the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia. During this period of Indian hostility, which commenced in 1755, and ended with the Treaty of Greenville, in 1795, the Munsee and the Shawnee of the eastern Algonquin group, together with the Seneca of the Iroquois confederation, made up the majority of the war-parties which overran the frontier trails. During this period the Iroquois Confederation remained neutral, and many of the leading chiefs of the Delaware remained neutral also.

What would have been the result if the Iroquois Confederation and the entire Delaware Nation had "taken up the hatchet" against the British and then the American settlements is not a question hard to answer. Iroquois neutrality in 1755 saved the English settlements in America. If the French Army on the Ohio had been able to hold the friendship of the Delaware and have the Iroquois Confederation declare war against the British, no British army which could have been sent against them could ever have been able to have crossed the Allegheny Mountains, and the conquest of the scattered English settlements along the Atlantic would have been simply a matter of time. A united Iroquian and Algonkian Confederation would

have held back the European conquest of the Atlantic sea-board for a century at least. The one thing which aboriginal man never seemed to comprehend was the value of united effort.

Pontiac, in the so-called "Conspiracy of Pontiac in 1763-4," came as near forming a confederation of Indian tribes as any Indian who ever attempted to defend his native land from foreign invasion. We call this war a "Conspiracy," but call a similar conflict The American Revolution, just as we call the battle of Wyoming the "Wyoming Massacre." The former was a war of Indian independence and the latter was a battle for the possession of lands which had been stolen by a fraud.

The Shawnee, whose name signifies "Southerners," was a branch of the great Algonkian family and in many respects one of the most interesting tribes on the continent. Their ancestors were mound builders, and it is possible that they were the builders of some of the mounds on the upper Ohio. The Walum Olum connects the Lenape with the Shawnee and Nanticoke as one united tribe, and the division as having taken place after the Lenape had expelled the Talligewi from their habitat on the upper Ohio. The actual history of the tribe commences in about 1670, when they were living in two widely separated places in Tennessee and South Carolina. The Shawnee entered Pennsylvania in 1698, having been driven out of South Carolina by the English settlers who sided with the Catawba in the conflict between these tribes. They settled first along the Potomac, near Oldtown, Maryland, moving from there to the region of Conestoga in 1698, when they settled in the village of Pequea, near Conestoga. It is probable that at the same time some of the members of the Assinikale or Hathawekela clan migrated directly to the Ohio, Opessah and the sixty families who settled at Pequea belonged to the Pequea clan. In 1701 the

remnant of the Minqua or Conestoga appeared before William Penn, and asked that these Shawnee be allowed to settle near them. This permission was granted and the Shawnee were allowed to settle on the Conestoga lands, under the protection of the Conestoga, but under the authority of the Iroquois confederation. It is well to remember this fact, as it is frequently brought to the attention of the Iroquois Confederation when the Provincial authorities tried to have the Shawnee brought back to the Susquehanna from the Ohio, when they soon came under French influence.

Shikellamy, the Iroquois deputy at Shamokin and Scarouady, on the Ohio, were appointed by the Iroquois to look after all affairs relating to the Shawnee.

After the Treaty of 1701 many Shawnee removed from the South to the Susquehanna and upper Delaware. In 1727, because of the various conflicts of the Shawnee with the Indian traders, due to a great extent to the unrestricted rum traffic, the Shawnee commenced to migrate to the Ohio. In 1728 Kakowatcheky, called by the English the Shawnee "King," removed from the upper Delaware to Wyoming. Shikellamy was requested to discover why this move was made. In 1731 Shikellamy gave the Provincial authorities to understand that nearly all of these removals of the Shawnee and Delaware, as well as all other troubles with the Indians, were due to the rum traffic, and that unless something was done to regulate this traffic friendly relations of the Iroquois Confederation would end. The Shawnee were gradually migrating from the lower Susquehanna to Wyoming, and soon commenced to again move to the Big Island and to the Ohio. In 1732, at the Council held in Philadelphia, the Iroquois were requested to recall the Shawnee from the Ohio. The Iroquois deputies replied that it would not be kind to order this removal while the corn was growing and

the winter coming on, but that in the following spring the order would be issued.

Thomas Penn had a tract of land surveyed on the western side of the Susquehanna, called the Manor of Conedoguet, to which the Shawnee on the Ohio were invited. In 1735, at another Council in Philadelphia the Iroquois reported that they had sent a number of their chiefs to the Ohio to request the Shawnee to return to the Susquehanna, but that they had replied that the region to which they had gone was "more commodious for them" and refused to leave.

Shortly after this conference with the Shawnee, a chief of the "Tsanadowas" (Seneca) named Sago-handechty, went with other Iroquois chiefs to urge the Shawnee to return. The Seneca chief urged the return so strongly that after the other chiefs had departed, the Shawnee killed him and then fled to "the place from whence they first came, which is below Carolina."

I have gone into detail concerning this attempt of the Iroquois to have the Shawnee return to the Susquehanna, in accordance with the request of the Provincial authorities, as it has an important bearing upon the development of the "Indian problem" which the Provincial authorities had to try to solve. The Shawnee were breaking away, not only from the influence of the English, but also were throwing aside the authority of the Iroquois Confederation. And, as the Delaware were also rapidly removing to the Ohio, the more dominating Shawnee were carrying them with them in their rebellion against Iroquois authority.

In 1739 Kakowatcheky and twenty other Shawnee from the Ohio held a Council with Governor Thomas Penn in Philadelphia. At this Council the history of the dealings of the Province with the Shawnee, from the time of their entrance into Pennsylvania "about forty years ago," was reviewed by James Logan. Articles of Agreement were signed by the Chiefs pres-

ent, renewing the Treaty of 1701. (It is interesting to note that the original of this first Treaty of the Penns with the Shawnee is in the Division of Public Records at the State Library.)

At the Treaty in Lancaster in 1744 there was but one Shawnee chief present. After an investigation had been made it was discovered that the reason the Shawnee were absent was due to the fact that the Shawnee were not on good terms with the Iroquois, who feared that in case of a war with the French that the Shawnee and Delaware would both be on the side of the French.

There is no doubt but that the growing feeling of hostility of the Shawnee towards the Iroquois and the influence of the former over the Delaware had as much to do with the "alienation of the Delaware and Shawnee" as had either the land sales or the traffic in rum. The Shawnee had gone to the Ohio to escape from the authority of the Iroquois and had been flattered by the French, who realized that they had no hope of winning the support of the Iroquois and were therefore making every effort to win the Shawnee.

Peter Chartier, a Shawnee half-breed, who had led the Shawnee from the Susquehanna to the Ohio, led the tribe from Chartier's Old Town on the Allegheny in 1745 to the Lower Shawnee Town on the Ohio. Then they came directly under the French influence and caused some trouble among the English traders. The amount of damage done by Chartier's band of Shawnee was very much over-estimated. Scarouady won back the greater part of Chartier's band to the English interest. At the Treaty of Lancaster in 1748 Kakowatcheky and a number of Shawnee from the Ohio came before the Commissioners and asked to be forgiven for having been misled by Chartier. They presented the Agreement of 1739 and asked that it be signed afresh, and "all former crimes buried and for-

got." Now was the time to win these independent and proud warriors. But, the influence of Conrad Weiser, who hated the Shawnee, prevailed and the Commissioners refused to sign the Agreement. All of the Indians at this Treaty were given presents save the Shawnee, who left Lancaster thoroughly humiliated because of their treatment before the Iroquois. The French welcomed them home to the shores of the Ohio. Conrad Weiser had bought the neutrality of the Iroquois at the expense of the friendship of the Delaware and Shawnee. From this time until the Treaty of Greenville in 1795—a period of half a century—the Shawnee were the most bitter foes which the British and then the American Colonists had to face along the frontier which was bounded by the Ohio River.

Such, in brief, is an outline of the early Indian occupation of Pennsylvania.

A few thoughts concerning the Indian himself may not be out of place. The American Indian was the noblest primitive man that ever trod the earth. When the white man first met him he was uncontaminated by the vices of civilization. The vices and diseases which were introduced among the Indians at the coming of the white man have done more to destroy them than have all of the wars in which they have taken part. From the time that the white man first landed on the shores of America to the present time the Indian has been treated unjustly. All treaties made with Indian tribes have been broken by the Government. He was driven from the shores of the Delaware to the Wyoming Valley, where a perpetual home was guaranteed to him. But, just as soon as the white settlers discovered the value of this fertile region he was again driven out and the boundary of the "Indian country" was fixed at the Ohio River. The pressing tide of white settlement drove him out of Ohio beyond the Mississippi to the great prairies of the West. But even these

distant regions did not protect him from the white invasion of his lands. Wherever he was moved the land became the object of the white man's desire because of its fertility or natural mineral wealth. If he was given a reservation in Oklahoma, the land to which he had been driven became rich in its agricultural possibilities, or it poured out a golden stream of oil.

During all this period of migration from the Delaware to the setting sun no attempt was ever made by the white man's government to absorb the Indian and make him part of the nation. The Scotch, the Irish, the Italian, the Jew, the Russian, people of every clime and race came into the country and were made a part of the nation. But the Indian, whose lands were taken from him, was ever looked at as being an alien, with none of the rights of citizenship. And yet, the Indian has fought side by side with the white man in every war in which he has been engaged. In the great World War he was true to his traditions. More Indians enlisted in proportion to their population than any race on the continent. There were in the Army and Navy of the United States in round numbers about 10,000 Indians. Of this number 6000 enlisted as volunteers. According to the report of the Provost Marshal General the total registration of the Indians under the Selective Service was 17,313. Of this number 6509 were inducted into the Army of the U. S.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs says, "I regard the representation of 8000 in camp and actual warfare as furnishing a ratio of population unsurpassed, if equaled, by any other race or nation." That is about 28 per cent. of the available man power of the Indian race. If the same percentage had been carried out by the white population there would have been an army of 10,000,000 men under arms.

In addition to giving men, they gave money to all of the various war activities. To the four Liberty

Loans they subscribed about \$20,000,000, or an average of \$58 for every Indian man, woman and child in the United States.

In September, 1918, there were 10,000 Indians in the American Red Cross. The Indian women and girls worked as faithfully as any on the continent in making hospital supplies.

Does it not seem that now is the time, after the more than two centuries of injustices, to grant to this truly patriotic race a place, side by side with the white man and the negro, in the life of the nation? They were given a place by the side of the boys in khaki at Vimy Ridge and the Argonne Forest. Many of them are sleeping on Flanders Fields by the side of the white men who fought with them. If these noble red men were deemed worthy to fight for human liberty and justice under the "Stars and Stripes" as it was carried on the battlefields of Europe, why not give them a place under that same banner when they may fight the battles of peace here at home in their native land? Why not put an end to this miserable position which they occupy as "perpetual wards" and give them the position of sons?

Charles A. Eastman says, "It is not the fault of the people, in a way; not perhaps the fault of any particular administration, that the soldier returning from the Marne or Chateau-Thierry should still find his money and lands held by the Indian Bureau. When he asks for freedom, they answer him, 'Can you propose anything better than the present system?' He replies, 'Is there anything better to-day than American citizenship?'"

The Indian of the present is not fighting his white brothers; he is asking that the money which belongs to him and which is held by the Government be given to him and that he be made a citizen to use that money

as he deems best, as every American citizen does, without a bureau to examine his expense account.

NOTE.—The number of Indians in the United States, according to the census of 1920, is 244,437. The census of 1910 gave 265,683. This decrease is due to the change in the rules of enumeration. In 1910 a special effort was made to enumerate all persons having any trace of Indian blood. In 1920 many of those classed as Indians in 1910 are now classed as whites.

The greatest decrease is in Oklahoma, where the total decrease is 17,488 out of a total decrease of 21,246.

Rather strangely the most pronounced increase in Indian population is in North Carolina, where the population increased from 7851 in 1910 to 11,824 in 1920.

The chief diseases among the Indians are tuberculosis and trachoma. It is stated that 25,000 Indians are afflicted with the former disease and 60,000 with the latter.

The American Indian is the most wealthy people on the face of the earth. It can no longer be truly said, "Lo, the poor Indian." The per capita wealth of the United States is \$1310.11. That of New York is \$1551.59. The per capita wealth of the American Indian is \$3000. Much of this wealth is now in farm land, cattle, timber and oil lands.

JASPER YEATES AND HIS TIMES.

BY HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS.

The subject of this sketch was so prominent in the affairs of Lancaster Borough, and also of the province and State, that one wonders why the historian of the past, who was in closer touch with his activities than we possibly can be, did not give more at length the story of his life. It would seem to yet rest upon some member of his profession to gather together as much information concerning him as is now obtainable. Details give life and charm to a narrative, and I have, therefore, endeavored to pick out some of the incidents of a career which I think can be truly said to have been fairly full. It seems to me that the reader will more fully comprehend the life of Judge Yeates if he can mentally transport himself to the scene of his labors and consider the same from that view-point.

Three lawyers of the Lancaster Bar stood forth most prominently during the days which preceded and covered the period of the war of independence. These men were George Ross, William A. Atlee and Jasper Yeates. The first was a signer of the Declaration. He died in 1779, while a Judge of the Court of Admiralty in the City of Philadelphia, before the struggle was ended. He was admitted to the Bar of Lancaster County at May Term, 1750. The two latter finally occupied positions upon the Bench of the State Supreme Court. William A. Atlee was admitted at Lancaster to practice law on August 13, 1758, and Jasper Yeates, when he was only a little over twenty years of age, was admitted there on May 8, 1765. The preceptor of Judge Yeates was Edward Shippen, Jr., afterwards

Chief Justice. It was on Mr. Shippen's motion that Mr. Yeates was admitted to the Lancaster Bar.

In a letter dated New Castle, August 22, 1765, written by him to his father, and which I have in my possession, he says:

"I left Lancaster yesterday and have but just alighted from my horse, & obtained an admission in the Courts here, but would not neglect, tho' fatigued with my journey, to answer your letter by this post, who I am informed is expected to pass through town in a few minutes."

Jasper Yeates was born on April 17, 1745, in the City of Philadelphia. He was the son of John Yeates and Elizabeth Yeates, whose maiden name was Sidebottom. John Yeates was a merchant, doing business in Philadelphia, and, in conjunction with others, owned ships which plied chiefly between the Barbadoes and England and this colony. The son was educated at the College of Philadelphia, and he received his degree of Bachelor of Arts there in 1761. On May 23, 1768, there was conferred upon him the degree of Master of Arts, signed by William Smith, Provost; Francis Allison, Vice-Provost; Ebin Kinnersley, Professor of English and Oratory; John Beveridge, Linguist Professor, and John Morgan, Professor of Theory and Practice.

From his receipts, in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, it seems that he was in and about the Town of Lancaster for almost a year before he established his permanent residence there. An account with Christian Wirtz, storekeeper, for 12s. 2d. was by him paid as early as February 20, 1765; and another for £6, 10s. 10d., covered a period from March 6, 1765, to May 4, 1765. On June 20, 1765, he paid Peter Weaver £1, 11s. 6d. in full "for hyring my horse ten days and a half day at 3/p. day." And on October 16, 1765, he paid George Hoofnagle

17s. 6d. for hiring horse seven days, at 2s. 6d. a day. On September 23, 1765, he sent by George Shank "one small chest of cloathes, marked JY," to be delivered "safe in the City of Philadelphia at the Sign of the King of Prussia, to the care of Mr. Farmer Dewees, Innkeeper," for which he paid half a crown. These receipts indicate that he was in Lancaster during almost the whole of the year 1765. But I also find receipts from James Simpson and John Bayles, for Daniel Bailey, for the carriage of sundry household goods from the "Head of Elk to this place." These are dated April 10, 1766. On the same day, he paid Zebulon Hollingsworth "for trouble of storage, &c., of household goods to Head of Elk." Prior to this time, namely, on November 21, 1765, he paid to Robert Creighton £5 in full for the carriage of a piece of household furniture "together with the family" from Vienna "in the sloop Sally & Betty by me freighted of Capt. McCloyster." Vienna is located on the eastern shore of Maryland, on Sharp River, between Salisbury and Hurlock. This place had, before he settled in Lancaster, evidently been his home.

On March 24, 1766, Jacob Brubaker gave a receipt to Mrs. Ewing for 14 shillings for a cord of hickory wood delivered that day. This fixes the time she arrived in Lancaster. On March 18, 1766, Mr. Yeates paid Jacob Coleman £7, 10s. in full for the carriage of Mrs. Sarah Ewing with her family from Philadelphia to Lancaster, in a stage wagon. This is the first mention of a stage from Philadelphia to Lancaster that I know of. Mrs. Ewing was Jasper Yeates' sister. She continued to live in the borough until her death, which occurred October 3, 1823. Her age was ninety-two years and six months. She survived all her children. Judge Yeates in his will stated that he had "maintained" his "sister for many years," and he gave her

an annuity and directed that she might live with his widow.

He and the family first lived in a house belonging to Marcus Young. Here is the evidence of it:

“Lancaster, 10th Nov’b’r 1766. Rec’d of Jasper Yeates six pounds fifteen shillings in full for a Quarter’s Rent of my house he lives in, due the 5th instant.

£6, 15/.

Marcus Young.”

This house was situated on the north side of East King Street, between Duke and Lime Streets, in the Borough of Lancaster, about where the Westernberger, Maley & Myers store now stands. Marcus Young owned three adjoining houses, the westernmost of which he occupied himself. I cannot say in which of the other two Judge Yeates resided. He must have continued there for some years, for I have found receipts for the rent paid by him for these premises up until February 4, 1771. Marcus Young kept a grocery store. He had a son Matthias Young, who afterwards figured considerably in the affairs of the town.

On December 30, 1767, Mr. Yeates married, in Philadelphia, Sarah, daughter of Col. James Burd and Sarah Shippen Burd, his wife. On September 4, 1775, he bought, for thirteen hundred pounds, a half lot of ground in Lancaster Borough, containing 32 feet 2½ inches in front, on South Queen Street, and in depth 252 feet, to a 14 feet wide alley, bounded on the north by a 14 feet alley (now Mifflin Street), and on the south by a lot then in the tenure or occupation of David Tressley. Here he lived from that time on until his death.

When Jasper Yeates first came to the Bar, George Ross, William A. Atlee and John Currie practically monopolized the law business of the county. It is the usual experience of young lawyers that clients do not eagerly enlist their services. But Mr. Yeates seems to

have been an exception to this general rule. His first appearance upon the Common Pleas Docket was in the case of Paul Zemberling *v.* Barnet Jacobs, to No. 251, November Term, 1765. He was associated with John Ross for the plaintiff. It was an appeal from the judgment of John Philip DeHaas, Esq., and the amount involved was £3. 4. 0. John Currie, Esq., represented the defendant. The result of the litigation does not appear. He speedily secured a firm hold, for the next year his name was entered in eighty-five litigated cases, in 1767 in two hundred and two cases, and in 1768 in two hundred and nineteen cases. Thence forward he led the Bar of his county, his activity as a lawyer continuing until about 1789, when he apparently gradually retired from active practice. From the time of his admission to the day when he was appointed to the Bench, his name was entered on the Common Pleas Dockets of Lancaster County in five thousand, two hundred and seventy-nine cases. In those days, when a warrant of attorney was given to confess judgment, a lawyer regularly appeared and confessed the judgment. Jasper Yeates' name appears in four hundred and ninety-eight cases of this character, in addition to those above enumerated. The first of this kind was the case of Jacob A. Loeser and John Backenstoës, Executors of Teterick Shope *v.* Jacob Kline, to May Term, 1766, No. 32. His briefs and notes of testimony also show that he practiced considerably in the Criminal Courts, and besides this large business at Lancaster, he traveled the circuit and attended the Courts in York, Dauphin, Cumberland, Franklin, Northumberland and Berks Counties. In the year 1780, litigation almost came to an end. Thomas Hartley, a lawyer from York, and afterwards a member of the first Congress, writing to him on June 27, 1780, from that place, said: "I am one of your unfortunate men—for just as I had determined to pursue the law

duly for a livelihood, it has nearly ceased. I fret a little sometimes, but (who would think it) I have some philosophy." On October 18, 1780, Mr. Yeates wrote: "The judges will not hold Court at Lancaster, Carlisle or York this fall. They will have one at Reading on the 6th of November." On October 27, 1781, he wrote from Carlisle: "We have a great deal of business, little sleep and less money. All that we get from clients is an account of their distresses and their willingness to pay, if they had it. Thank Heavens, we are better off at home." Of course, many of the cases in which he was employed were probably not large, as to the money involved, nor important as to principles; but they required attention, and made him a very busy man.

To give an idea of the fees charged in those days, I present a copy of a receipt in my possession given by him to the County of Lancaster: "Received of Wm. Henry, Esq., Treasurer of Lancaster County, Four Hundred Dollars, viz.: Two Hundred Dollars for Edward Shippen and Two Hundred Dollars for myself, for counsel to the Board of Commissioners and Assessors on divers points of law, and as a retaining fee for ourselves in case any suits should be brought on the matters referred to us. £150. By Order of the Board. J. Yeates. Aug. 5, 1779."

On or about June 9, 1784, the Court House in Lancaster burned down. William Hamilton, writing to him from Bush Hill, on July 14, 1784, said: "I am sorry for the accident to the Court House, which must certainly have occasioned you & its other neighbors a great deal of trouble and uneasiness. It could not have happened at a more inconvenient time for rebuilding. Pray, could it not be contrived to have the new one raised in some other place & to leave the Square unincumbered with any Building in its centre? It would certainly conduce very much to the Beauty of the Town.

The Public might have any lot of mine that would suit the purpose.”

The burned structure was the first Court House building erected in the town. It stood in the middle of Centre Square, on a plot of ground donated by Andrew Hamilton for that purpose. Instead of taking Mr. Hamilton's suggestion, a new building was put up in the same place, which was finished in 1787. It was in 1854 that the third Court House was constructed, and the Courts were removed from the former place to the corner of East King and North Duke Streets, its present location.

By an Act of the General Assembly, passed June 13, 1777, it was required “that all male white inhabitants of the state . . . above the age of eighteen years” should on or before the first day of July next, take and subscribe an oath whereby they renounced and refused all allegiance to George the Third, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, and promised that they would be faithful and bear true allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a free and independent state, and that they would not at any time do or cause to be done any matter or thing that would be prejudicial or injurious to the freedom and independence thereof, as declared by Congress, &c. Supplementary Acts of the same general character were subsequently passed. It became necessary, under them, that all the members of the Bar should take the oath of allegiance and be re-admitted to practice. Therefore, at August Term, 1778, on motion of Jonothan D. Sergeant, in behalf of Edward Shippen, Jun'r, George Ross and Jasper Yeates, these gentlemen were added to the Roll of Attorneys of the Court, and they accordingly took the oath prescribed by the Act of Assembly.

Jasper Yeates was appointed one of the Justices of the Supreme Court *quamdiu se bene gesserit* the 21st

day of March, 1791. His commission was published in the Supreme Court April 2, 1791. On November 11, 1793, he wrote to Capt. John Inglis: "I have vanity enough to flatter myself you will expect to hear something of myself. I have quitted the practice of the law near three years & have taken my seat as one of the Judges of the Supreme Court." The cases in which Judge Yeates sat are reported in the four volumes of Yeates' Reports, six volumes of Binney's Reports, and two volumes of Sergeant & Rawle's Reports. His briefs, notes of testimony taken upon trials, and copies of many of his opinions are among the Yeates Papers in the custody of the Historical Society.

I find the following bill, dated June 3, 1797:

The State of Pennsylvania,

To Jasper Yeates, Dr.

To his expenses in attending the Supreme Court in Philadelphia, March Term, 1797, from 18th March, 1797, to 3 April, both inclusive,

17 days at 4 dolls. 68 dollars

To do in attending Nisi Prius Courts for Franklin, Bradford, Westmoreland, Allegheny, Washington and Fayette Counties, from the 14 April, 1797, to 30th May, both inclusive,

47 days at 4 doll'rs 188

256

While the seat of government was at Lancaster, Judge Yeates generally drew the pay of Chief Justice Tilghman and forwarded it to him. Judge Tilghman, writing from Philadelphia on June 24, 1806, said: "When you receive my quarter's salary due July 1st, I beg the favor of your reserving the amount of my travelling expenses on the Circuit. . . . I am

going on steadily with the Court of Nisi Prius here. The weather is hot, but a good deal of business will be dispatched. I have great hopes that we shall be able to make a serious impression on the Docket in a year or two. Mr. Rawle is at present disabled from attending Court by the gout; but it is probable he will be able to come out next week when the period for special juries commences. We are sitting in the old Assembly room, which I think is the most convenient in the city for our purpose. It is newly painted and in very decent order. I will consult with Judge Smith and fix some time and place for meeting you on our journey to Pittsburg."

The estimate which the Chief Justice had of Judge Yeates is contained in a letter written by him to the latter on May 5, 1809. He said: "On my return from Maryland, I received your favor of the 23rd April, and a packet containing the opinions you received from Mr. Binney. I very well know your industry, but I am afraid you hurried yourself more than the occasion required, for I consider any paper of mine as safe in your hands as in my own."

Judge Yeates was a student and a lover of literature. He had the largest law library and private library of any one living in the vicinity of his home. A number of his miscellaneous books are now in the possession of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., his great-great-grandson. As early as September 2, 1767, William Henry, Executor of William Jevon, a book-seller, whose place of business was on a lot now covered by Watt & Shand's store, near Centre Square, Lancaster, gave him a receipt for two American Magazines. Such magazines were not in common circulation in those days. On February 4, 1783, he paid Paul Weitzel, for Bacon's Abridgement, 5 vols., £14, 10s.; for Burrows' Report, 2 vols., £6, 6s.; and for Lord Raymond's Reports, £6,—£26, 16s. On September 14, 1792, he wrote the following letter to Phineas Bond: "I yesterday received your favor of

the 15th July, and beg my acknowledgments for the trouble you have taken with the tea urn and books. Your unremitted attention to the wishes of your friends leave no doubt that my Library in the Law Line will be fully completed, provided the execution of the commissions is at all practicable. Permit me to request you to add to the list the additional notes in the Second Edition of Douglas' Reports. I find they are advertised by E. Brooks, Temple Bar, to be sold separately at 2/."

I think that there is a prevalent opinion among the members of the Lancaster Bar that he left his law library to the Lancaster Law Library Association. When it is considered that that association was organized under the leadership of Thaddeus Stevens on November 16, 1854, it is apparent that such a disposition of it was impossible. By his will, proven March 27, 1817, he gave the house "wherein I live, situated in South Queen Street, in the Borough of Lancaster," to his wife, Sarah, "during her natural life," and directed that, after her death, it should be sold by his executors. When she died, it was conveyed by his and her heirs to Margaret Yeates and Catharine Yeates, two of his daughters, in fee. On April 19, 1855, the heirs of Margaret Yeates conveyed her undivided half to Catharine Yeates. The will made no reference to his library, and it was appraised at \$2772.00. It was, however, kept by his daughter, Catharine, as far as possible in the same condition as that in which he left it. It remained in the same apartment, arranged on the same shelves and in the same order as it was during his life. When she died, in 1866, she gave the following directions in her will concerning it: "I request that my revered father's library be undisturbed, and that ten dollars a year be given to some person interested in the family to dust the books throughout once a year, always restoring them to the same places, as this is a habit I have always

practiced." Her executors were Townsend Whelen and the late Judge Alexander L. Hayes. On December 27, 1867, they sold and conveyed the house to Jasper Yeates Conyngham. It then became necessary to make some other arrangement relative to the library. Upon a consultation being had between the heirs of Judge Yeates, it was determined by them to tender it to the Lancaster Law Library Association, with a sum which would make an amount equivalent in interest to what Miss Yeates had directed should be annually paid for its custody. The offer was accepted by the association, and the books were removed to the Lancaster Court House and labeled as "Yeates Library," and there they now remain. I am afraid they have not received the care which Miss Kitty (as she was called) desired should be bestowed upon them. He who delves among these ancient tomes is soon covered with the dirt and dust which his temerity has brought upon him.

The library at the time of the transfer consisted of ten hundred and forty-three volumes. Some have since disappeared, and among these is the valuable report of the trial of Peter Zenger, published in Lancaster in 1735. A few years ago, I made a list of old Philadelphia newspapers which in bound volumes were in the collection. A more recent examination has disclosed to me that some of them have since that time been carried away. While the old law reports have ceased to be of use as books of reference, they nevertheless are valuable for their antiquity, containing, as they do, the sources of the common law.

Judge Yeates was not only a successful business man, but a prudent and a just one. In his will he says: "I owe but few debts, having through the course of a long life scrupulously endeavored punctually to discharge them, and I warmly recommend the same line of conduct to my children." No better principles can be advocated or followed by any one. He believed that,

when a debt was owing, it was his duty as an honest man to liquidate it, so that his creditor at a proper time might have what was justly due. On the other hand, he then knew exactly what belonged to him, and was not deceived by false appearances. This plan of living brought him success, and probably will produce the same results for any one else who follows it.

His fortune was large for the time in which he lived, and the character of his investments as shown in the inventory of his estate indicates fully the conservatism of the man. The inventory of his personal estate amounted to \$240,700.53. His private library was inventoried at \$800.00. No account was filed by the executors in the estate. A settlement and division must have been made by mutual agreement of the heirs, who were all of age, and the law library was allowed to remain in the old house, as we have before stated.

His associates on the Bench knew his financial methods. Chief Justice Tilghman, writing to him on November 8, 1814, said: "What do you think of the debt of the United States? You need be under no fear, now that Sec'y Dallas is at the helm. We shall have a National Bank certainly. I expect to see you a great stockholder in it. A little space & a great deal of paper will make out your subscription." On June 21, 1781, Judge Yeates wrote to Edward Shippen, at Philadelphia: "I have lately been offered some small bills of the British Officers here for subsistence money drawn on their Paymaster in London at 30 days' sight, at an exchange of 12 shillings currency for £100 Sterling. I have some thought of buying a few of these bills to a small amount in order to have a little money in England at the conclusion of the War." Mr. Shippen advised him that "many private bills of the officers have been protested, and it will be most prudent to take those drawn by the Paymaster of the Corps."

Judge Yeates died on March 14, 1817, and his re-

mains lie buried in Saint James' Episcopal Churchyard in Lancaster. Upon his tombstone is inscribed this fitting memorial:

"He filled the various duties of his office with fidelity. His integrity was inflexible. As a judge he was most learned and sincere, and in the exercise of public functions he deserved the confidence of his fellow citizens, and has left behind him a name which will only perish with the judicial records of his county."

Any one to whom such words of tribute can be justly paid has played his part in life well.

Outside of his professional and judicial duties, he served in numerous public stations. In 1775, and at least for a time during the pendency of the Revolutionary War, he was Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence for Lancaster County. He was a Captain in Col. Matthias Slough's Battalion of Associators, of Lancaster County, who left for the camp in the Jerseys on September 9, 1776. (See Penn's Archives, 2nd Series, Col. 13, p. 336.)

But about this time he was appointed one of a Commission to treat with the Indians at Fort Pitt. In answer to a notification of his appointment, he, on July 6, 1776, wrote to Benjamin Franklin and James Wilson: "I have received your favor of the 4th instant this afternoon, and conceive it my indispensable duty to inform you without delay that I cheerfully acquiesce with the appointment of the Honorable Congress. My company's being under marching orders to Trenton makes my separation from them somewhat uneasy to me, but I submit and shall be happy in rendering my country any services, however small, in the station assigned to me. Be so good, Gentlemen, as to express my most grateful acknowledgment to the Congress for the honor they have done me." In his memorandum book, he says: "I was adopted into the Six Nations and named Guy-wee-ho, *i. e.*, the Messenger of Good

News." While on this mission, he wrote home the following interesting letter:

Pittsburgh August 21st 1776.

Dear Sir:

We yesterday made a party to visit Braddocks Field. We went in a large canoe with six oars, fourteen persons in number. A platform was raised on each end for a place to sleep, and then hoop poles bent over about four feet in height on which blankets were stretched to keep off sun or rain. We were well supplied with provisions and refreshments. One of our companions played delightfully on a German flute; our time therefore did not pass heavily while we ascended the Monongahela. We arrived at the field in about four hours. We made a hearty dinner not far from the battle ground, near a fine spring,—it was wise in eating before we visited the field, for I would have had but little appetite, if we had pursued a different course. When we commenced our ramble, our Hearts sickened; the skulls and bones of our unburied countrymen met our eyes, and we contemplated in imagination as an event but recently happened. Any person of common humanity would have experienced pain from the reflection that between five and six hundred brave men fell victims to the merciless savages. The marks of cannon and musket balls are still to be seen on the trees; many of the impressions are twenty feet from the ground. My indignation was greatly excited against the commander of the British army, in suffering so many brave men to perish from an obstinate adherence to European rules of war. The observations I heard Sir Francis Halket made of that bloody day and his filial expressions of affection to the memory of his worthy father, Sir Peter Halket, rushed to my recollection. My feelings were heightened by the warm and flowing narration of that day's events by Dr.

Walker, who was an eye witness. He pointed out the ford where the army crossed the Monongahela (below Turtle Creek 800 y'ds), a finer sight could not have been beheld,—the shining barrels of the muskets, the excellent order of the men, the cleanliness of their appearance, the joy depicted on every face at being near Fort Duquesne, the highest object of their wishes,—the music re-echoed through the mountains. How brilliant the morning,—how melancholy the evening! The Savages and the French had hardly an idea of victory when they made the attack. Braddock appeared almost to have courted defeat. Against every remonstrance of Sir Peter Halket, Major Washington and other of his officers, he refused to let a man leave his rank; they fired in platoons against no object,—how very dispiriting to a gallant soldier; they were shot down in whole ranks. The enemy, observing the *infatuation* of the General, felt assured of victory, redoubled their exertions and fired with such fatal precision as to cause our men to throw away their guns and run off in the greatest disorder. The officers in vain attempted to arrest their course,—they were compelled to follow their example. How differently did they cross the river now,—without arms, order or music, the hellish yells of the Indians and the groans and shrieks of the dying and the wounded falling upon their ears. I will not pain you by a further recital, suffice it that the enemy pursued them no farther than the ford. The dead bodies of our troops were suffered to remain a prey to wolves and crows. When the English took possession in 1758 of Fort Pitt, a party was sent out, who buried upwards of four hundred and fifty skulls. Many have since been buried, and many remain as monuments of our shame. That the enemy derived any advantage from the ground I cannot believe; their real advantage consisted in their mode of fighting and the blunder of Braddock. We returned

home late in the evening; the music of the flute was delightful and solemnly impressive.

What a waste of blood and treasure has this little spot cost France, England and America. The prospects around here are most charming on the Allegheny and Monongahela, and the walks pleasant beyond description. I had often heard of the celebrated Fortress of Duquesne in my youth,—what is it now? A little irregular ground, a few graves and the fosse of the Fort are only visible. I remarked the grave of Col. Chaplain.

Fort Pitt stands 100 yards from Fort Duquesne, fronting the junction of the waters. A garrison and guard reminds me that we are still in a state of war. May God grant that peace may soon be restored to us, and the Liberty of our Country placed beyond the arm of Tyranny to reach.

Yours, &c.,

J. Yeates.

In 1787, he was one of the delegates from Lancaster County to the State Convention, which ratified the Constitution of the United States, and with Thomas McKean and James Wilson constituted the Committee which reported and recommended the form of ratification. On August 17, 1789, a meeting was held to consider the improvement of the Susquehanna River, and on October 19, 1789, a more formal Convention was held "in the house of Archibald McAllister in Paxtang Township, Dauphin County." At this meeting, Jasper Yeates headed the list from Lancaster County, and Generals Ewing and Simpson were present from York County. A Committee was made up from Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Northumberland, Huntingdon and Mifflin Counties, and General Ewing was elected as chairman. Active Committees were appointed to solicit subscriptions for the purpose of a sur-

vey, and an appeal was made to the Assembly. An original unpublished letter upon the subject, dated "Penn's Valley, 16th Oct'r 1789," is as follows:

"I have been under the necessity of being abroad since the time I received your letter 'till last Monday. And Gen'l Potter, to whom you also wrote in the same neighbourhood has been & continues to be in so poor a state of health that neither he nor I have had it in our power to attend as yet to the taking in subscriptions for the valuable purpose you mention. We have communicated your proposals to several of our neighbours who all unite with us in approving the undertaking & express'd their willingness to subscribe. We are exceedingly sorry that no person from our neighbourhood can attend at your proposed general meeting on the 19th Inst., but we expect our absence will not be considered either as a neglect of or unwillingness to cooperate with you in whatever measures may be thought most expedient for accomplishing the business. I can with confidence assure you the case is quite the reverse. You may rely on us for every assistance we can possibly render you. Gen'l Potter authorizes me to assure you that he will subscribe as much as any man who lives west of the Susquehannah. For my own part, I shall subscribe as high as my circumstances will admit, & use every exertion to take in subscriptions, & therefore think you may depend on receiving as much assistance from us as from any other District in this part of the Country of the same Bounds.

"I am, Gentlemen, with esteem, your most Ob'd't & very Hon'ble S'v't

"A. Greggor.

"Jasper Yeates, Paul Zantzingler,
Adam Reigart, John Miller & Jacob Krug, Esqs."

An engineer was appointed and a Committee of Supervision, consisting of Samuel Boyd, Bartram Gal-

braith and Thomas Hulings, was named, and directions were given to have a survey made from Susquehanna, Wrightsville Ferry, to the Head of McKees Half Falls, and of the Juniata River to Aughwick Falls. All this was done in three or four years, at a cost of about \$15,000. But, before the State had settled its policy, a company was incorporated to construct a canal at "Conewago," and a canal was built at York Haven. The improvement-enterprise was then abandoned. After many years, it has again been revived, and the prospects are that, in another form, and for the purpose of generating electricity, it will be carried out in some manner.

On August 8, 1794, he, with James Ross and William Bradford, was appointed by President George Washington on a Commission to repair to the Western Counties and confer with such bodies and individuals as they might approve to quiet the whiskey insurrection. After various conferences, an agreement was arrived at, and a report was made to the Government. (See Penn'a Archives, 2nd Series, Vol. 4, p. 163.) An original copy, in his handwriting, inscribed "Treaty between Com'n & Committee of Insurgents, Sept. 2, 1794," which has come into my possession through the courtesy of Simon Gratz, Esq., is in the following words:

"(1) That the said Citizens resident in Allegheny County shall meet in their respective Election Districts on the same day & proceed in the same manner as if they were assembled in Townships.

"(2) If the said Assurances shall be bona fide given in the manner prescribed, the Com'n, on the part of the U. S., do promise & engage in manner following, to wit:

"1. No prosecution for any Treason or other indictable offence against the U. S. committed within the 4th Survey of Penn'a before the 22d Day of Aug't last

shall be commenced or prosecuted before the Tenth Day of July next agst any Person who shall within the Time limited subscribe such Assurances & every Agreem't as afsd. & perform the same.

"2. On the sd Tenth Day of July next there shall be granted a general Pardon & Oblivion of all the sd offences, excluding therefrom, nevertheless, every Person who shall refuse or neglect to subscribe such Assurances & every Agreem't in manner afsd, or shall after such subscription violate the same or wilfully obstruct or attempt to obstruct the execution of the sd Act or be aiding or abetting therein.

"3. Congress having by an Act passed on the 15 Day of June last authorized the State Courts to take cognizance of offences agst the sd Acts for raising a Revenue upon Distilled Spirits & Stills, the President has determined that he will direct Suits agst such Delinquents to be prosecuted therein, if upon experiment it be found that local Prejudices or other Causes do not obstruct the faithful administration of Justice. But it is to be understood that of this he must be the judge & that he does not mean by this Determination to impair any Power vested in the Executive of the U. S.

"4. Certain beneficial arrangements for adjusting Delinquencies & Prosecution for Penalties now depending shall be made & commenced by the Officers appointed to carry the sd Acts into execution.

Pittsburgh Sept'r 2, 1794.

Signed in behalf of the
Committee representing the Fourth
Survey of Penn'a unanimously
by the numbers present.

J. Ross
J. Yeates
W. Bradford

John Probst Robert Dickey Jno. Nesbitt
David Philips J. Marshall Sam'l Willson
Geo. Wallace John McClelland

“We the underwritten do also promise on behalf of the State of Penn’a that in case the Assurances now proposed shall be bona fide given & performed until the 10th Day of July next, an Act of free & general Pardon & Oblivion of all Treason, Insurrections, arsons, riots & other offences inferior to riots, so committed, counselled or suffered by any Person or Persons within the four Western Counties of Penn’a, from the 14th Day of July last past, so far as the same concerns the sd State or the Gov’t thereof, shall be then granted, excluding therefrom every Person who shall refuse or neglect to subscribe such Assurances or who shall after such subscription willfully violate or obstruct the Laws of the State or of the U. S.

“Tho. McKean
“Wm. Irvin.”

His Colleague on the Supreme Court, Judge Hugh H. Brackenridge, was incensed at the conclusions of the Commission, and the relations between the two were ever afterwards very much strained.

On February 28, 1803, a petition, signed by Thomas Passmore, of the City of Philadelphia, was presented in the State House of Representatives by Mr. Ferguson, asking that body to take into consideration the impeachment of Chief Justice Edward Shippen, Judge Yeates and Judge Thomas Smith. The ground of the impeachment was the imposition of a fine and imprisonment for contempt of Court. The proceedings arose chiefly out of a party feeling, which at that time ran strong. Judge Yeates was an ardent Federalist. Articles of Impeachment were adopted, and on January 7, 1805, the Senate commenced to sit as a Court of Impeachment to hear the case. The Senators from Lancaster County were Christopher Mayer and John Steele. The prosecution was represented by Cæsar A.

Rodney, of the State of Delaware, and Alexander J. Dallas and Jared Ingersoll appeared for the defense. On Monday, January 28, 1805, a vote was taken on the charges, resulting in eleven votes Not Guilty and thirteen votes Guilty. Senator Mayer voted Not Guilty and Senator Steele Guilty. As a two-thirds vote was required to convict the defendants, they were declared Not Guilty.

Judge Yeates was most precise in the conduct of his private affairs. He kept many if not all of his receipts, and from them we can view in retrospect his home life, and, at the same time, ascertain in a general way the cost of living as it then prevailed.

On April 15, 1777, he paid to Mary Henry for three quarters schooling £1 4s.; to Andrew Brown, on February 12, 1782, for teaching two children three months £2; to Nathaniel Grier, on November 3, 1783, for instructing his son John, £1; on June 18, 1782, to Jacob Hubley for four months' instruction on the Spinnet at 35s. a month, £7; and to Elizabeth Commins, on October 14, 1783, for three months' services as housemaid, £4, 10s. John Powell and Robert Andrews were also employed as teachers at various times. A receipt, dated August 4, 1781, from George Burkhart, for £1, 2s 6d., appears for making a coffin for his negro, Prime.

During the Revolutionary War, every one embraced within certain classes was obliged to serve or furnish a substitute. On February 8, 1777, he paid Frederick Doersh £20, as a substitute, and on June 25, 1781, and later, he paid Adam Keller two half Johannes in gold for performing his (Yeates') "present term of duty in the 3rd Class of the 8th Batallion of Lancaster County."

On January 2, 1783, he bought from Francis Sander-son a copper kettle; on December 21, 1782, he paid Paul Zantzinger, merchant, for linen at 4s. 6d. a yard, for 14 large double gilt buttons at 9s. a dozen, and for one

pound of green tea, at £1, 12s 6d. He bought from Jacob Reigart 38 lbs. of beef, at 15s. 10d.; 5½ lbs. of veal, at 1s. 11d., and 4 neat's tongues at 8s. He also bought from Ludwig Lauman 4 butter plates, at 2s. 6d. a piece, and 1 dozen plates at £3, 10s. a dozen. As early as June 4, 1770, his neighbor, William Bowsman, who kept a tavern on King Street, sold him wine, rum, &c., for £2, 14s. 8d.

Mr. Yeates lived and dressed according to the manner of the gentlemen of his day. On November 21, 1764, he purchased from Christian Wirtz, storekeeper, for £1, 14s., a pair of leather breeches, a pair of buckskin gloves for 7s., a clothes brush for 1s. 3d.; and paid for altering a pair of breeches 3s. 6d., and for altering a blue jacket with silk lining, 1s. His bill, due to Wirtz from March 6, 1765, to May 4, 1766, was £6, 10s. 10d. On June 22, 1766, he paid for making two pairs of breeches, 6s. each. On November 28, 1767, he bought of Philip Dean, tailor, a scarlet jacket great coat, and on December 18, 1767, his bill to John Cameron, for store goods, amounted to £25, 2s. 4d. On January 11, 1770, he bought a scarlet coat. The following letter, dated January 27, 1771, was sent to him by Phineas Bond, Jr., from London:

Dear Sir: I send by this opportunity the watch you desired me to purchase, in the Care of Mess'r Carson, Barclay & Mitchell, to whom I have enclosed a bill of lading signed by Falconer.

The watch is made by Wagstaffe, whose character as a workman and a man of integrity is much respected here; he warrants her for seven years, and if you should not like her, he will return your money or give you another more agreeable to you. He will repair her at any time you think proper to send her over, without making any charge.

I shall think myself happy in rendering you any service in my power while in England. My best com-

pliments to Mrs. Yeates and to Mr. Shippen and his good family.

I am, D'r S'r

Y'r most h'ble Serv't

Phineas Bond, Jr.

Middle Temple, London,

Jan'y 27, 1771.

The cost of this watch was £27—0—0.

On June 21, 1779, he bought another watch. He purchased it from Ignau Labot, for £525. This was no doubt in Pennsylvania currency, which was rated at \$2.66 $\frac{2}{3}$ to the pound; and, in addition, it was bought during the war, when prices for such articles were inflated. It was a gold watch, studded with brilliants, made by L. Epina in Paris. On the other hand, the economy which he practiced is exemplified in a settlement which he made with William Hoofnagle, from April 14, 1766, to November 16, 1766. He sold to Hoofnagle a coat and waistcoat for £1, and a hat for 7s. 6d.,—no doubt his old clothes,—and he received, in payment, labor,—carrying and sawing wood, work in garden, &c.

His domestic life was a happy one. In his letters to his wife, he frequently lamented his absences from his home. To a correspondent he said: "I have four children living. My oldest daughter is married to a son of Dr. Smith, our old Provost at the College. My circumstances are easy, and I have every reason to be thankful to Heaven for the best of wives and a family of affectionate and dutiful children." His wife, writing to him on October 29, 1781, said: "All our dear children are well. The two eldest expect you will leave them go to dancing school on your return. The gentlemen of the town are about getting a master from Reading. What the terms are I do not know, but Mr. John Hubley asked me if he should put your name down for two, if they found him a proper person for the purpose.

I consented, as I thought it would be agreeable to you." She then added: "On the news of taking Cornwallis, our town looked beautiful with the illuminations, the colors flying, cannon and small arms firing, and the young fellows of the town parading the street with laurel in their hats. Mr. Trumbull and a few others broke some windows that had not been illuminated." In a letter dated July 4, 1791, she wrote: "I hope my dear Mr. Yeates found no ill effects from the rain. I have not heard from you since you left me, therefore continue in a state of suspense. I have had a cold in my head and sore throat that has been very disagreeable, but find myself much better today. Mrs. Hand has invited all our family to drink tea this afternoon with His Excellency, Gen'l Washington. He entered Town about half after six last evening. The colors were fixed in the cupola of the Court House and all the Bells rung at his entrance. This morning before day the cannon was fired, the drums beat and fifes played. There is a grand dinner preparing to be in the Court House. Sebastian Graff was buried at four o'clock yesterday afternoon. I am afraid Mr. Atlee will be gone, therefore must conclude with desire you to accept a great deal of love from your children and your affectionate Sarah Yeates."

His health was not any too robust, though he lived to a ripe old age. Reference to frequent illnesses appear in his correspondence. On August 30, 1784, William Hamilton, writing to him from Bush Hill, said: "I was sorry to hear of your confinement. Two such disagreeable companions as the ague and the gout must have put your patience pretty shortly to the tryal. I sincerely hope that by this time they have taken their departure."

General Edward Hand was married to Catharine Ewing, a daughter of his sister, Sarah Ewing. The

General died very suddenly on September 3, 1802. Letters of administration on his estate were granted to his widow and Judge Charles Smith. They filed an inventory, showing personal assets to the amount of £764, 6s, 1d. The General's library, containing about two hundred and fifty-five volumes, was not valued, nor were six shares of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike and two shares of the Lancaster and Susquehanna Turnpike. The relations between General Hand and Judge Yeates were very close. The latter wrote to Governor Mifflin:

Lancaster, Aug't 1, 1775.

Permit me, My Dear Sir, to introduce to your particular acquaintance Lieut. Col. Hand, of the Rifle Battalion. He served in the Regiment of Royal Irish some years with reputation both as an officer and surgeon, but upon quitting that service had fixed his residence amongst us as a Physician. The intimate friendship I have for him has been cemented by his intermarriage with my niece. His appointment by the Honorable Congress was unsought for by him, but he obeyed their commands with alacrity & pleasure. Our Association here will feel his loss as much as his Patients, since to his indefatigable care, we are much indebted for our progress in the military art & discipline. In the glorious cause wherein you are both engaged, I trust you will ever find him a man of the strictest Honour & Probity & warmly attached to the true principles of Liberty. Give me leave, then, Sir, to hope that he will experience from you every office of civility which you can bestow on him amongst other Friends. Nothing can be more obliging to me than the kind marks of your esteem towards him.

I most unfeignedly wish you both every success and honour which the Goodness of our common cause

merits, & that you may ere long be restored with Glory & Safety to your Friends.

I am very truly, D'r Sir,

Your most Affect. & Obed't Servant,
Jasper Yeates.

Recommending
Gen. Hand to Governor Mifflin.

At the time of General Hand's death he was Inspector of Customs for the 3rd District of Pennsylvania. His accounts seem in some way to have become complicated. On September 27, 1802, Judge Yeates, who was a surety on his bond, wrote to James Crawford:

Lancaster, Sept. 27, 1802.

Dear Sir:—

The sudden and unexpected death of our dear friend, Gen'l Hand, has plunged us all into the greatest affliction. He quitted this stage of existence on the 3rd instant, after an indisposition of four hours. I requested Mr. Burd to give you & Mrs. Crawford early intelligence of the melancholy event.

We find to our great surprise that large balances appear against him in the office of the supervisor of the United States for this District, but are confident there are great errors therein.

I now send down a clerk for investigation of them. The General went to Philad'a the latter end of April last to make a final settlement of his public accounts. We have reason to believe that it was not owing to him that they were then unsettled. A number of his later papers appear to be missing, and we think he may have deposited them in the hands of some friend, or in the office. They were bulky & he complained of carrying them backwards and forwards.

Mrs. Hand is also strongly inclined to believe that he must have left a sum of money there arising from the sale of some public securities made by him on the 26th

of April, amo't'g to \$3385.53. He brought up with him only \$1,500 or 1,600. You will oblige me by giving me information on both particulars by the return of Mr. Keefe, the bearer. If you have any of the papers, pray deliver them to him.

I am, &c.

Y's Very Ob't Serv't,

J. Yeates.

Mr. James Crawford, Merch't,

Third Street near Union Street, Philadelphia.

He also wrote to Edward Burd:

Lancaster, Sep'r 27th, 1802.

Dear Sir:—

The wound in my leg is not perfectly closed & I am forbid to use any exercise which I can avoid. Dr. Kuhn thought that my proceeding on a journey immediately would be absolutely impracticable and that the tender flesh would separate on a few miles ride. Thus circumstanced I am compelled to remain here for a while. When my leg gets well, I hold myself bound to join Judge Smith on the circuit.

Our pain on the late calamitous event is greatly increased by intelligence we have received within a few days past of large balances appearing on the books of the supervisor of U. S. (Mr. Coxe) against Gen'l Hand. He became inspector of the revenue of this survey by a commission dated 21st March, 1791, and continued in office until 30th Sept'r, 1801. His style of living was frugal, tho gentlemanly, and on his own farm, and his medical practice was handsome. It is impossible that he could have expended more per annum than the amount of his official emoluments and the profits of his profession. His emoluments as inspector amounted on the half year ending June 30, 1800, to \$896.20, and on the succeeding half year to \$975.62, making in the whole \$1871.82. But estimating the average sum at a much smaller sum, say 1200 d'rs, he

must have been entitled in the course of 10 y'rs (besides his practice) to \$12,000. He has sold public securities since 1792 to April, 1802, for specie,

12,000.

13,829.

He is said to be indebted on 30th June, 1801, on internal revenue only
and for the balance of direct tax

16,560.63

1,765.14

 \$44,154.77/100

General Hand was no speculator nor castle builder, nor ever indulged himself in making purchases. He only bought to the following amount since his appointment as inspector:

On the 4th Feb'y, 1792, a small tract adjoining his homestead, of 17 A'rs 113 P'rs for	£141.13/
9th Nov'r, 1793, one moiety of a tract of woodland, 167 A'rs 96 P'rs for	170.
8th March, 1795, the other moiety thereof for	415.
4th Sept'r, 1792, three warrants for 900 A'rs in Lycoming Co'ty	45.
2500 Acr. on Chilliquothe in the territory of Congress at 30 d'rs per 100 A'rs	262.10
6 shares of Philad'a & Lancaster Turnpike stock at 300 d'rs	675.
2 do of Lancaster & Susquehanna do	225.
	<hr/>
	£1934.3/

I pledge myself for the accuracy of this statement. His sale of stock in 1792 produced \$5,392.34, and in 1795 \$3,460.44; in 1796, \$1,591.33; and on 26th April, 1802, \$3,385.53. I have the accounts before me. And now can it be possible that, exclusive of the interest he drew on his certificates in the intermediate periods previous to his sale thereof, and his professional emolu-

ments, that he expended £1500 per annum on his farm, entertaining none but a few selected friends? *Credat qui potest! Non ego.* He never appeared dejected or depressed in spirits, which from his extreme sensibility would certainly have been the case if he had been embarrassed in his circumstances. He never whispered a sentiment of his being involved to his wife, myself, or any of his confidential friends. He was highly punctual and regular in money matters. He expressed great indignation that he could not procure a final settlement of his public accounts when he was down in April last with Mr. P. Muhlenberg, after staying several days there, and told Mrs. Hand that his reputation could not possibly be injured. Firmly believing him to be a man of honor and integrity, what must be our sensations on these unexpected balances, after our recent misfortune! (An unlucky combination of circumstances present themselves to us. My own wound and the indispensable duty I labour under of proceeding on the circuit when my health will admit of my traveling, the prevailing malignant disorders in the city, which prevent Mr. Smith from going to town, the distance of Rockford from hence, which has prevented an easy access to the official papers there.) For the first time since his funeral, I left my house yesterday and brought home in a carriage such papers as I thought might be useful in explaining the amounts. For six weeks before, I was not allowed to leave my chamber. Errors there must surely be therein. I find by a letter to Wm. Miller, Esq., in 1800 (a copy of which I now send down) that the General is charged with 2,000 d'rs & 10 cts. doubly. I shall write to Washington on that subject. I have concluded on sending down the clerk who formerly lived with the General to examine the accounts in the supervisor's office and take the necessary copies. The chief object of my present letter is to request your good offices with Mr. Tench

Coxe, that the clerk may be allowed full inspection of the accounts passed by General Hand at different times, and liberty to take copies of all such papers as may be thought necessary. In two letters to Mr. Smith, he has expressed a friendly sentiment for Mr. Hand and offers to go into a full revision of them. I view my request as a mere act of justice, and cannot think it will be denied. Under existing circumstances, it seems to me peculiarly proper and reasonable. I shall write to Mr. Wm. Parker for his assistance, and a letter to Mr. James Crawford. Should the latter not be in town, I beg you will send my letter to him. Some late papers are missing & must I think have been deposited by the General either in the office or some friend's hands when he was in the city in April last. If they had been placed with you, I should certainly have been informed of it. We have also reason to think he must have deposited a sum of money there,—part of the sum produced by his certificates in April last.

If the malignant fever does not make the request improper, I must ask you to inquire if the General did not deposit money in one of the banks from the 26th April to the beginning of May last, and let me know the result by the return of the bearer. Inquire particularly at the bank of U. S. I make no apology for giving you this trouble. I became the General's security in his official bond in \$10,000 in 1798. I also know that you have respect both for his memory and his family. Whatever sums shall be found really due from the estate, prompt measures shall be taken for the payment of by myself and the friends of the family. The most complete justice shall be done to the government early & speedily; but the family are also entitled to justice. I see my way clear, tho it may put me to difficulties for the moment. If I want assistance, I can command it in a few hours. All the money in the General's house shall be at once sent down on the balance

being ascertained. My next payment of quarterly interest shall remain for the same purpose. Of this be pleased to assure Mr. Coxe and show him such passages of my letter as you think proper. My reason for not personally addressing myself to him you are no stranger to. Mr. Smith has written to him, and I request, if it is convenient, that you will accompany the delivery of this letter. It will be a real obligation to the family if Mr. Coxe will suffer papers to be copied out of office hours. It will save delay as well as expense. I will become responsible for the safe re-delivery of papers, and you will be good enough to pass your word for them in my absence.

I have been busily engaged in writing since sunrise without quitting my desk, and I am much fatigued with keeping my leg down. I transmit you Mr. Reigart's rec't for the last \$150, the balance of your turnpike shares, which I paid immediately on the receipt of your last letter.

Our best love to Mrs. Burd. I ever shall be

D'r Sir

Your affectionate Brother

J. Yeates

E. Burd, Esq.

The instructions given to Mr. Wm. Keefe, who was sent to Philadelphia as a representative of the family, were:

“Immediately on your arrival in the city, deliver the letter to E. Burd, Esq., who will, if at home, probably accompany you to Mr. Coxe's with his letter.

“If Mr. Crawford should not be in town, Mr. Burd will have it conveyed to him at his country seat. Also deliver Mr. Parker's letter at the office.

“I wish to have fair copies of all the accounts rendered by Gen'l Hand into the office, respecting the *direct tax*. It would seem by your statement that he

credits are correct, noting on paper such things as may occur to you.

“Inquire of Mr. Dunwoody at the stage office whether Gen’l Hand left any of his public papers with him last April when he was in the city, or any other person that he knows of, & in such case receive them into your safe keeping to be brought up here, & take particular care of all the papers you carry down.

“I have no doubt that you will use due diligence & care in the execution of the important trust committed to you, & that you will return as early as possible. If you should be detained longer than you expect, Pray inform me how matters turn out on examination, by letter.

J. Yeates.”

Wm. Keefe

Sept. 27th, 1802.”

On October 3 and 7, 1802, he followed up these communications to Edward Burd with letters of the same tenor. How the matter terminated, I do not know. A petition presented to the Orphans’ Court of Lancaster County for the sale of a portion of General Hand’s real estate fixed his debts at £4257 – 6s. – 10d. An itemized account of them is not set forth, and the amount, if any, due the United States can, therefore, be with difficulty ascertained. No account was filed in his estate, because the interests of all the heirs were subsequently transferred to Edward Brien, his son-in-law, and this rendered a formal account unnecessary.

I crave pardon if I have taxed the patience of my readers by a too lengthy dissertation on this almost forgotten theme. I have endeavored to record some of the occurrences in the life of Judge Yeates which I thought might prove interesting, and I hope they will not be found unwelcome.

EARLY FIRE PROTECTION AND THE USE OF FIRE MARKS.

BY GEORGE CUTHBERT GILLESPIE.

The subject of this article is one about which very little has been written. In dealing with it from an historical point of view it would seem interesting to trace the matter to the earliest times.

Primitive man who ate raw meat, went to bed at sundown and whose body was enured to climatic conditions, had no use for a fire, but as community life became more popular and man became less of an animal, he appreciated more the comforts and luxuries of artificial light and heat. The use of fire was unquestionably the first indication of the dawn of civilization and the evidence that man had ceased to be an animal. But it was soon found that while fire was a luxury, it was also a menace and needed to be watched and controlled.

Crude forms of fire protection seem to have been in use from the very earliest days of which we have any knowledge, but it was usually in the direction of fire extinguishment rather than fire prevention, and yet we find at times that certain countries and cities in ancient times, usually after a great conflagration, would pass ordinances relating to the safeguarding of the community from a like calamity by requiring that a better class of buildings be erected and enjoining the people to be less careless in their use of fire, this was notably the case after the great fire in ancient Rome under Nero, A.D. 64.

Tacitus in his annals tells us that shortly after the disastrous fire in Rome under Nero, "the several houses built on a new principle were to be raised to a

certain elevation without beams or wood work, on arches of stone . . . that material being impervious, and of a nature to resist the force of fire."

The springs of water which before that time had been intercepted by individuals for their separate use, were no longer suffered to be diverted from their channel, but left to the care of commissioners (*Castellarii*), that the public might be properly supplied, and, in case of fire, "to have a reservoir at hand to stop the progress of the mischief."

But many of these laws could not have been very strictly enforced, as we find in the case of Rome that notwithstanding her excellent laws, and boasted civilization, she had more disastrous conflagrations than any city of ancient or modern times, with perhaps the single exception of the city of London.

The following is a list of some of the great fires in Rome:—

241 B. C. a fire broke out in the Upper City of Rome and spread as far as the Forum. "The Romans thereby lost more wealth in one day than they had got by many victories!"—*Universal History*.

In 215 and 212 B. C. there were great fires in Rome.

83 B. C. the Capitol was destroyed.

50 B. C. another great fire.

Circa 13 B. C., one of the quarters of the City was utterly consumed.

12 B. C. in the reign of Tiberius a dreadful fire occurred which reduced to ashes many stately edifices. Officers were appointed and six hundred slaves employed for the extinguishing of fire in the future.

A. D. 64, under Nero, out of fourteen wards of the City, three only escaped damage or destruction; the fire raged for seven days. The City was re-built with great splendor.

A. D. 80, a fire lasted three days.

A. D. 154, a fire consumed a great part of the City.

A. D. 188, great part of the Capitol, a famous library, and several contiguous buildings, were utterly destroyed by lightning. Eusebius says it consumed whole quarters of the City.

And in A. D. 191 a great many of the finest buildings in Rome were destroyed by a fire that broke out in the Temple of Peace.*

The political conditions at this period were such at times that many important cities were without the proper means of extinguishing fires. We find in a letter of "Pliny the Younger" to the Emperor Trajan about the year A. D. 103 a good illustration of this; Pliny, who was Pro-Consul of Bithynia, writes that a great fire had happened in Nicomedia, the chief city of the province, which destroyed many private houses, the senate-house and the Temple of Isis, although the high road lay between them. He says:—"It would scarce have spread so far had it not been assisted by the violence of the winds, and by the stupidity of the people, who manifestly stood idle, and motionless spectators, during the scene of so dreadful a calamity. On the other hand, there is not in the whole City, either an engine to throw up water (siphon), or a single bucket (hama), or any other instrument whatever to extinguish fires; but by the immediate orders, which I have given, preparation of this sort will not be wanting for the time to come."

"You will consider, Sir, whether a corporation of firemen (Collegium Fabrorum), not exceeding 150, should not be established in this City."

Trajan replied as follows:—"I find you are of opinion, that after the examples of several other Cities, a corporation of firemen may be established at Nicomedia. But let us remember, that those Cities, and this particular Province, have been much disquieted by such sort of communities."

* See Walford's Insurance Cyclopedia.

“Whatever name we give these Societies, or from whatever cause they may be instituted, the several members will not fail to form factious assemblies, although perhaps those assemblies may not be of any long duration. It will be more eligible, therefore, to make all possible preparation for extinguishing fires to *admonish the owners of the houses to be particularly careful in preventing such misfortunes*, and to employ all the people, who present themselves as spectators, whenever the occasion shall require their assistance.”

Ancient Rome had its Fire Brigades, which Suetonius tells us were called “*Matricularii*.” Emperor Augustus instituted seven “*Cohortes Vigilum*,” as they were called, who paraded the streets at night under the command of their “*Præfectus*,” equipped with leathern water buckets (*hamæ*) and axes (*dolabræ*), to prevent fires; the number was afterward increased to twelve with a membership of about 8000. They also served as watchmen or police.

While the facilities for the extinguishment of fires in ancient Rome were at times good, their building laws must have been very lax, as we know that the common people lived in timber dwellings, with thatched roofs, in narrow, irregular streets, during the period of Rome’s greatest magnificence.

It has been conjectured by some that the great fire of A. D. 64 was started by Nero’s orders, for the purpose of getting rid of many of these buildings, so that he could have the streets in certain sections of the City straightened and broadened and build thereon large and beautiful palaces and public buildings.

Plutarch tells us that Crassus, the wealthy Triumvir, acquired much of his wealth by buying, at a very low price, property the buildings of which had been swept away by fire, the former owners being too much impoverished by their loss to replace the buildings de-

stroyed. These properties he would improve and sell at considerable advantage to himself.

Fire Insurance Contracts not being in use at that early date, property owners suffered more severely than in modern times.

Pliny's reference to an engine "to throw up water" may have caused surprise.

The Fire Engine, however, was invented as early as 150 B. C. by Ctesibious of Alexandria and was at least used in Rome. Hero or Heron, also of Alexandria, a pupil of Ctesibious, improved on the engine of his preceptor; which he gives an account of in his Treatise on Pneumatics, under "Syphons used in Conflagrations." Of this it may be said that Hero produced a practical engine on which the moderns have scarcely improved. It is quite likely that engines constructed on this design were used in Alexandria at the time of the burning of the Bruchium Library, about the year 30 B. C. The Hand Engines used in London and Paris up to recent years were on the same principle as this engine of the ancients.

The use of the fire engine seems to have gone out, however, for some reason, during the IV Century, as after that time there is no mention of it found until 1569, when a very primitive sort of engine was invented by Cyprian Lucar. Mention of this appears in a book entitled "Theatrum Instrumentorum et Machinarum," by Jacobus Bessonus Delphinus, Folio, Lyons, 1578. In it appears a plate No. 52, of a machine known as Lucar's engine invented by Cyprian Lucar in 1569, and Lucar's description is given as follows: "I set before your eyes a type of squirt which hath beene devised to cast much water on a burning house, wishing a like squirt and plenty of water to be alwaies in readinesse where fire may do harme; for this kind of squirt may be made to holde a hoggshed of water, or if you will a greater quantitie thereof, and

may be so placed on his frame that with ease and small strength it shall be mounted, imbedded or turned to any one side, right against any fixed mark, and made to squirt out the water upon that is to be quenched.”

This unsatisfactory contrivance consisted of a barrel holding about a hogshead of water, filled by buckets through a funnel, and mounted on wheels. A screw at the back forced forward a piston, the object being to eject the water continuously instead of the jerky jets of the hand squirt. This apparatus was intermediate between the squirt, that had been used for the previous 1200 years, and the engine proper.

It was nearly 100 years before any improvement was made over this squirting engine; the changes were but slight. See “*Mysteries of Nature and Art*,” published in 1634.

The first decided improvement of any consequence was made by Leupold, a maker of Fire Engines in Germany. He is reported to have been the first person who introduced the air chamber into the Fire Engine in modern times. It was in 1720 that his account of them appeared, but he is believed to have manufactured them at an earlier date.

The advantages of this engine over Lucar's was that by the use of compressed air he was able to have a steady stream of water for a longer time than the others.

The use of compressed air seems to have been unknown from the IV Century up to about this time. In Europe hand squirts, which in reality are much older than the most primitive engines, were alone used (with the exception of buckets) until the latter part of the XVI Century.

It has been said that even hand squirts were not introduced into London until toward the close of the XVI Century.

Shortly after the introduction of engines into Eng-

land, which was in the early part of the XVII Century, Charles I drew the attention of the Lord Mayor of London to the scarcity of engines which "shoot water for quenching fires," but it remained for the great fire of London in 1666 to arouse the government and the community to the necessity of taking further precautions.

An act was passed the following year (1667) restricting the use of various materials, and specifying how new buildings were to be erected, and also required that each quarter of London be provided with 800 leathern buckets, 15 ladders, 2 hand squirts, 24 pick axes, and sledge hammers for each parish. The twelve city companies and aldermen were required to provide buckets and squirts, and the bellmen had to walk up and down each ward from 10 P. M. to 5 A. M. Every householder at the cry of "fire!" had to place a well-armed man at his door and hang a light out, under a penalty of 20s. He was also to have ready at his door water in a vessel, and pumps were ordered to be fixed in every well in the streets. The mayor kept the keys of the engine-house, and orders were issued that the lord mayor and sheriffs and members of the Council were to have speedy notice of any fire, and repair to the spot attended by all the officers, marshals and men. The city workmen were ordered to attend, and an engineer was appointed to give his advice as to blowing up any house, and owners of houses thus demolished were compensated.

In 1707, during the reign of Queen Anne, an act was passed making churchwardens responsible for the fixing of fire plugs in water mains, and tablets in front of the houses to indicate them; also that each parish should have a fire engine. The bellmen were instructed to cry at night:—"Take care of your fire and candle," "Be charitable to the poor and pray for the dead," all of which was very wholesome advice. In 1600 the

bellmen's duty, when a fire broke out was to cry "Fire! Fire! keep in your beds," which was intended no doubt to prevent crowds from collecting and the consequent confusion.

Referring to the duty of the churchwardens of fixing fire plugs in the water mains, it is curious to note that previous to this the water mains of London, which were introduced in 1600, and were of wood, could only be used at the time of a fire by digging down to them and cutting an opening to get a supply of water in addition to what the town pumps could furnish. Spades were, therefore, a necessary part of the equipment in use at that time.

The great fire in London, which lasted four days and consumed 13,200 houses, 87 churches, 6 chapels, the Guild Hall, the Royal Exchange, many hospitals and libraries and a vast number of other stately edifices, entailing a loss of over 10,000,000 pounds, was not only the means of awakening the people to the great need of better fire protection, but called their attention also to the matter of fire insurance. Proposals for a systematic provision of this sort had been previously made, notably in 1633, when Charles I was petitioned for a patent to be granted for a definite period for the sole right of granting insurances against fire in and about the city of London. Although we learn this petition was favorably received and the King expressed his willingness to grant a patent, yet nothing seems to have come of it.

The first person to open a regular office for the transaction of a fire insurance business was a Dr. Nicholas Barbon; this was in 1667, the year after the great fire; he carried it on for his own benefit until 1680, when the business was reconstructed and formed into a company called "The Fire Office," he still retaining an interest, being one of the "Undertakers" as the shareholders were then styled. This was the first

fire insurance company of which we have any knowledge and about which we also have but slight information.

The first fire insurance companies organized elsewhere were in Scotland in 1720, in France in 1745, in Germany at Hanover in 1750, in this country at Philadelphia in 1752, and in Russia in 1827. In some parts of Holland the practice of insurance had been discouraged until recently under the view that it "increased the negligence of people in guarding against accidents by fire and promoted incendiarism and fraud."

Incendiarism, as we all know, is sometimes the result of a desire to get the insurance money, but it is a crime for which there has been heavy penalties inflicted by all nations from very early times. Capital punishment was the usual method and to this day in Scotland the public prosecutor has the privilege of enforcing this penalty for "wilful fire-raising," as it is called, but rarely does so.

In the State of Pennsylvania the early laws against arson were very severe, the first passed in 1700 provided that:—"Whosoever shall be convicted of wilfully firing any man's house, warehouse, outhouse, barn, or stable, shall forfeit his or her whole estate to the party suffering, and be imprisoned all their lives in the House of Correction at hard labor to the behoof of the said party suffering. And whosoever shall be convicted of wilfully firing any man's stacks or ricks of corn, hay, wood or fence, or any man's vessel, boat or canoe, shall make fourfold satisfaction and suffer a year's imprisonment as aforesaid, to the use and behoof of the party suffering; and if the party offending be unable to make satisfaction, then he or she shall be sold to the behoof of the party suffering."

In 1718 the penalty was increased to capital punishment.

In 1767 benefit of clergy was denied the condemned.

Setting fire to the State House, any church or meeting house, school or library was in 1772 included as a capital offense without benefit of clergy.

The present law in Pennsylvania for Felonious Arson, that is the setting fire to any dwelling house or building exposing a dwelling house, directly or indirectly, imposes a fine not exceeding \$2000 and imprisonment at solitary confinement at hard labor for a term not exceeding twelve years. For malicious burning of any dwelling or building adjacent, a fine not exceeding \$4000 and imprisonment as above not exceeding twenty years.

For firing with intent to defraud insurers, the maximum fine is \$1000 and imprisonment seven years.

It is curious to note how far back the laws relating to incendiarism go, and we find in the code of Hammurabi, King of Babylonia, 2285-2242 B. C.,* the following:—(Section 25.) “If in a man’s house a fire has been kindled, and a man who has come to extinguish the fire has lifted up his eyes to the property of the house, and has taken the property of the owner of the house, that man shall be thrown into that fire.”

It was evidently supposed that, for the purpose of robbery, he was the man who set fire to the property.

The next reference we find is the law of Moses, about 1300 B. C., Exodus XXII, 6th verse, and is as follows:—“If fire break out, and catch in thorns, so that the stacks of corn, or the standing-corn, or the field be consumed therewith, he that kindled the fire shall surely make restitution.”

Among primitive people *Lex Talionis* or the law of retaliation, was general, and even as late as 1866 death by fire was the punishment meted out in Japan to incendiaries, thus making the punishment fit the crime,

* Note:—The time of Abraham.

a form of poetic justice which we see nowadays only in the comic opera, as the Mikado.

Even in England, in the time of Edward I, incendiaries were burnt to death.

The Fire Office of 1680 adopted as a mark to identify the houses they had insured a metal plate in the form of a Phoenix rising from the flames; this fire mark is mentioned in a book written in 1720 as seen on many houses in London. Other companies were formed soon after: "The Corporation of London Fire Office for insuring houses from the evil of fire" in 1681, "The Friendly Society in 1683," and "The Amicable Contributionship" in 1696. With these companies in the field "The Fire Office found it necessary to adopt a more distinctive name, so in 1705 they assumed the name of the "Phoenix Fire Office," from the design of their fire mark. It continued in existence until some time in the early part of the eighteenth century, having some 10,000 members in 1712, after which time we hear nothing of it. "The Amicable Contributionship" later took the name of "Hand-in-Hand Fire and Life insurance Society," the new name also being taken from the design of their fire mark.

This company was organized by a few choice spirits that met at "Tom's," a coffee-house in St. Martin's Lane. Their choice of a name was somewhat cumbersome; it was first called: "Contributors for Insuring Houses, Chambers, or Rooms from Loss by Fire, by Amicable Contribution." This was afterward shortened as mentioned above. The business of the concern increased so wonderfully that in 1699 it was decided to purchase an iron chest, with three locks, where was placed the capital of the company, instead of allowing it to repose indiscriminately in the trousers pockets of the directors.

Shortly after "The Fire Office" of 1680 was organ-

ized, they published a pamphlet in which they mentioned as part of their plan that they were "assisted by the contrivance and industry of a Company of men, versed and experienced in extinguishing and preventing of the fire." This was, of course, a fire brigade, the first in London and the first organized body of firemen that we know of anywhere, since the time of the Roman "Matricularii" and "Cohortes Vigilum." Unless we except the guards at Kingsay, now Hangchau, in China, that Marco Polo speaks of in his interesting account of his travels, A. D. 1271-1295. He says:—"The houses of the city are provided with lofty towers of stone in which articles of value are stored for fear of fire; for most of the houses themselves are of timber, and fires are frequent in the city."

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"Each of the 1200 bridges was provided with a guard of ten men.* . . . Each guard is provided with a hollow instrument of wood and with a metal basin. If they see that any house has caught fire, they immediately beat upon that wooden instrument to give the alarm, and this brings together the watchmen from the other bridges to help extinguish it, and to save the goods of the merchants or others by removing them to the towers above mentioned or by putting them in boats and transporting them to the islands and the lakes."

"For no citizen dare leave his house at night or to come near the fire; only those who own the property,

* While it has been conceded by students in recent years that Marco Polo is generally correct in his description of *places* and *people*, his indulgence at times in oriental exaggerations makes it difficult for us to realize that his account of his travels was not a romance. These exaggerations may be accounted for by his receiving information about details, in many instances, from the natives.

and those watchmen who flock to help, of whom there shall come one or two thousand at least. Moreover, within the city there is an eminence on which stands a tower, and at the top of the tower a slab of wood. Whenever a fire or any other alarm breaks out in the city, a man who stands with a mallet in his hand beats upon the slab, making a noise that is heard to a great distance."

Each of the early fire insurance companies had their own fire brigade and their services were usually confined to property insured in their own office, consequently when a fire occurred and a brigade arrived upon the scene of the outbreak, if they did not see the mark of their own company on the building involved, and there appeared no chance of the fire spreading to any building in which they were interested, they went away and left the extinguishing duties to the firemen belonging to the "office" concerned. If the building was not insured the owner had to depend, in most cases, entirely on the assistance of his neighbors and friends.

One company, "Povey's Exchange House Fire Office," the forerunner of the "Sun," made it obligatory for their men not to assist at any fires but those in which the company was interested, in the following regulation, issued in 1708: Condition 5—"To the end that all subscribers may be certainly assured of immediately receiving assistance at a fire, every 'Exchange House' man, is upon his admission, to bind himself under a penalty to aid and assist no person or persons whatsoever at any fire, either in removing or securing his, her or their moveable goods, etc., upon any pretence or offer of reward whatsoever; but only such as have the 'Exchange House' Mark against their houses."

This sort of thing must have been a strong inducement for people to take out insurance, as London had

no organized fire protection other than the insurance companies fire brigades, nor had it until the year 1866.

There was, however, one company that was not quite so strict as the "Exchange House Fire Office" in this regard, as we find in the minutes of the board of the "Westminster Fire Office" shortly after they were organized, which was in 1717, that the duties of their "watermen" or firemen were defined as follows: "That the Watermen do repair to all fires that shall come to their knowledge, and give the best of their assistance to extinguish the same."

Another use for the fire mark in those days was that owing to the absence of a Survey Department, the messenger or fireman of the company who affixed the mark would be able to verify the statements of the assured as to the nature and condition of the property proposed for insurance. Surveyors, however, were employed very early in the eighteenth century, *i. e.*, in 1705.

In 1684 the "Friendly Society" required that "to prevent fraud in getting any policy after a house is burnt, no house is to be esteemed a secure house till the Mark hath been actually fixed thereon." The "Hand-in-Hand" also had a similar regulation. In 1731 the latter company published a rule requiring the marks to be put up by the messenger within seven days after the policies were taken out.

The "Union Assurance Society" in their "Deed of Settlement" in 1715 said: "Seven days after issue of policy a Mark, double hand-in-hand emblematical of union, to be affixed on house, etc., where the insured goods are, more publickly to notify such insurance."

It may be well to state here that the early fire marks in England were invariably of lead with the number of the policy usually stamped on. They were brilliantly painted, generally in gold and red, and as the amount covered by a policy rarely exceeded £500 it not infre-

quently occurred that five or six marks of different offices were found upon the same risk, which must have given the old-fashioned houses a rather gay appearance.

In a poem published in the "New Tory Guide," in 1816, referring to Lord Castlereagh, it was said by the author:

"For not e'en the Regent himself has endured
 (Though I've seen him with badges and orders all shine
 Till he looked like a house that was over-insured)
 A much heavier burden of glories than thine."

Fire marks were intended to be concurrent with the insurance and when the renewal premiums were not paid they were removed by the companies, and altered by some of them, by the addition of one or two figures, and reissued.

This custom, however, as the business grew, could not have been kept pace with, as I understand collectors in London have frequently come across marks on buildings on which the policy had been relinquished as far back as the eighteenth century.

The companies used to charge the insured for both policy and mark, not an inconsiderable source of revenue. One eminently respectable and highly-regarded corporation, founded nearly two centuries ago, has it on record that they charged the insurer seven shillings and six pence, whilst they paid the makers of the mark but one shilling and two pence half-penny. Other companies charged different sums, such as nine shillings and six pence, and eight shillings and six pence, the Royal Exchange charging only half a crown. As competition increased, however, the marks were delivered free.

After a time the companies, owing partly to an increased business, and also to the custom of insuring many buildings in more than one office, and the brigades uniting and attending all fires equally, gradually gave up issuing fire marks bearing the number of the policy, and employed in their stead what has been

called by collectors (as a term of distinction) fire plates, which were the relics of an old custom, but which, in their new form, were used solely as advertisements. These were usually of copper, iron or tin. One large office in London used to keep a man with a ladder constantly employed in putting up its fire plates as advertisements, without regard to whether it has policies on the risk or not.

Early in 1800 the fire offices maintained fifty fire engines and their several complements of firemen; in 1825 the number of engines had been reduced to thirty-eight. About this time the "Sun," the "Union" and the "Royal Exchange" offices placed their engines under one superintendent, being joined later by the "Atlas" and "Phoenix" (No. 2).

In 1833 the brigades of all the companies were amalgamated into one organization, called the "London Fire Engine Establishment," the property of, and controlled by, the Association of Offices.

Finally in 1866, the whole was turned over to the city of London by the insurance offices, without compensation, and furthermore they agreed to pay a sum proportionate to the amount of business written within the city limits annually. This was the commencement of the present "Metropolitan Fire Brigade of London," organized only five years before the present "Philadelphia Fire Department."

At the time of the organizing of the first Fire Insurance Office in London, Philadelphia was a very small town.

Hazard in Volume III, of "Watson's Annals," tells us that from the settlement of Philadelphia, by the English "in 1682 until 1696 no public precautions seem to have been taken against fire." In the latter year, however, upon petition the Provincial Legislature passed a law for preventing accidents that might happen by fire in the towns of Philadelphia and New

Castle, by which persons were prohibited from cleansing their chimneys by burning them out (resorted to in wet weather) or suffer them to be so foul, as to take fire under a penalty of 40 shillings, and every householder was directed to keep at his dwelling a swab 12 or 14 feet long, and have a bucket ready for fire under a penalty of 10 shillings. Section III of this act reads: "And be it further enacted, that if any person shall presume to smoke tobacco in the streets of Philadelphia either by day or night, (he) shall forfeit for every such offence, twelve pence; all of which said fines shall be paid to the respective Justices of each town for the use of the town, and are to be employed for buying and providing leather buckets, hooks and other instruments and engines against fires, for the public use of each town respectively." This section has never been repealed and still appears on the statute books.

In 1700 Philadelphia contained about 700 dwelling-houses, mostly of wood, but brick buildings predominated in the more closely built-up sections. Not more than two or three outbreaks of fire (apart from chimney fires in wood burning flues) a year seems to have occurred at this time, and there had been no serious conflagration, but there had been enough fire outbreaks to induce the authorities to pass the above-mentioned laws.

The fire buckets were made of thick leather, labeled with the name of the owner, and the number, and when needed the owner was required to proceed to the locality with them for use. The cisterns or pumps were the reservoirs from which the water was obtained, and the people, standing in line, passed in their buckets the water to the fire.

Richard Vaux, in his address delivered before the Philadelphia Hose Company in 1850, draws the following picture of an early Philadelphia fireman: "Let

us imagine for a moment in those early times, the alarm of 'fire' given on 'First-day;' when out of each pent-roof door in Front and Second Streets and perhaps as high up town as Fifth Street, in Arch and Market and Chestnut Streets, the Quiet Quaker in his plain, neat First-day suit, his broad-brim, his breeches, and buckle shoes, and yarn stockings, with three or four of these fire buckets on either arm, proceeding in an excited gait to the nearest pump, to stand in line to pass on the water, working with a conviction that he was doing unto others as he would be done by, and, after neighbor A's roof had been rid of the fire, returning home with his buckets on his arm, with soaked shoes, and muddy stockings; conscious that he had performed a voluntary task, made light by the knowledge that he was one of the many in like condition."

Vaux further says: "The necessity for a prompt supply of buckets induced a bucket company to be established. The first, consisted of about twenty young men, who agreed to unite for the purpose of prompt delivery of these articles. They obtained a kind of box or crate on wheels, on which the few buckets they could collect were placed, and thus proceeded to the aid of the engines. At their first turn-out the number of buckets was very limited, but tradition, if nothing more reliable, hints that on their return the capital of the Company was greatly augmented, for all the buckets that could be found were safely deposited in the machine, and the night was spent by the young ones in quietly painting out the names of the owners and marking them with the title of the Association. This may not inaptly be regarded as the germ of the first Hose Company."

Our early ancestors naturally got most of their ideas of public prevention of fires from England, and were not very far behind the mother country in carrying out effective measures for fire protection.

In 1718, Abraham Bickley, a well-known citizen, had a fire engine which he had probably imported from England. City Councils bought it from him for £50 and it was used up to the time of the fire on Fishbourne's wharf, in 1730, which entailed a loss of £5000. As it was found that one engine was not sufficient to cope with a big fire like this, two more were procured from England. They arrived in January of the following year, and another one was ordered from Anthony Nicholls, a Philadelphia mechanic, the first fire engine to be built in this city; it was used for the first time in January, 1733, and a local chronicler said: "It played water higher than the highest in this city had from London."

Franklin in his Autobiography gives an interesting account of the organizing of the first fire company. He says: "About this time (1735) I wrote a paper (first to be read in the Junto, but it was afterwards published) on the different accidents and carelessnesses by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was spoken of as a useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement obliged every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leathern buckets, with strong bags and baskets (for packing and transporting of goods), which were to be brought to every fire; and we agreed about once a month to spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions.

"The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admitted than we thought

convenient for one Company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done; and thus went on one new company after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men of property; and now, at the time of my writing this (1788), though upwards of fifty years since its establishment, that which I first formed, called the Union Fire Company, still subsists; though the first members all are deceased but one, who is older by a year than I am. The fines that have been paid by members for absence at the monthly meetings have been applied to the purchase of fire-engines, ladders, fire-hooks, and other useful implements for each Company; so that I question whether there is a City in the world better provided with the means of putting a stop to beginning conflagrations; and, in fact, since these institutions, the city has never lost by fire more than one or two houses at a time, and the flames have often been extinguished before the house in which they began has been half consumed."

Among the articles of association of the Union Fire Company it was agreed that some were to superintend the use of water, others were to stand at the doors of houses in danger, and to protect the property from theft. On an alarm of fire at night, lights were to be placed in the windows of houses of members near the fire "in order to prevent confusion, and to enable their friends to give them more speedy and effectual assistance." There was a treasurer, but no president. Each member in turn served as clerk or secretary for a month. Upon this plan with slight changes, all the fire companies of the city were conducted until long after the Revolutionary War.

Before the end of the year the "Fellowship Fire Company" was organized with a membership of 35, then followed the "Hand-in-Hand" in 1742, the "Heart-in-Hand" in 1743, the "Friendship" in 1747,

the "Britannia" about 1750, and the "Hibernia" in 1752, with an aggregate membership of 225, employing 8 engines, 1055 buckets and 36 ladders.

The membership of these companies was composed largely of the most prominent citizens: statesmen, lawyers, physicians, merchants and divines. In the "Hand-in-Hand" Fire Company there were four signers of the Declaration of Independence—Clymer, Hopkinson, Rush and Wilson; Chief Justice Tilghman; Bishop White; Provost Smith; Chief Justice Edward Shippen; Governor Thomas Mifflin; Benjamin Chew, Sr., Attorney-General of the Commonwealth; Thomas Willing; John Swift; Col. Lambert Cadwalader; John Cadwalader; James Biddle; William Bingham; Tench Coxe and many other citizens of prominence.

Up to this time fire insurance was unknown in this country. Since about the year 1721, however, individual underwriters had taken risks on vessels and their cargoes and marine insurance had become a matter of common usage.

This form of insurance was first undertaken by John Copson, in Philadelphia, who advertised in the "American Weekly Mercury," under date of May 25, 1721, that he proposed opening an "Office of Public Insurance of Vessels, Goods and Merchandise" on the following Monday at his "house in the High Street" (now Market Street).

In Philadelphia there does not seem to have been any attention given to the subject of fire insurance previous to the year 1752, although the following entry in the diary of John Smith of King Street (now Water), a son-in-law of James Logan and a prominent merchant and marine underwriter, may indicate that he discussed the subject with his father-in-law as early as 1748. The entry is made under date of August 26th of this year and says: "In the evening rode to Stenton; took with me a plan of the damage done by the fire in London, and

gave to the old gentleman'' (James Logan). This reference is to the fire on March 25th preceding, at Cornhill, London, which consumed about 200 houses.

However this may be, we know that the said John Smith with the co-operation of Joseph Saunders, the marine underwriter, was instrumental in organizing the first fire insurance company in this country, "The Philadelphia Contributionship for the insurance of houses from Loss by fire."

The company was duly organized on April 13, 1752. James Hamilton, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and Benjamin Franklin were the first to subscribe to the Deed of Settlement. The directors chosen at this meeting were Benjamin Franklin, William Coleman, Philip Syng, Samuel Rhoads, Hugh Roberts, Israel Pemberton, Jr., John Mifflin, Joseph Morris, Joseph Fox, Jonathan Lane, William Griffiths, and Amos Strettell. John Smith was elected treasurer and Joseph Saunders clerk. The first policy was taken out by the Treasurer, John Smith, on his dwelling-house on the East Side of King Street (now Water), between Mulberry (now Arch) and Sassafras (now Race Street).

The company was started on the plan of the "Amicable Contributionship of London," even to its Deed of Settlement, and the fire mark, four hands clasping wrists, in lead, on a wooden shield, was similar to the mark of the former company, which was two clasped hands with a crown above, also of lead, but without a shield.

At first each policy was for a term of seven years. A certain deposit was made at the beginning of the term and a policy issued. An account was opened with each contributor or policy holder and his deposit was charged its proportion of the expenses and losses, and credited with any interest that might have been earned.

If, during the seven years, the deposit, owing to losses, was used up, another deposit was made.

At the expiration of the seven years the contributor might withdraw as much of his deposit as remained or renew his insurance.

It was therefore at that time practically a dividend-paying company and so remained until the year 1763, when it was decided that the interest should be carried to a common account, and out of it the losses should be paid, and that the deposit money should not be drawn upon until the interest was exhausted. The contributor, however, was not to be liable beyond his deposit money.

In this way they built up a surplus which in time made it one of the strongest concerns in the city.

In 1894 at a meeting of the contributors it was decided, after a lapse of 131 years, to resume the paying to the contributors of a portion of the earnings of the association. Since then a dividend of 10% has been paid annually.

In 1810 the writing of seven-year policies was discontinued and perpetual insurance written instead, with the privilege of withdrawal by the insured, or cancellation by the company, with the return of the premiums paid, at the expiration of any seven-year period. It was not until 1836 that the present form of policy was adopted, allowing the insured to withdraw his deposit on five days' notice, and the company could cancel only on thirty days' notice.

For some years after the company was organized, to secure punctuality in the attendance of the directors, a fine of two shillings was levied upon those who were not present at the meetings, and one shilling if they came late.

After a time the sum derived from this source had accumulated to quite a considerable amount and was invested, after some discussion, in milestones;

these were numbered consecutively and placed from the intersection of Front and High Streets to the river's edge opposite Trenton, N. J.; this was in 1764. Later on the same fund having again increased to a respectable figure by the fines from the derelict, a like work was pursued towards the boundary of the province to the south. This was a work of public benefaction that had no connection with insurance, and the directors were to be commended for their public spirit in carrying out this useful work.

Following out the English custom a charge was made for the policy, survey and mark, which for many years was 7 shillings and 6 pence; the mark cost the company 2 shillings and 6 pence each. At the time of the Revolution lead was in such demand for the use of the army, in the form of bullets, that this metal became quite scarce, and the charge for policy, survey and mark during this period was therefore increased to 17 shillings.

The next insurance company to be organized was the "Mutual Assurance Company for insuring houses from Loss by fire in and near Philadelphia," familiarly known as the "Green Tree" from the design of a tree which appears on the seal and policy and the well-known fire mark, or house badge, as it is sometimes called. This tree is emblematic of the cause which led to the formation of the company. It seems that the "Contributionship" in 1784 passed a by-law in which they declined to further insure houses having trees about them, and consequently those of the policy holders affected by this new rule got together and organized a new company, and to emphasize the fact that they would take insurance on houses thus situated, they adopted a green tree as their emblem. Such insurance, however, was not taken without an additional charge; the following by-law in regard to this was passed at one of their earliest meetings, November 24, 1784,

which states: "The highest rate for the first tree not to exceed 35 shillings and the lowest rate for the same not less than 15 shillings, and for the second and every other tree not more than 20 shillings or less than 10 shillings." Scharf and Westcott in their "History of Philadelphia" give as the reason for the "Contributionship" making the change, that the house of one of their contributors caught fire from a burning tree in front of it. This I very much question; it was more likely due to the difficulty of getting at fires by reason of the trees being in the way.*

The brass die for casting the leaden tree used in the fire mark of this company was made in 1785 by Samuel Parker, Brass Founder, Arch Street, between Fourth and Fifth.

Until August 12, 1801, policies were written for seven years, after that perpetually.

We next hear of the first and for ten years the only Fire Insurance Office in New York City; "The Mutual Assurance Company for Insuring Houses from Loss by Fire in New York," organized in 1787, at what was called the Tontine Coffee House, corner of Water and Coffee House Slip (now Wall Street). Its business was confined to within two miles of the City Hall, then in Water Street.

At a meeting of the directors held October 26, 1787, the Secretary-Treasurer was instructed to prepare a badge of tin, oval in shape, painted black, with the words "Mutual Assurance" in gilt letters, with space for the policy number below. These were used as fire marks and placed over the doors of the houses insured, and continued to be thus used until 1809, when the company became a stock concern under the shorter name

* This has been verified within the past year by one of the officials of the "Contributionship" who has very recently come across a statement in the minutes of this period in which it is distinctly announced that this was the reason given by the Directors.

of the "Mutual Assurance Company," when their use for some reason was discontinued.

In 1846 the company finally became the "Knickerbocker Fire Insurance Company," which is still in existence under that name.

Then follows our own "Insurance Company of North America," originally intended as a life insurance association, called the "The Universal Tontine," modeled after a similar scheme in Boston and one in New York, both of which came to naught. It was soon found that such a plan was not popular, so the promoters decided to form a general insurance company in its stead. The stock was soon subscribed for to the requisite amount, and the company formed. The first meeting was held in the "State House," December 10, 1792, and the articles of association adopted. Article VIII gives the objects of the organization as being:—

"To make such Insurances upon Vessels and Merchandise as Sea, or going to Sea, or upon the life or lives of any person or persons, or upon any goods, wares, merchandize, or other property gone or going by land or water; and at such rates of Insurance or Premium as they shall deem advisable."

Considerable delay was occasioned in securing a charter, by reason of the opposition of those who were doing a marine underwriting business, as it was feared the competition and consequent reduction in rates would interfere with their business; but the opposition was finally overcome and a charter was granted April 14, 1794, being but four days previous to the charter for the "Insurance Company of the State of Pennsylvania," which was the next company to be organized in this city.

The same year (1794) there were organized two other companies, the "Baltimore Equitable Society for Insuring Houses from Loss by Fire" and the "Mutual Assurance Society against Fire on Buildings in the

State of Virginia," both of which are still in existence under their original names. The former company was organized under a Deed of Settlement similar to that of the Hand-in-Hand of London and a fire mark adopted of two clasped hands with the date of organization, 1794, on a square iron plate—earliest hands on wooden board. The latter company had no fire mark.

In Boston after repeated efforts a company was finally chartered, June 25, 1795, called the "Massachusetts Fire Insurance Company." The founders were: Jesse Putnam, William Wetmore, Will Shattuck, Jonathan Harris, Jno. Winthrop, Samuel Salisbury, William Brown, and Jno. Andrews, all prominent citizens of Boston.

*Fearing that the enterprise would not quickly interest investors, it was provided in the charter, that nine years be allowed for the full payment of stock, capital to be \$300,000 with privilege of increasing it to \$600,000, as the charter was granted for only twelve years, but three years would elapse between the time the capital was paid in and the charter's expiration.

The first office was at No. 16 State Street in Boston. The company was successful from the start, a dividend was paid the first year and for many years after. In 1799 the name was changed to "The Massachusetts Fire and Marine Insurance Company" and so continues until now.

In 1798 the first Mutual Fire Insurance Company in New England was started under the name of the "Massachusetts Mutual Fire Insurance Company."

Insurance was written for a period of seven years, as was the case with most of the mutual fire insurance

* I have received a communication from the President of the Hartford Fire Insurance Co., of Hartford, Conn., in which he states that Policy No. 2 of the company, bearing the date Feb. 8, 1794, had been recently discovered, which makes this the first company to be organized in New England as far as I am able to learn.

companies at this time, and no policy was to be issued for a larger amount than four-fifths of the value of the building insured.

Their first office was at the house of Mr. Joseph Callender, near the Branch Bank, State Street, Boston.

In 1799 there were in Philadelphia 30 fire companies having a membership of 1429, equipped with 31 engines, 3669 buckets, 73 ladders, 706 bags, and 53 baskets. The bags were used to hold property which was in danger, to save it from risk of theft, and the baskets were required to put the buckets in when they had been collected after the fire.

The fire companies from the time of the introduction of fire insurance received large contributions towards their maintenance from the fire insurance offices, which gave the fire marks a significance considerably removed from that of being merely advertising mediums for their respective offices.

Perhaps the companies benefiting most by the use of fire marks were the "Fire Association" and the "United Firemen." The former was started as the "Fire Hose Association of Philadelphia" in 1813, formed by the hose companies and intended as a tribunal to settle disputes between the hose companies and to establish for them a certain and permanent support. These objects not having been satisfactorily accomplished, the Association was dissolved in 1817, and a new one formed the same year, of both hose and engine companies and called the "Fire Association of Philadelphia." It was governed by a board composed of two delegates from each company. In 1818 they entered into the business of insurance, for which they obtained a charter March 27, 1820. No dividend was to be declared until the capital stock amounted to \$100,000, and no company was to be entitled to a dividend which did not, in the opinion of the directors of the Association, possess a complete equipment for the

extinguishment of fires. Each member of the companies in the Association could effect insurance at 5% less premium than non-members and the Association could grant relief to any of the associated companies in need of it. This will explain why we see so many fire marks of this company, some 40,000 having been used, still remaining on houses throughout the city, it was only natural that the firemen should be especially careful to protect the property that was insured in their own company.

The "United Firemen's Insurance Company," organized in 1860, by some 28 fire companies, being those not included in the Fire Association, received the same advantages from their own companies that the Fire Association did from theirs. In connection with this company it is related that some years ago a well-known citizen effected insurance with them on a row of houses and shortly after, finding the company had put their fire mark on each house, wrote to them a letter stating that he did not want any "lager beer signs" on his property, and to send at once and have them removed or he would order the policies cancelled.

In 1871 the Volunteer Fire Department which had had only a semi-official connection with the City Government, was superseded by the paid Fire Department, as it is called, known officially as the Philadelphia Fire Department, the city having complete control.

With the going out of the Volunteers the use of fire marks ceased. The badge or plate of the Lumbermen's Insurance Company (organized 1873) being used entirely as an advertisement, is not classed as a mark, so called.

Since the founding of the Union Fire Company in 1735 Philadelphia has seen many changes and improvements in the fire protection of the city. She has always been among the first to adopt improved methods of preventing and putting out of fires and has at present the

most efficient fire department and best water supply (for the purpose) in the country. Her insurance companies are known as the most conservative and solvent. Each of the first four organized, all over 100 years old, is still doing a prosperous and flourishing business.

I will close by quoting from Shakespeare, who truly says:

“A little fire is quickly trodden out,
Which being suffered rivers cannot quench.”

THE SECOND TROOP PHILADELPHIA CITY
CAVALRY.

BY W. A. NEWMAN DORLAND, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S.

Major, Medical Corps, U. S. Army; formerly First Lieutenant and
Surgeon of the Troop (April 1, 1898–November 10, 1903.)

[For references see pp. 269–271.]

(Continued from page 172.)

On February 6, 1793, as commander of the Second City Troop, Major Jackson attended the dinner given at the City Tavern in celebration of the victories of the French armies over the Austrian and Prussian troops.²⁰² This dinner was graced by the presence of Governor Mifflin, the French Minister, and many of the officers of the City Militia.

During Major Jackson's administration a new Militia Act was passed by the State Legislature, in which it was provided that the Volunteers of the City and County of Philadelphia should comprise one division of the State troops with two brigades, the First or City Brigade and the Second or County Brigade.²⁰³ This arrangement remained in force for many years.

The summer of 1793 found it necessary for Major Jackson to relinquish the command of the Troop. Accordingly, we find the following notice for an election of officers for that organization:—²⁰⁴

“NOTICE.

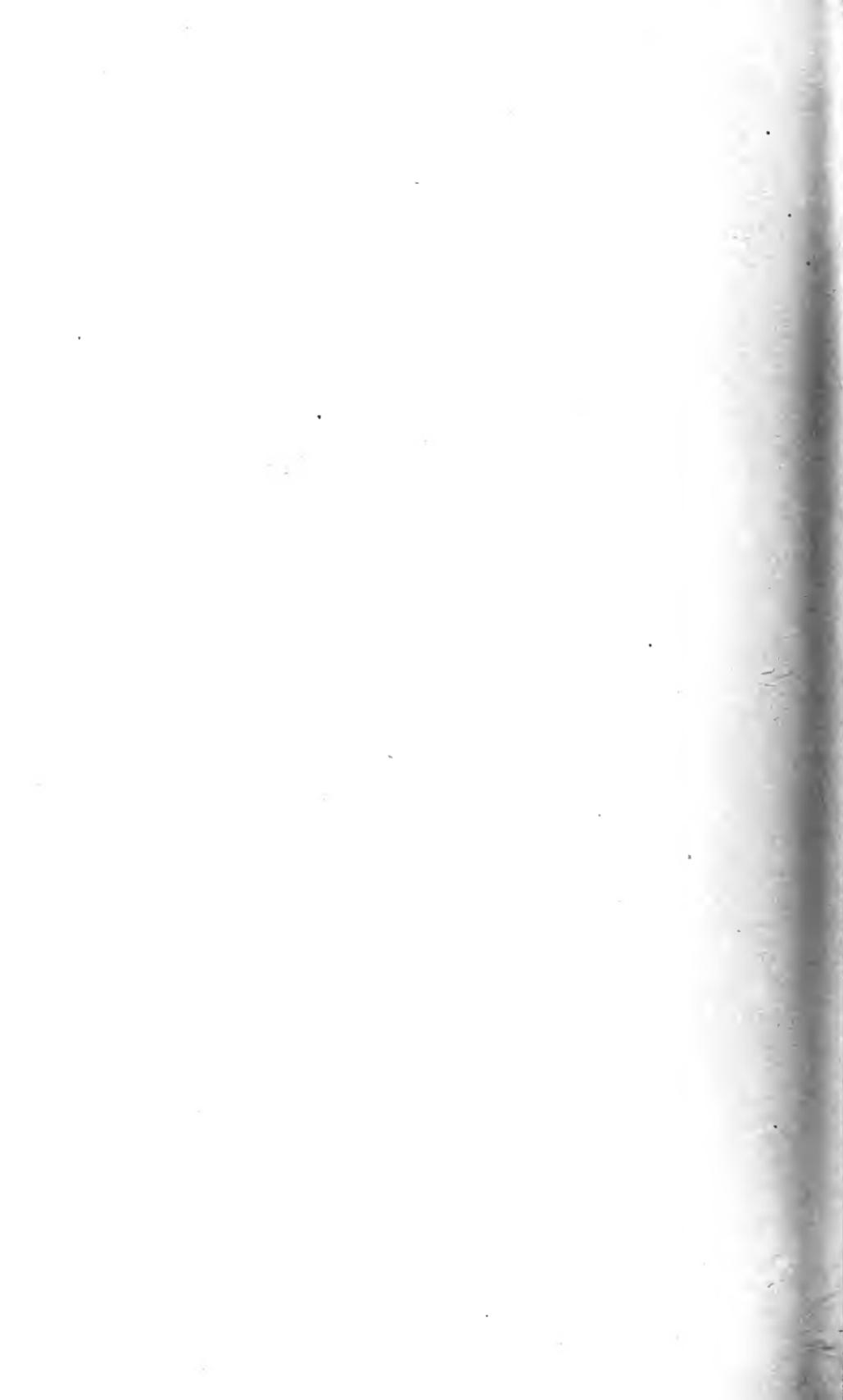
“An Election of Officers for the Troop of Light Horse lately commanded by Capt. *William Jackson* will be held on TUESDAY the 9th July next, at Mr.



ABRAHAM SINGER

From an original oil painting done by Wollett, at Lancaster,
September, 1806.

when Mr. Singer was in the 41st year of his age



Epple's, in Race Street, at ten o'clock in the Morning.

“Lewis Nicolas²⁰⁵ [*sic*], Brig. Insp.”

“June 30, [1793].”

The result of this election is recorded on Monday, September 2, 1793, in “A Return of the Second Troop of Light Dragoons in the Militia of the City of Phila., made according to Law by Lewis Nicholas [*sic*], Esquire, Brigade Inspector of the Militia,” as follows:—²⁰⁶

Captain, Abraham Singer.

Second Lieut., John Massey.

Cornet, Peter Benson.²⁰⁷

CHAPTER IX.

CAPTAIN ABRAHAM SINGER.²⁰⁸

Abraham Singer, grandson of *Caspar Singer* (died March 11, 1759) and *Anna Margaretha*, his wife, who came to Pennsylvania from Alsace prior to 1727, was born in Lancaster, Pa., on April 25, 1765. His parents, *Casper Singer, Jr.* (born October 10, 1738, died February 24, 1797), a Revolutionary soldier and, in 1784–89, a private in the Sixth Company, First Philadelphia Battalion, Colonel John Shee, and in Captain Charles Syng's 5th Co. 3^d Battalion and 2^d Co., 4th Battalion, Col. Shee, and *Eva Maria Spangler* (born November 10, 1726; died December 13, 1802) sometime subsequently removed to Philadelphia, where Mr. Singer with his sons, *John* and *Abraham*, entered into mercantile life as wholesale and retail leather dealers. The Singers had established at Lancaster one of the first tanneries for the manufacture of leather in the Colonies, and this had developed into a very successful business with a branch house in Philadelphia for pur-

poses of importation and exportation. As early as 1778, their home and place of business was at No. 137 High [Market] Street, next door to the "*Sign of the King of Prussia*," between Third and Fourth Streets. After the death of their father the brothers continued the partnership at the same place.

Abraham Singer's first appearance in military life was in 1785-88, as a private in Captain Adam Foulk's Sixth Company of the First Philadelphia Battalion, Colonel John Shee, and Capt. Charles Syng's 5th Co., 3^d Battalion Col. Shee. In the summer of 1786, when 21 years old, he is recorded as a private in Captain Eleazar Oswald's company of foot which offered its services to the Government to dispossess the British of the posts and forts held by them on the Western frontier. Six years later, on May 11, 1792, he was elected Cornet of the Second Troop of Light Horse of Philadelphia, of which company he had become a member in March, 1788; and on July 9, 1793, he attained the command of the Troop when but 28 years of age. This office he held until the autumn of 1802.

On May 8, 1794, shortly before the departure of the Troop to serve in the campaign in the Western portion of the State during the Whisky Insurrection, Captain Singer was married by Bishop White, in Christ Church,²⁰⁹ to *Ann Tresse* (born November 25, 1769; died in Lancaster, Pa., January 25, 1806, aged 36 years), daughter of *Thomas Tresse* and *Elizabeth Singleton* (married March 30, 1767), niece of *Richard Tresse* (died in November, 1793).

Captain Singer was a man of fine presence, courteous in his manners, and exceedingly hospitable. In 1794-96 he resided at 10 North Eighth Street; the next year on North Fifth Street; and in 1811 at 16 Filbert Street, at which time he is called "gentleman" in the Philadelphia Directory. He continued in business in Market Street until 1809. In politics he was an ardent

Federalist, and his Troop was, from a political standpoint, regarded as a Federalist organization. On February 25, 1796, he was present, as Captain of the Second Troop, at the dinner given to Major General Anthony Wayne at Weed's Tavern, Gray's Ferry.²¹⁰

On Sunday, February 9, 1799, Captain Singer became involved in the riot in St. Mary's Catholic Churchyard,²¹¹ growing out of the excitement over the repeal of the Alien and Sedition Act.²¹² With several other prominent citizens, including Captain John Dunlap, of the First City Troop, Attorney General Joseph B. M'Kean, and George Willing, he was arrested, and finally, in 1801, tried and convicted of assault, for which he was sentenced to a nominal fine and costs.²¹³ In December, 1800, he was administrator of the estate of Martin Gillman.

In the War of 1812-14, Captain Singer, when 49 years of age, entered the service of the United States as Lieutenant of a company of Infantry commanded by Captain George Hetzellberger and included in Lieutenant Colonel John Lutz's regiment. This regiment was ordered by the Governor to rendezvous at York, Pennsylvania on August 26, 1814, for a tour of duty. A roll of this company is on record of the date of September 2, 1814.

Abraham Singer's captaincy of the Second Troop of Philadelphia Light Horse is notable for two periods of actual service on duty for the National Government, namely, a three months' campaign in the western portion of the State during the Whisky Insurrection of 1794, and a period of twenty days during Fries' Rebellion of 1799. He also commanded the Troop in the "mock funeral cortège" of President Washington in Philadelphia in 1799 and the same year led the Troop as part of an escort to President Adams on his return to Philadelphia from Boston and New York.

His death in the prime of life, on January 4, 1815,

when he was but 50 years of age, was a severe loss to a large circle of friends as well as to the Troop, which attended his funeral in a body, and also to the community at large. His sword and epaulettes and a portrait painted in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1806, are in the possession of his great-grandson, Professor *Edgar A. Singer, Jr.*, of the University of Pennsylvania. He died intestate, leaving an estate valued at about \$5000. Joseph Borden M'Kean, subsequently attorney General of the Commonwealth, succeeded him as commander of the Second Troop.²¹⁴

Captain Singer had three children:—*Maria*, who married *George Shively*, an instrument-maker, living on the east side of Third Street below Chestnut; *Thomas Tresse*, who died in 1809 at Nazareth, Pa., while attending the Seminary at that place; and *Richard*, who continued the family line. Captain Singer's elder brother, *John*, was born in Lancaster, Pa., on March 11, 1763, and died in Philadelphia on May 13, 1829, aged 66 years. He was a drummer boy in the Continental army and was a prisoner on one of the British prison-ships in New York harbor for a time. He is recorded as being in service in 1781, and from 1785–89, was a private in Col. Shee's Battalion. He took the oath of allegiance to the State on April 3, 1786. On March 6, 1793, he married *Anna Maria Musser* (born April 8, 1771; died January 20, 1827, aged 56 years), of Lancaster, Pa. In 1794, he was a private in the Third Company, 2^d Regiment City Militia, Col. Barker, and served in the Whisky Insurrection. In Philadelphia, his place of business was No. 263 High [Market] Street, on the north side, east of Seventh Street, and his residence No. 413 High [Market] Street, on the north side just above Eleventh Street, where the Market Street National Bank now stands.

CHAPTER X.

THE BY-LAWS AND REGULATIONS OF THE SECOND TROOP IN
1793.

Upon his assumption of the captaincy on September 2, 1793, Abraham Singer immediately applied himself to the task of regulating and systematizing the affairs of the Troop. To aid his efforts in this direction he brought into play the excellent business methods which had insured the success of his firm in mercantile life, and as a result the organization was raised to a superb standard of military efficiency. The strict discipline demanded by the officers at this time is forcefully exemplified by the Articles or By-laws for the government of the Troop adopted in the autumn of 1793, a copy of which is herewith appended:—

ARTICLES OR BY-LAWS.

FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE SECOND PHILADELPHIA
CITY TROOP OF HORSE.²¹⁵

ARTICLE I.

A majority of the troop shall constitute a quorum to transact business.

ARTICLE II.

The muster-roll of the troop shall be called on the parade, one hour after the time appointed for assembling; and at the private meetings, one hour after the time specified in the notice, when the absentees shall be fined, unless excused by sickness or unavoidable absence.

ARTICLE III.

For every neglect to parade on the days prescribed by law, or when the troop is ordered out by the Commanding officer, on a day's previous notice, each delinquent member shall pay a fine of one dollar;

and for non-attendance at private meetings, a fine of one quarter of a dollar. The officers to pay double fines for the like neglect:—The fines to be paid at the next meeting of the troop, into the hands of the quartermaster, and to remain subject to the order of the captain, or the *commanding* officer, for defraying the necessary expenses of the troop.

ARTICLE IV.

Should the fines be inadequate to defray the expenses of the troop, the deficiency shall be supplied by an equal payment to be made by each member.

ARTICLE V.

Applicants for admission into the troop shall be proposed by the captain, or, in his absence, the senior officer present, at one meeting, and balloted for at the next—provided nevertheless, that on motion of a member that the applicant be balloted for immediately, and a majority of the members present agreeing thereto, he shall be balloted for accordingly.—It shall require at every election, the consent of two-thirds of the members present to admit an applicant.

ARTICLE VI.

Each applicant, on his being elected, shall pay into the hands of the quartermaster, five dollars towards defraying the expense of the troop, and subscribe his name to these by-laws: the captain, or commanding officer, to give notice to the applicant of such election, with the proper directions to equip himself.

REFERENCES.

²⁰² *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 472.

²⁰³ *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 470.

²⁰⁴ *American Daily Advertiser*, July 2, 1793.

²⁰⁵ *Lewis [Ludwick] Nicola [Nicholas]* a broker of Philadelphia, having his office, in 1795, at the southeast corner of Fourth and Chestnut Streets, was a native of France, where he was born in 1717, but was educated in Ireland, and at one time held an appointment in the British army. Coming to America, he became warmly attached to the cause of the Colonists. In 1769, he established "*The American Magazine*," which, however, lasted but one year. On November 18, 1769, he was naturalized in Berks County, Pa. On March 9, 1774, he was commissioned Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Northampton County, Pa. He served as barrack-master of Philadelphia from April 20, 1776 to December 2, 1776, succeeding the first barrack-master, *Joseph Fox* [who was appointed May 3, 1758, the barracks being erected in 1757-8; he was born in 1710 and died December 10, 1779]. He was Town Major in command of the "City Guards," Philadelphia Militia, from December 2, 1776 to February 5, 1782; and was Colonel in command of the *Veteran Invalid Corps* (which was authorized by Congress and organized on June 16, 1777) from June 20, 1777 to December 30, 1784, and again succeeded Captain James McLean as Commandant of the Corps of Invalids on December 23, 1788. He was a member of the famous Patriotic Association of July 17, 1778; and took the oath of allegiance to the State on March 30, 1779. Colonel Nicola was a surveyor; a man of scientific attainments, and, an officer of many accomplishments, including a peculiarly inventive turn. He served as Major, Colonel, and brevet Brigadier General in the United States army, his commission as Brigadier General being dated November 27, 1783. From 1788 to 1793, he had charge of the work-house and jail in Philadelphia. He was Brigade Inspector of the Philadelphia City Militia from Thursday, April 11, 1793 until his resignation on Thursday, August 9, 1798, when he was succeeded by Jonathan Harvey Hurst. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society and served as one of its Curators from 1779 to 1786. He was also an active member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. He was a resident of Chestnut ward. He removed to Alexandria, Virginia in 1798, where he died on August 9, 1807, when 90 years of age. He had six daughters:—*Charlotte* (born in Ireland, February 9, 1761; married first in Christ Church on March 1, 1781 Dr. *Matthew Maus*, who was appointed Surgeon of the *Invalid Regiment* on December 26, 1781; and second Dr. *William Cozens*; died in Washington, D. C., in 1830); *Margaret* (born in Ireland, March 1, 1764; married, August 27, 1781, Lieutenant *John Bigham*); *Jane* (born in Ireland, February 28, 1765; married *Talmage Hall*, June 17, 1782); *Mary* (born in Ireland, April 14,

270 *The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry.*

1766); *Ann* (born in Pennsylvania, 1770-71; died January 6, 1793); and *Sarah* (born in Philadelphia, November 15, 1779; married in Christ Church, December 22, 1796, to *Jacob Webb*).—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, pp. 333-334; *Heitman's Register; Pa., Mag.*, vol. iv., p. 255.

²⁰⁶ *Pennsylvania Archives*, Sixth Series, vol. iv., p. 284. Ex. Min. (T. M.) vol. ii.

²⁰⁷ *Peter Benson*, son of *James Benson* and *Hannah Helspy* (married September 22, 1762), and nephew of *Alexander Benson*, who, on September 25, 1778, was a private in the Fourth Company, First Philadelphia Battalion, Colonel William Bradford; was a member of Eleazer Oswald's company of Light Infantry of Philadelphia County in 1786. On September 2, 1793, he was elected Cornet of the Second Troop, and the following year officiated as Quartermaster of the Troop, and served with that body during the Western Expedition for the suppression of the Whisky Insurrection. In June 1796, he entered into partnership, as drygoods merchants, with *Thomas W. Hiltzheimer*, son of *Jacob Hiltzheimer*, their store being at the corner of Second and Arch Streets. In October, 1796, he was appointed by the Governor "vendue master" or auctioneer, in place of *Thomas W. Hiltzheimer*, and took the business of *Richard Footman* (commissioned March 25, 1789, auctioneer for Moyamensing township). In December, 1798, he formed a partnership with *Samuel Yorke* (born September 15, 1774; died May 18, 1816; son of *Edward Yorke* and *Sarah Stille*; married January 25, 1798, *Mary*, daughter of *William Lippincott* and *Sarah Bispham*), their place of business being first at 39 North Front Street, and later at No. 74 South Third Street, opposite Dock Street, under the firm name of *Benson and Yorke*. [After Mr. Benson's death, Mr. Yorke in 1805, allied himself with *Joshua Lippincott*, his brother-in-law, at Nos. 51 and 53 North Front Street. Mr. Yorke lived in the fine old seat called "Chalkley Hall," near Frankford, subsequently the property of *Edward Wetherill*. From January 18, 1814, to May 18, 1816, he was President of the Pennsylvania Company for Insurances on Lives and Granting Annuities, and was Director of that Company from December 20, 1809, to the end of his presidency. He was a leading merchant of his day.] *Peter Benson*, from 1791 to 1794, was Clerk in the Land Office of the State, living at No. 66 North Sixth Street, between Arch and Race Streets. He died at Wilmington, Delaware, on Wednesday, October 28, 1801. His widow *Jane Benson*, in 1820, kept a boarding house at No. 151 Chestnut Street. She died in Cincinnati, Ohio, on January 27, 1829, possessed of considerable means. Their son, *Peter Benson, Jr.*, (born in Philadelphia, November 28, 1795; a graduate, A.B., of the University of Pennsylvania in 1812, and A.M. in 1816) was married on April 24, 1823 to *Elizabeth A. Wignell*. Another son, *David P. Benson*, in 1813, was a private in the First Company of Washington Guards, (Fourth Company, Philadelphia Militia), subsequently was corporal in the same company from August 27, 1814, to January 4, 1815, under Captain John R. Miffin, and

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later became an officer of the branch of the United States Bank at Erie, Pa., where he died on March 22, 1839.

²⁰⁸ Information obtained from his great grandson, Professor Edgar A. Singer, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, and a member of the reorganized Second Troop; and from Dr. William M. Capp, of Philadelphia.

²⁰⁹ *American Daily Advertiser*, May 9, 1794.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1796.

²¹¹ *St. Mary's Church*, on Fourth Street below Spruce, one of the oldest churches in the city and the second Romish church erected, was the principal Catholic church of Philadelphia in Colonial and Revolutionary days. The ground was purchased in 1759-60, and the church was erected in 1763 as a branch of St. Joseph's Church and a church of the Jesuits. It was enlarged in 1810, and became the cathedral church when the first bishop of Philadelphia, Right Rev. Michael Egan, was appointed. There occurred a notable contest in the church in 1820, due to insubordination of the Rev. William Hogan, who was appointed assistant minister in April of that year. The trouble lasted until 1824. On October 9, 1774, Washington and Adams visited St. Mary's Church, and Washington again on Sunday, May 27, 1787. In 1782, St. Mary's was greatly improved. A new church was built in 1838, the corner-stone being laid on June 4th of that year. During the riots of 1844, St. Mary's was guarded by the military.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. iii, p. 1319.

²¹² In 1798, when war was threatening between France and the United States, there were at least 30,000 Frenchmen in the country, and many thousands of others who were supposed to be in sympathy with France. Accordingly, in apprehension of danger arising from this source, Congress, in May, 1798, passed a bill known as the *Alien and Sedition Act*, which authorized the Government at the discretion of the President to banish from the country for the space of two years any individual whose presence was believed to be inimicable to the country. It was the attempt on the part of William Duane and others to secure a repeal of this Act, which resulted in the St. Mary's riot. This was the beginning of the downfall of the Federalist party.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 496.

²¹³ *Scharf and Westcott*, vol. i, p. 497.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 484.

²¹⁵ Printed by Henry Tuckniss; Philadelphia, 1799. Preserved in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Book Notices.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN CARROLL, ARCHBISHOP OF BALTIMORE, 1735-1815. By Peter Guilday. The Encyclopedia Press, New York.

In this interesting book the scholarly author has given to the public a most valuable contribution to American Ecclesiastical history. The life of John Carroll was so much a part of the life of the Catholic Church in the United States that the recital becomes essentially a history of that Church. He was born in Maryland on January 8, 1735, and died at Baltimore on December 3, 1815. After completing his elementary studies at Bohemia Manor Academy, he was sent at thirteen with his cousin, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, to the English Jesuit College at St. Omer, France. He entered the English Province of the Society of Jesus in 1753, and was ordained to the Priesthood in 1757. When the Society was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV in 1774, he returned to Maryland.

In 1776 he was sent by the Continental Congress with Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll of Carrollton on a futile mission to Canada to persuade the people of that country to cast their lot with the American revolutionists.

Appointed Prefect Apostolic in 1784, he ruled the widely scattered body of Catholics in the original thirteen States until 1808, and afterwards until his death as Archbishop of Baltimore he was the head of that Diocese and the Primate of the United States. In 1789 on the nomination of his fellow Priests he became the first Bishop of Baltimore. The four Dioceses of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown were erected in 1808. He died in 1815, having established Georgetown College, Mount St. Marys at Emmittsburg, Md., and the Theological Seminary of St. Mary's in Baltimore.

The first Catholic missionaries in the United States from 1634 to 1773 were almost exclusively Jesuits. The country was a Jesuit Mission. The intense bigotry of the times proscribed Catholics in New England and in the South. Only in Pennsylvania, and after a period of persecution in Maryland and in New York was their worship tolerated. Until the adoption of the Federal Constitution their political disabilities were not removed. Traces of proscription can still be found in the constitutions of one or more of the New England States. Their numbers were few and they were widely scattered. It is needless to dwell upon the power and extent of the Catholic Faith in the United States today. This is largely owing to the wisdom and sagacity of Archbishop Carroll. He was an ardent patriot and took the same point of view politically as did the leaders of the Revolution. His associations with Franklin and other leaders were close and intimate.

Father Guilday's work is well and skilfully done. It is notable for its evident striving for accuracy, its avoidance of all excess either of praise or blame, and its appreciation of the human element which necessarily pervades all history, whether secular or profane. This book will be read by students interested in the early history of the United States quite irrespective of their religious views. (W. G. S.)

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GEORGE CROGHAN AND THE WESTWARD
MOVEMENT, 1741-1782.

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CHAPTER I.

THE INDIAN TRADER.

The mainspring which kept the Indian trade in North America in operation during the eighteenth century was the demand for furs and skins in western Europe. The customs and styles of dress among European nobles and courtiers, ecclesiastical and university officials, and wealthy burghers created the demand for furs; the demand for skins rested chiefly upon the needs of the more humble classes of society. A second great market for furs and skins was in China. Until towards the close of the period under consideration this market only indirectly affected the Indian trade by absorbing the cheaper grade of Russian furs and skins and thus decreasing the supply available for western Europe. By the time of the American Revolution, however, a considerable number of American furs and skins were sent from London to China, either through Russia or in the ships of the East India Company, thus foreshadowing the trading ventures of John Jacob Astor and Stephen Girard.¹

From the earliest days of the Greeks and Romans until the sixteenth century the people of central Asia and western Europe were supplied with furs and skins from the great northern plains of Eurasia. Here the Russian traders' frontier was gradually pushed eastward until in the latter part of the eighteenth century it was moving rapidly down the western coast of North America.² At the time of the discovery of America, Vienna, Danzig, Lübeck and Hamburg were the great fur marts of Europe, and the bold voyages of English navigators to Muscovy were based in part upon the demand for furs. The furs and skins from the second great region of supply—northern North America—had to compete with those from Russia and Siberia in the markets of Europe. So successfully was this done that the great fur marts were shifted to London, Amsterdam and Paris, and the quest for furs took the place of the quest for gold, silver and precious stones in luring the white man to penetrate into the vast unknown regions north of Mexico.

If the trade in furs and skins is looked at from the point of view of the uncivilized native who could furnish peltry and hides, one finds equally strong economic forces influencing his conduct. In his estimation of values, based upon the laws of supply and demand, the exchange of a fine beaver pelt for a sharp knife was a great bargain and gave him as much satisfaction as it did to the more civilized trader. The mutual immense profits of the trade in furs and skins and other irresistible economic forces involved, led both savages and civilized men to desire to establish and maintain trading relations in spite of the heavy risks to life and property to all concerned in such trade.

The desire to control the lucrative trade in furs and skins with the natives in North America was one of the numerous causes for the great rivalry of England and

France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Towards the close of the former century they entered upon an important trade war in North America for the control of this traffic which, unlike their military conflicts, never ceased until after 1763. In it the native tribes were mere tools and pawns which both sides exploited.

The trader's frontier in this conflict was long, wide, and constantly shifting. During the second quarter of the eighteenth century French and English traders met in the region between Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay, but here there were such vast regions to exploit that for a long time their rivalry was only serious to those immediately involved. Similar competition took place in the wilderness between New England and Canada, but here also the rivalry was not serious, for there were no longer rich fur fields to exploit in this region nor were there strategic lines of communication to threaten. The Indian country between New York and New France controlled great arteries of commerce; here, however, the English forces of expansion, which in earlier decades had begun to penetrate the region around Lake Michigan, lost vitality because of various conditions in colonial New York. One of these was the establishment, in spite of the opposition of both governments, of trading relations whereby Albany traders gave up their dreams of trading directly with the far West in return for the opportunity of exchanging English manufactured goods for French furs near at home. In contrast to the Indian traders of Pennsylvania, those of New York generally did not penetrate far into the interior to seek furs and skins at each Indian village, but utilized the Iroquois as middlemen to bring furs and skins to them at such posts as Albany and Oswego. In the extreme south, Carolina traders had once planned to develop the trans-Mississippi country and even the Ohio and

Illinois regions. By about 1725 the French had limited the activities of the English until their trade with tribes which bordered on the Gulf of Mexico or on the Mississippi had almost ceased.³

During the generation preceding 1754 the most dynamic and significant phase of the Anglo-French rivalry in the Indian trade was in the central and upper Ohio Valley and in the region south of Lake Erie. In preceding decades a few Carolina, New York and perhaps Virginia, traders had reached this region, but their visits were sporadic and not consistently followed up. Later, Pennsylvania traders began to develop consistently its rich trading possibilities. The expansion of the field of their activities was based upon a sufficient supply of low-priced merchandise and it was the result of their own initiative and resourcefulness; not until their influence had about reached its height did their government aid them. Meanwhile the French had been moving eastward into this region. They shifted their main line of communication between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi from the Fox-Wisconsin route to the Chicago-Illinois route and then to the Maumee-Wabash route. To control the latter, Ft. Ouiatenon was erected by New France, about 1720, at the head of navigation for large canoes on the Wabash, and Ft. Vincennes by Louisiana, in 1731, on the lower Wabash. At times, a small fort on the Maumee was maintained which, with Detroit, completed this line of defense against English penetration. The region east of this line was left open to the English. The first "Winning of the West" by the Anglo-Saxon followed; in almost every important Indian village in this region one or more Pennsylvania traders were to be found.

The growth of their influence is well shown by the following incidents. In 1707, Governor Evans of Pennsylvania feared the influence of French traders even east of the lower Susquehanna; he personally led a

party thither to capture Nicole Godin, a trader of French birth, who was suspected of aiding the enemy. The Governor reported to the provincial council that after he had captured Nicole, "having mounted Nicole upon a horse, and tied his legs under the Belly," he "brought him a Prisoner to Philadia, in the Common Gaol of which he now lies."⁴ Less than half a century later, in the early fifties, Paul Pierce, a Pennsylvania trader, had "4,000 Weight of summer skins taken at another town on Wabasha. . . ."⁵

These incidents illustrate the fact that the Pennsylvania traders had assumed the aggressive and, in spite of the Appalachian barrier, had pushed the trader's frontier 500 miles westward in less than a half century; in 1750 this line was near the Wabash and Maumee rivers, nearly 500 miles in advance of the settler's frontier in Pennsylvania, which was just starting to move up the Juniata Valley and to cross the Blue Mountains. Nor had the expansive force of this movement been exhausted when it reached the Wabash and Maumee; it began to cross this line—a weak barrier at best—and move on towards the Mississippi, bringing anxiety into the hearts of the best French officials, who felt the potential power of English influence even in the distant Illinois country.⁶ A contemporary map legend described the attitude of the Indians in Illinois as follows: "Illinois mostly inclined to the French at the Treaty of Utrecht and to the English at that of Aix-la-Chapelle."⁷

Thus by 1750 the English were ready to take control of the Wabash-Maumee route, the best line of communication between New France and Louisiana, and they threatened French dominion in the West. When, during King George's War, the highest French officials came to realize the peril of this quiet penetration of English power, they determined at any cost to secure sole and absolute control of the entire Ohio country.

The Pennsylvania Indian traders were thus chiefly responsible for the immediate opening of the French and Indian War.

Their aggressive westward push during the period of 1730-1775, was aided by the moral and financial support of the wealthy merchants and colonial officials in Philadelphia. During this period Philadelphia had become the largest town in all America. Its virile energy and the many-sidedness of its interests were typified in the life of its greatest citizen, Benjamin Franklin. Its large and profitable commerce, firmly buttressed upon a prosperous and rich agricultural region resulted in the accumulation of surplus capital, part of which was available for projects to exploit and develop the vast wilderness beyond the settler's frontier.

The man who played the most prominent part in this highly important and significant phase of the westward movement of Anglo-Saxon civilization was George Croghan. Of his early life and the more personal side of his career we know but little. No portrait of him has been discovered⁸ and in the course of this investigation, not a single reference to his wife was found; the date and exact place of his birth are also unknown. We know that his early life was spent in Dublin, Ireland.⁹ The education which he there received was so meager that he was pronounced illiterate by Bouquet.¹⁰ One finds the spelling in Croghan's letters amusing, provided it is not necessary to decipher many of them.¹¹ He migrated to America in 1741.¹²

Because he came from Dublin he was charged during the French and Indian War with being a Roman Catholic.¹³ We know, however, that he was an Episcopalian. His signature, along with those of Robert Callender and Thomas Smallman, his close associates in the Indian trade, was attached to a petition in 1765 from the handful of Episcopalians in the frontier town of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to their provincial assembly.

It asked for the authorization of a lottery for the benefit of ten Episcopal churches; the one at Carlisle was to receive £200 to aid its building fund.¹⁴ In 1769, Croghan wrote Sir William Johnson to recommend an Episcopal rector for an appointment, modestly adding, "for tho I Love ye Church very well I know I ought Nott to Medle with Church Matters."¹⁵ When Croghan died his funeral was held in St. Peter's Episcopal Church in Philadelphia.¹⁶

These facts are significant. Evidently Croghan was not a typical Scotch-Irishman, for he had the religion of the English Pale. The fact that he was interested in a church at once puts him on a higher plane than most Indian traders who cared nothing for either church or religion. Being a member of the Church of England helped him to establish closer relations with the Penns and with many British officials. In the normal conduct of his business and in his official duties Croghan was not often near any minister or church. Even at Ft. Pitt, where he usually had his headquarters from 1758 to 1777, there was no organized church till after his death.¹⁷ Army chaplains were sometimes stationed there and missionaries came to tarry a few days. The latter were usually welcomed by Croghan, at whose home they frequently dined. One of these in describing his visit to Croghan in 1772, writes that the latter presented him with "a bear's skin to sleep on, a belt of wampum to present to the Indians, and 60 pounds of biscuit to supply me on my journey."¹⁸ Croghan's religion was reflected in his daily conduct in business and in office to about the same extent as is religion in the life of the average business man or office-holder of today.¹⁹

Croghan had a number of relatives in America who had a common interest in developing the great West of their day and to whom he was a guide and leader. William Trent was his brother-in-law, Edward Ward

his half brother, Thomas Smallman his cousin, John Connolly his nephew, William Powell and Daniel Clark his kinsmen.²⁰ Clark emigrated from Ireland and became a clerk to Croghan; after the Revolution he became the most prominent American in New Orleans. A Mohawk Indian daughter of Croghan became the wife of the famous Mohawk chief, Joseph Brant.²¹ His only white child, Susannah, for whom he had a tender regard, which was reciprocated by her,²² was born in 1750 at Carlisle and died in 1790. At the age of fifteen she was married to Lieutenant Augustine Prevost, son of the British General of the same name, with whom he is sometimes confused. To them twelve children were born at various places from Quebec to Jamaica inclusive, six of whom survived infancy and became the chief heirs of Croghan.²³ Aaron Burr was related to Prevost by marriage and served as his attorney; Burr's interest in the West may therefore have emanated from Croghan.

The immigrant who went west from Philadelphia during the decade 1740 to 1750, as did Croghan, would find that soon after he had left the Quaker city behind, the German element became predominant and that as he approached the frontier the hardy Scotch-Irish in turn composed the majority of the population. The road which he followed would take him through Lancaster, the largest inland town in the British colonies; from it one important road led through Paxtang Township, which bordered the eastern bank of the Susquehanna in the vicinity of the present city of Harrisburg. At this place the river is not deep, but is a mile wide. John Harris had settled here and was operating one of the most important ferries which crossed it; Harris' Ferry is shown on all contemporary maps of Pennsylvania.

The newcomer was now close to the settler's frontier line. The region across the river towards Maryland had been purchased from the Iroquois in 1736, though

squatters in this region were legally recognized since January 14, 1734, when the first "Blunston License" was issued to allow settlement before the Indian claims had been purchased.²⁴ The Juniata Valley with the region south of it extending to the Maryland border was not purchased till 1754. In the preceding decade the most distant lands open to settlement in the province were in the level and fertile Cumberland Valley. This lay beyond Harris' Ferry, on either side of the winding Conodogwinet River, which empties into the Susquehanna, and of the Conococheague River, which flows in the opposite direction and empties into the Potomac. South Mountain, later made famous by Robert E. Lee, forms a wall on the southeast for this physiographic unit. From its crest one can see on a clear day the opposite rampart, North Mountain, also known as the Kittatinny or the Blue Mountains. Beyond them in the primeval forest lay the Indian country, but to get to its most attractive regions it was necessary to cross range after range of the mountain barrier. This was done by the venturesome Indian traders of the province. When the fur fields east of the mountains had been exhausted, with no enticing possibilities to the north or south, the traders were presented with the alternative of either settling down to a more prosaic life, or of somehow getting across the barrier to the far western country. A contemporary describes the result of their decision as follows: "Between 4 and 10 degrees of Longitude west from Philadelphia there is a spacious country which we call Allegheny from the name of a River which runs thro' it and is the main branch of the Mississippi. . . . In this country all our Indian trade centers . . . the most of our return is Deer Skins. The Indian traders have had great credit with the merchants."²⁵

Various routes across the mountains had been prepared for the traders by nature and by the buffalo and the Indian, and have since become great arteries of com-

merce followed by trunk line railroads. The least important and most difficult of these followed the West Branch of the Susquehanna. Another route passed through Shippensburg and Bedford, utilizing the Rays-town Branch of the Juniata; from 1758, when Forbes constructed the road which bore his name, until after 1830, when the railroad and canal became important, this was one of the most important routes to the West; as a turnpike it was the great rival of the Cumberland Road. The oldest and most important route to the West during the decade, 1740 to 1750, followed the Juniata and Conemaugh (Kishkimentas) Rivers.²⁶ It was almost always followed by the traders before 1754 in going to the West and somewhat less frequently on their return. Shortly before 1754, Pennsylvania traders in returning from the West were beginning to follow the fourth great route across the mountains, which utilized the Monongahela, Wills Creek Water Gap and the Potomac.²⁷ When they had once reached the latter near the end of Cumberland Valley they found available a "great road" recently finished, leading through the valley and connecting at Harris' Ferry with the great highway to Philadelphia.²⁸

To traverse one of the great routes from the Susquehanna to the Ohio required about fourteen days. Until after the French and Indian War transportation by wagon stopped at the mountains; from there on only Indian trails were available. To the Pennsylvania trader the packhorse took the place which the canoe occupied among the "*coureurs de bois*;" even after he was across the mountains and beyond the Ohio he preferred it to the canoe. Usually two or more men went with a packhorse train, which seldom consisted of more than twenty horses, each carrying about one hundred and fifty pounds on their pack saddles. They followed the trail in single file with one man in front and one in the rear. At night the horses were turned loose to

secure their forage as best they could. Bells were fastened to them to aid in finding them again. A pack-horse equipped with saddle, surcingles and bells was valued at from £7 to £25. From twenty to thirty per cent was normally added to Philadelphia prices for the cost of transporting goods by wagon and packhorse to the Ohio.²⁹

The chief Indian tribes with whom the Pennsylvanians traded were the Six Nations, who claimed dominion over the entire Ohio region and several hundred of whose representatives were scattered along the Ohio and known as Mingoës; the Delawares, living around the upper Ohio; the Shawnee, dwelling along the Ohio and Scioto; the Wyandots or Hurons, inhabiting the territory south of Lake Erie; and the Miami or Twightwee, living on the Big Miami and beyond.³⁰

To them were brought rum; guns, gunpowder, lead, flints, tomahawks and vermilion; strouds, especially those of a "Deep Blue or Lively Red," blanketing, matchcoating, linen and calicoes "of the brightest and flourishing colours"; wampum; lace, thread, gartering, ribbons; women's stockings, "red, yellow, and green" preferred, and all kinds of ready-made clothing; knives of all kinds, brass and tin kettles, traps, axes, hoes, brass wire, files, awls, needles, buttons and combs; jewsharps, bells, whistles, looking glasses, rings and silver jewelry of all kinds.³¹

These goods, with the exception of rum, came principally from England. For them were bartered deer, elk, buffalo and bear skins; beaver, raccoon, fox, cat, muskrat, mink, fisher and other furs; food supplies and sometimes personal services.³² The annual value of this trade was probably less than £40,000.³³

This trade involved a connected chain of credits based in the end upon English capital. The English manufacturer or merchant sold to the Philadelphia

merchant on credit; he in turn advanced the goods to the larger traders and they to their employees; finally it also became more and more customary to trust the Indians with goods in order that they could hunt successfully. If, therefore, something should happen to the Indian so that he failed to bring in skins and pelts, bankruptcy and financial stringency would follow all along the line.³⁴ Certain merchants in London, Bristol, Philadelphia and Lancaster specialized in this trade. The firm of Shippen and Lawrence and the Jewish firm of Levy, Franks and Simon, with whom the Gratzs were later connected, are examples of those groups of Pennsylvania merchants that served as factors in the Indian trade. They were usually composed of one or more residents in Philadelphia and a western representative in Lancaster. The former often had his own ships and imported suitable goods from England; under his management the skins and furs for export were sorted, examined for moth and finally packed for shipment; the representative in Lancaster usually had charge of warehouses where traders' supplies were kept and furs and skins temporarily stored. Frequently these groups were "concerned" with a prominent Indian trader in active charge of a number of ordinary traders. Aside from these regular partnerships and joint-stock companies these men were often "concerned" together in an "adventure;" *i. e.*, when a particular business opportunity presented itself they would pool a part of their capital, goods, or personal services, sometimes without even signing articles of agreement, and then divide the profits or losses in proportion. Such a business system was especially favorable to the young man or the newcomer with little more than his personal services to contribute. Such groups, especially when united, were an important factor in trade, land speculation and politics, particularly in relation to the West.³⁵

It was into such an environment that Croghan entered soon after coming to America. Shortly after 1741 we find him on the frontier in the lower Condoget Valley, then organized as Pennsborough Township of Lancaster County. Here he patented in 1746, 1748 and 1749, three tracts of land totaling 474 acres. Nearby were 354 acres which had been patented in 1744 and then conveyed to Trent and Croghan; of this tract Croghan became sole owner in 1746. In 1747 he added 210 acres, patented in 1742. In the same year he purchased 172 acres in Paxtang Township, which had been patented in 1738 and of which he became the fourth owner. This was the only large tract east of the Susquehanna which Croghan ever held. Richard Hockley, Receiver General of Quit-rents for the Penns, Trent and Croghan took out a warrant for 300 acres in this region, but to it they never secured title. He also purchased lots and built several houses in Shippensburg, which was then being laid out. Altogether within four years Croghan had acquired 1210 acres within a short distance of Harris' Ferry.

The frequent changes in the ownership of these tracts are indicative of the spirit of land speculation prevalent among these early pioneers. Croghan early caught this spirit. At the same time that he was acquiring new lands he was mortgaging to Philadelphians who had surplus capital to invest those lands which he had only recently acquired. In 1747 he mortgaged two tracts to Jeremiah Warder for £500, which he paid off in 1749. In 1748 he mortgaged two other tracts to Mary Plumsted for £300. In 1749 he mortgaged four tracts to Richard Peters, Secretary to the Provincial Council, for £1000. In 1751, after Croghan had held six tracts for only five years or less, he conveyed them to Peters, thereby cancelling all his mortgages and receiving £1000 besides. His business relations with Peters and Hockley, two influential colonial officials, are significant.³⁶

It was on the 354 acre tract, located but five miles from Harris' Ferry,³⁷ Pennsylvania's gateway to the West, that Croghan established his home. This he made his headquarters during approximately his first ten years in America. This point was strategically located with reference to all of the routes across the mountains; the newly-discovered and best approach to the Juniata route passed by his home and crossed the Blue Mountains through the best gap in the vicinity. This soon appeared on all contemporary maps as "Croghan's Gap."³⁸ His home, "Croghan's," likewise appeared on these maps along with Carlisle and Shippenburg, as being one of the three landmarks on the important road through Cumberland Valley. It soon became one of the places where traders and emissaries often stopped on their way to and from the western country. It also served as a convenient meeting-place for whites and Indians.³⁹

Croghan made this place the eastern terminus for his operations as an Indian trader. It served as his home for a few weeks in each year and provided food and shelter for employees and for his packhorses, which could recuperate here after their hard trip over the mountains. Log warehouses provided storage for skins, furs, and Indian goods. On his adjacent tract of 171 acres he had an extensive tanyard where an additional value could be given to the deerskins which he brought out of the West.⁴⁰

Croghan was probably able to acquire and develop these properties through his profits from the Indian trade. In all likelihood he came to America with little or no capital, but fortunately for him, business methods did not require much for the Indian trade. This trade appealed to his restless spirit and adventurous nature. He entered into it almost immediately upon his arrival in 1741.⁴¹ In 1744 and again in 1747, he was licensed as an Indian trader.⁴² His success is graphically shown

by the fact that only five years after he had left his European environment he was trading on the distant borders of Lake Erie aided by servants and employees.⁴³

In carrying on this trade beyond the mountains, Croghan's packhorse trains usually passed through Croghan's Gap and followed the Juniata-Conemaugh route to the Ohio. Near its forks, he soon established secondary bases of operations. About three miles from the forks on the northwestern side of the Allegheny at the mouth of Pine Creek, Croghan and his partner had a storehouse, some log houses, numbers of batteaux and canoes, ten acres of Indian corn, and extensive fields cleared and fenced. The latter were probably used as pastures. In 1754 the total estimated value of his property was £380. At Oswegle Bottom, which was located on the Youghiogheny, twenty-five miles from the forks of the Ohio, he had another establishment similar to the one at Pine Creek and which was valued at £300.⁴⁴ Another storehouse valued at £150 he had located at the important Indian village of Logstown, about eighteen miles below the forks. This storehouse was used as living quarters by Croghan when at Logstown, by his employees, and by Englishmen who happened to be in Logstown for a short time. Farther down the Ohio at the mouth of the Beaver Creek, in another important Indian village, Croghan also had a "trading house."⁴⁵ Wherever Croghan had a storehouse he probably had at least one person stationed to take care of it and to carry on local trading operations.

From these bases near the forks of the Ohio trading routes spread out like the sticks of a fan. These routes were followed by Croghan often accompanied by some employees, by men sent out by him, and by rival traders. One route led up the Allegheny past the present site of Venango. At this place Croghan competed with another Pennsylvania trader, John Frazier,

who had here established a trading house and gunsmith's shop. The favorite route of Croghan himself, during his early years, followed the excellent "Great Trail," which led towards Detroit.⁴⁶ It passed through the Wyandot village of one hundred families near the forks of the Muskingum, where Croghan had a prominent trading house valued at £150.⁴⁷ This, however, he regarded chiefly as a post on his trade route to Lake Erie. To the exasperation of the French, he and his men pressed on until Governor Jonquière of Canada complained to Governor Clinton of New York that the English traders were even proceeding to within sight of Detroit and under the very guns of Ft. Miami. Four English traders, two of whom were Croghan's men, were captured here by the French in 1751, taken to Detroit, Quebec, and then to France and were not released until the British Ambassador at Paris demanded it.⁴⁸

In 1747, Croghan is spoken of as "The Trader to the Indians seated on Lake Erie," where he had a number of storehouses.⁴⁹ He was especially fond of the region around Sandusky Bay during this period, because of several reasons. ". . . the Northern Indians cross the Lake here from Island to Island, . . ." wrote Evans in 1755,⁵⁰ and Croghan himself wrote: "We sold them goods on much better terms than the French, which drew many Indians over the Lakes to trade with us."⁵¹ Thus Croghan tapped the great eastward flowing stream of furs which went to Quebec. He made close friends among the Ottawas, allies of the French,⁵² and probably had much to do with the Indian plot of 1747, whose timely discovery by the French prevented an uprising somewhat similar to that of Pontiac. The failure of this plot, together with the coming of peace in 1748 and the more aggressive hostility of the French, seem to have caused Croghan to shift his major attention to the Miami tribes.

The route to the Miami left the Great Trail at the forks of the Muskingum and led west towards Pickawillani, which was located on the upper Great Miami a little below the mouth of Loramie Creek near the present site of Piqua. Gist visited Pickawillani in 1751 and wrote in his Journal: "This Town consists of about 400 Families, & daily encreasing, it is accounted one of the strongest Indian Towns upon this Part of the Continent."⁵³ A contemporary identifies it by writing, "This is the Village where George Croghan generally Trades, all the Indians of which are firmly attached to the English, . . ."⁵⁴ Here a stockade was erected inside of which were storehouses and log houses. One-fourth of the white men, who were captured when the French attacked this village in 1752, were Croghan's associates.⁵⁵ At the time of its destruction, Croghan was making it a new center for his trading operations towards the Wabash.

Croghan also followed the Ohio below the forks for several hundred miles. In 1750 we find him trading at the large Shawnee village, Lower Shawnee Town, near the mouth of the Scioto, where he had a storehouse valued at £200.⁵⁶ His trading ventures probably did not go beyond the falls of the Ohio. For this region he used water transportation to some extent.

From Pine Creek and Lower Shawnee Town as bases, his traders worked the region south of the Ohio in what is today known as West Virginia and eastern Kentucky. Here the curtain is lifted but once to show us a highly significant and interesting incident and we are left to surmise from this what took place during the years before 1754. In January, 1753, a party of seven Pennsylvania traders and one Virginia trader were attacked by seventy French and Indians at a place about one hundred and fifty miles below Lower Shawnee Town on the Kentucky River. All their goods were lost. Two of the traders escaped and six were taken prisoners to

Montreal; two of these were sent to France, and later made their return home after many hardships. All except one had been associated with Croghan in business; their loss was stated to have been £267, 18s, of which about forty-five per cent represented the cost of transportation.⁵⁷

It is in the report of this incident that there occurs one of the earliest uses of the word "Kentucky;" it being spelled "Kantucqui" and "Cantucky."⁵⁸ Lewis Evans utilized information secured from members of this party for his maps. These traders were trading with the Cherokees in Kentucky and, according to one statement, they had been even in Carolina trading with the Catawbas. The friendly Indian, who was with the party, may have guided them along Warriors' Path into Carolina. No reasonable doubt exists, however, that Croghan's traders frequented Kentucky twenty years before Daniel Boone made his famous excursions into this region.

In a summary of Indian affairs, probably prepared in 1754 for the new Governor of Pennsylvania, there occurs the following unique description of Croghan's field of activities: "Croghan & others had Stores on ye Lake Erie, all along ye Ohio . . ., all along ye Miami River, & up & down all that fine country watered by ye Branches of ye Miamis, Sioto & Muskingham Rivers, & upon the Ohio from . . . near its head, to below ye Mouth of thee Miami River, an Extent of 500 miles, on one of the most beautiful Rivers in ye world, . . ."⁵⁹ With great daring and boldness Croghan pushed out to the periphery of the English sphere of influence where danger was greater, but prizes richer, than in less remote regions. He did not neglect the latter, however. His active and unceasing efforts to push and develop his trade probably did more than any other one factor to increase English influence west of the mountains. The export of furs and

skins from Philadelphia showed a marked increase during the decades before 1754. The French came to regard Croghan and his associates as poachers upon their private beaver warrens.

Of the number of men and packhorses employed by Croghan we can but make an estimate. In his affidavit of losses due to attacks by the French during the period 1749 to 1754, the names of about twenty-five employees occur and more than one hundred packhorses are mentioned as having been captured. In all probability at least a like number escaped attack. It is also probable that on an average at least two men were stationed at each of the half dozen or more posts maintained by Croghan. Those of his traders who were paid a wage received about £2 per month.⁶⁰

About half of his trading activities Croghan conducted solely on his own responsibility; about one-third were carried on in association with William Trent, who was Croghan's partner from 1749 to 1754 and perhaps even longer; in the remaining portion Croghan was "concerned" with William Trent, Robert Callender (Callendar) and Michael Teaffe (Taffe). These four men were associated in trade from about 1749 to 1754.⁶¹

Croghan's chief competitors were the five Lowrey brothers, who were closely associated with the Jewish merchants, Joseph Simon and Levi Andrew Levy at Lancaster; Callender and Teaffe; James Young and John Fraser; the three Mitchells; Paul Pierce, John Finley and William Bryan; and the individual traders, Thomas McKee, Hugh Crawford, John Galbreath, John Owen and Joseph Neilson.⁶² The field available was large enough, however, so that coöperation rather than competition was the rule among Pennsylvania traders. The competition which they met from New York and Maryland was slight and for a long time Virginia Indian traders had a tendency to drift southwest instead of across the mountains. Probably a few entered the

Ohio country before 1754.⁶³ However, one of the motives in the formation of the Ohio Company in 1749 was to secure a share of the profitable trade which was monopolized by the Pennsylvania traders and had it not been for the coming of the French, in all likelihood a bitter cut-throat competition between the Virginians and the Pennsylvanians would have ensued.⁶⁴

Croghan's eastern factors included Quakers, Episcopalians and Jews. Probably his chief factor was the firm of Shippen and Lawrence; the following quotation from Croghan's letter to Lawrence, dated "Pensborough, Sept. 18, 1747," is illustrative: "I will Send you down the thousand weight of Sumer Skins Directly, by first waggon I Send Down, I have Gott 200 pisterens & som beeswax To Send down to you, as you and I was talking of, To Send To Medera."⁶⁵ In September, 1748, Croghan shipped "1800 weight of fall deer skins" to Philadelphia.⁶⁶ He also had business relations with Jeremiah Warder and Co., S. Burge and Co., Abraham Mitchel and Co. and probably with others.⁶⁷

It is significant to note that even the most prominent Pennsylvania trader after he had developed a prosperous business, did not furnish much of the capital he needed, but secured it in Philadelphia and Lancaster. By far the largest amount was supplied by Richard Hockley, Receiver-General of Quit-rents.⁶⁸ Richard Peters, Secretary to the Council, also invested some capital with Croghan,⁶⁹ as did other easterners.

Croghan had probably the largest trade of all the Pennsylvania Indian traders in an age when they were most enterprising. He is spoken of in 1747 in the Minutes of the Provincial Council, as a "considerable Indian Trader" and in 1750, as "the most considerable Indian trader."⁷⁰ Governor Morris in 1756 wrote that "For many years he has been very largely concerned in the Ohio trade. . . ."⁷¹ The lawsuits in the Common Pleas Court of Cumberland County in which Croghan

was involved give a side-light on his business status. From 1751 to 1753, eleven cases involving more than £2500 came up.⁷² The long list of Croghan's eastern creditors and the private moratorium for ten years which they succeeded in having passed for him and his partner, Trent, is one measure of the size and importance of his activities. The best concrete evidence which we have of the relative size of his business is contained in the list of losses, due to the coming of the French, of thirty-two individuals or partnerships engaged in the Pennsylvania Indian trade. The total losses were approximately £48,000; Croghan's individual losses were stated to be over £8000, or twice as large as the loss of any other individual; Croghan and Trent's losses were placed at more than £6500, or twice as large as the loss of any other partnership or individual; Croghan, Trent, Callender and Teaffe's losses were placed at almost £2500, and were among the larger losses. Thus Croghan's losses were about one-fourth of the total losses.⁷³ This probably indicates the relative size of his trade.⁷⁴

That Croghan had so quickly reached such a position of pre-eminence was due to several factors. In 1741 the Pennsylvania traders had opened up, but not yet exploited, the rich resources of the upper Ohio country. The French left it unoccupied for another decade and for almost half that time war practically eliminated them as competitors. During King George's War the operations of the British navy made it so difficult for the French to secure goods for the Indian trade that prices advanced as much as one hundred and fifty per cent. The effect of these conditions on Indian relations is suggested in the following unusual episode reported by Weiser in 1747. A French trader in the Ohio country offered but one charge of powder and one bullet to an Indian in exchange for a beaver skin. Thereupon "The Indian took up his Hatchet, and knock'd him on

the head, and killed him upon the Spot." Several factors made it also easy in time of peace for Croghan and his fellow English traders to meet French competition. The English practically had a monopoly of rum and strouds, two of the most important articles that entered into the Indian trade; other articles for this trade could be manufactured more advantageously by the English than by the French. Though the English traders were not directly supported by their government, neither were they handicapped by minute regulations. The northern winter closed up the St. Lawrence for nine months out of the year. Because of the rapids in this river it took the French from twenty to forty days to go from Montreal to the Niagara Portage, whereas Pennsylvania traders could go from the Susquehanna to the Ohio in less than twenty days.⁷⁵

Moreover, the character of most of the English traders was such that it was not difficult for an able man to surpass them. Governor Dinwiddie wrote to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania on May 21, 1753: "The Indian traders, in general, appear to me to be a set of abandoned wretches," and the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in a message to the Governor, February 27, 1754, said: ". . . our Indian trade [is] carried on (some few excepted) by the vilest of our own Inhabitants and Convicts imported from Great Britain and Ireland. . . . These trade without Controul either beyond the Limits or at least beyond the Power of our Laws, debauching the Indians and themselves with spirituous Liquors. . . ." ⁷⁶ Croghan, like James Adair and Alexander Henry, was one of the few men of ability who personally embarked in the Indian trade. The malicious envy of his fellow traders, however, was seldom aroused by his success. Christopher Gist, the agent of the jealous Ohio Company, described him as "a meer Idol among his Countrymen, the Irish traders." However, when Gist was traveling in the

interests of the Ohio Company through what is now Ohio and encountered the hostility of the Indians, he used Croghan's name to protect himself and was glad to avail himself of Croghan's company and influence during the journey.⁷⁷

Neither did Croghan arouse the enmity of the natives, as did so many traders, but instead, he furthered his trading operations by making intimate friends among the Indians, particularly of their chiefs; these friends were to stand him in good stead at critical times in later years.⁷⁸ At Logstown, in 1752, when the treaty was being made between Virginia and the Ohio Indians, the leading Iroquois chief, Half King, spoke of Croghan as "our brother, the Buck" who "is approved of by our Council at Onondago, for we sent to them to let them know how he has helped us in our Councils here: and to let you and him know that he is one of our People and shall help us still and be one of our Council."⁷⁹

The friendship of the Indians for Croghan was due to various factors. He learned the Delaware and Iroquois languages and could express himself in the figurative speech so dear to the Indian.⁸⁰ He had an intimate knowledge of their customs and traits of character. Most important of all, however, was the fact that he regarded the Indian, not as a dog, but as a human being. The Indian was ready to befriend the trader who was reliable and fair in his dealings and who was willing to render services to the red man in need.⁸¹ Not once do the records examined for this study tell us that Croghan personally killed an Indian or that he gloried in their destruction. He labored to maintain peace between the Indians and the English, knowing well that an Indian war might mean death to many traders and would almost certainly mean bankruptcy to him, since almost the whole of his fortune was represented in packs of skins and furs several hundred

miles from the nearest white settlements across the mountains. That Croghan was fearless is self-evident; every Indian trader accepted danger as a matter of his daily routine. The average trader's life must have been short. If a trader survived crisis after crisis when others were ruthlessly struck down, it was usually due to his Indian friends and his own superior intelligence. The material weapons of the white man were of but little value as a means of defense in the heart of the Indian country.⁸²

Other personal qualities which helped to make Croghan successful were his habit of early rising and of putting in long hours of work,⁸³ his vigor, and his shrewd tactfulness in barter. George Morgan in a letter to his wife, July 8, 1766, in describing the members of a rather large party going down the Ohio, said of Croghan: "But above all Mr. Croghan is the most enterprising man, He can appear highly pleased when most chagrined and show the greatest indifference when most pleased. Notwithstanding my warm temper, I know you would rather have me as I am than to practice such deceit."⁸⁴

While a number of factors were responsible for Croghan's success, but one factor, over which he had no control, was responsible for his bankruptcy, viz., the aggression of the French in the Ohio country from 1749 to 1754. The Pennsylvania traders in a memorial asking restitution stated that the French forces and their Indian allies "most barbarously and unexpectedly attacked" them in time of profound peace in Europe.⁸⁵ Croghan summarized the effect on himself as follows: "Capt Trent & myself were deeply engaged in the Indian Trade. We had trusted out great quantities of Goods to the Traders; the chief of them were ruined by Robberies committed on them by the French & their Indians & those which were not quite ruined when the French army came down as well as ours for what the

French and Indians had not robed us of, we lost by the Indians being prevented from hunting, by which means we lost all our debts. After this Coll. Washington pressed our Horses by which means a parcell of Goods & Horses we had left fell into the Enemy's hands, our whole losses amounts to between five and Six Thousand Pounds.'⁸⁶

This estimate included goods and horses taken at Venango in 1749 and valued at approximately £1255; goods valued at £329 taken with two traders on the upper Scioto in 1749; seven horse loads of skins and two men taken west of Muskingum in 1750; and three men and their goods taken in the Miami country in 1751. At the capture of Pickawillani, assuming that Croghan had an equal share in those goods which belonged to Croghan and Trent and to Croghan, Trent, Callender and Teaffe, Croghan lost approximately £1000, or one-third of the total loss. In 1753 goods valued at £267, 18s. were captured on the Kentucky River. The news of other attacks by the French early in 1753 sent Croghan and some of his traders hurrying back through the woods or up the Ohio and caused Trent to leave Virginia with provisions for them. No longer was it safe for an English trader to venture far beyond the forks of the Ohio. John Frazier, who had left Venango and established himself fourteen miles south of the forks, wrote on August 27, 1753: "I have not got any Skins this Summer, for there has not been an Indian between Weningo and the Pict Country hunting this Summer, by reason of the French."⁸⁷ In the fall of 1753, the French occupied Venango. Callender and Teaffe, Croghan's associates, wrote home describing conditions and added, "Pray, Sir, keep the News from our wives, but let Mr. Peters know of it, . . ."⁸⁸ Croghan's men and packhorses were near the Ohio in 1754 awaiting developments, when Washington commandeered the horses to help carry his cannon and

stores on his retreat to Ft. Necessity, leaving to the French goods of Croghan and Trent, valued at £369.

Croghan's losses included, besides movable goods and horses, boats, buildings, and improvements on lands; debts of the Indians, which made up one-half of the total losses; and most serious of all, the entire field of his activities, where all of his customers lived, was now entirely closed to him. The business which he had built up through years of activity was ruined and he himself was so deeply involved in debt that if he returned to his home in the east he would be imprisoned for debt.

To a man who for years had known the freedom of the western wilderness and to whom the sky had served as a roof, night after night, death was preferable to immurement in a cell of an eighteenth century debtor's jail. Croghan therefore kept out of the immediate reach of the law and established a new home near the path which he had traveled for many years. This he located on Aughwick Creek near its confluence with the Juniata, at the site of the present town of Shirleysburg. Here, surrounded by mountains on all sides, was a small fertile valley which still belonged to the Indians in 1753. Croghan had erected a house here as early as September, 1753, and his whereabouts was well known to the authorities of Pennsylvania.⁸⁹ "I Live 30 Miles back of all Inhabitance on ye fronteers. . . ."

wrote Croghan to Sir William Johnson, on September 10, 1755,⁹⁰ while to Governor Hamilton he wrote on November 12, 1755: "From ye Misfortunes I have had in Tread, which oblidges me to keep at a Greatt distance, I have itt nott in my power to forward Intelegence as soon as I could wish. . . ."⁹¹ After Braddock's defeat, the oncoming tide of fire and slaughter threatened to envelop Croghan in his exposed position; friendly Indians came with intelligence of raids by the French and their Indian allies and desired that Croghan be given

“speedy Notice to remove or he would certainly be killed,” and several times rumors came to Philadelphia that he had been cut off.⁹²

Life at Aughwick was not so difficult, nor was Croghan so destitute, as might be supposed. He still had at least fifty packhorses, and like the typical frontiersman, he had some cattle. He also had some negro slaves and some servants; the latter were probably indentured servants. His brother staid with him and doubtless some of his employees remained with him. Conrad Weiser, who visited him, reported to the Governor that Croghan had butter and milk, squashes and pumpkins, and between “twenty-five and thirty Acres of the best Indian Corn I ever saw;” Croghan made his home at Aughwick from 1753 to about July, 1756. To protect themselves, he and his men erected a stockade around their log buildings. It is self-evident that this was not an ordinary squatter’s improvement. After the French and Indian War Croghan secured legal title to the lands which he had improved and to other nearby tracts.⁹³ Under the circumstances, imprisonment would be unjust. Croghan’s services as Indian Agent to Pennsylvania deserved consideration. If imprisoned he could not reëngage in business and thus pay his numerous creditors. But most important was the need by the government for his great knowledge of Indian affairs and for his influence with the Indians during the critical times which followed Braddock’s defeat.

In other similar cases where only a few small creditors were concerned, the usual method of a general letter of license was employed,⁹⁴ but Croghan’s creditors were so numerous and scattered that this method was not feasible in his case. As early as December 2, 1754, he had written Peters asking if the Assembly could not pass an act of bankruptcy for himself and Trent, and if so, how he should proceed.⁹⁵

Some of his friends evidently interested themselves

in his cause, for on November 26, 1755, a petition was introduced into the Assembly, signed by fifteen of his creditors, asking leave to bring in a bill granting Croghan and Trent freedom for ten years from all legal procedure to collect debts contracted before the passage of the act. This was granted and the bill was promptly passed and sent to the Governor. When he considered it in Council, Richard Hockley appeared and stated that he had not been notified of the proposed action, though he had been in partnership with Croghan and Trent and was by far their largest creditor; he suggested an amendment which the Governor and assembly accepted and the bill became law on December 2, 1755.⁹⁶

The charter of Pennsylvania required that all acts be submitted to the crown for approval or disapproval within five years of their passage. The act passed on December 2, 1755, was not delivered by the agent of the Penns to the Clerk of the Privy Council till January 20, 1758. On February 10, this body referred it to the Board of Trade for examination. The Board of Trade at once referred it to the Attorney-General, who reported back to it on April 10, 1758, that there was no legal objection to the act. The Board then discussed the merits of the act, granting the Penns an opportunity to state their attitude. On May 12, the Board in a representation to the Privy Council recommended that the act be disallowed. On June 16, an order in council was issued in almost the exact words of the representation, disallowing the act. A copy of this order was sent to the Board of Trade on May 21, 1760, and read there on July 8. It then informed the Governor and Colonial Agent of Pennsylvania of the action taken.

The order in council expressed surprise at the delay in delivering the act, that such an extraordinary indulgence should be granted on the petition of only a portion of the creditors and that the bill should be intro-

duced one morning, read twice during the same morning, never committed, and passed on the afternoon of the same day; it annulled the act as being unjust and partial, irregularly passed, contrary to the rules of justice in all cases affecting private property and a dangerous precedent. By the time, however, that this order reached America and came to the notice of the various creditors, Croghan had enjoyed the benefits of the act during about five of the ten years provided by it. He had made some arrangements to meet his obligations and was now an imperial official performing much-needed war services, and hence imprisonment from debt no longer troubled him.⁹⁷

The traders who suffered losses as a result of the French aggression, together with the eastern merchants who were their creditors, soon began an active, well-planned campaign to secure restitution. Efforts were made by Croghan and Trent to collect, first from Virginia and then from Braddock, the losses incurred when Washington impressed their horses. After these efforts failed, Croghan, Trent, a number of their employees, and nine other traders gathered at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and made numerous detailed affidavits of their losses. Croghan himself made five affidavits. Governor Morris signed the complete document, which listed about half of all claims made. A number of traders also gathered at Lancaster and Philadelphia and took similar action.⁹⁸

These thirty-two traders then authorized William Trent to draw up a memorial in their behalf to be presented to George II in Council.⁹⁹ It asked for reimbursement out of the money received from the sale of French prizes taken before the declaration of war in retaliation for French aggression. These prizes were sold for £650,000;¹⁰⁰ the total traders' claims amounted to £48,572, 4d. The critical situation during the war caused this memorial to be neglected. When peace

negotiations began, another memorial was sent to the crown asking that the French be required to indemnify the traders and merchants. Its failure ended the attempts to secure restitution in money from the French. Thereafter all efforts were directed towards securing restitution in the form of a large grant of land from the Indian allies of the French; this promised greater speculative opportunities.

Meanwhile many traders had transferred their interests in the project to the merchants whom they owed. Croghan and Trent had agreed with Richard Hockley that his debt should be paid first out of any money they received; Hockley and Thomas Penn in England became their attorneys to push their cause. After 1763, the entire project became associated with the more promising project of the "Suff'ring Traders" of Pontiac's uprising for which it served as a precedent and which led to the "Indiana plan," which will be described in a later chapter. In December, 1763, Croghan, Trent, Samuel Wharton, David Franks and eight other traders and merchants interested in both projects met at Indian Queen Tavern, Philadelphia, to lay plans which would take advantage of Croghan's proposed journey to England. Croghan and a merchant in London, Moses Franks, were made the agents of the group and £410 sterling was contributed for their expenses. They were spurred on by the guarantee of five per cent of all money or land secured. The agents were to present a memorial in person. They sought the aid of Generals Amherst and Gage, Colonel Bouquet, the Governor, Assembly and the London Agent of Pennsylvania, the Penns, and all the British merchants who had any connections with the persons involved and who might bring influence to bear on the Board of Trade or the Privy Council. In spite of all these efforts, no results were secured.¹⁰¹ An indirect approach was now attempted as a last resort. Sir William Johnson was

requested to secure a grant of land from the Six Nations at Ft. Stanwix for the claimants of 1754 similar to the grant secured by the claimants of 1763. He maintained that the Six Nations were not responsible in the former case and refused the request.

Nevertheless, when Trent and Wharton went to England to represent the claimants of 1763, they also planned to secure some recompense for the claimants of 1754. Trent secured a renewal of his powers of attorney from thirteen of the latter, of whom Croghan was one. To secure the necessary funds, Trent turned over his powers to Samuel Wharton, David Franks, Benjamin Levy, Thomas Lawrence, Edward Shippen, Jr., and Joseph Morris. These were to receive one-half of all money or lands secured in return for financing the project. They sent Moses Franks to London, who, on February 22, 1771, presented to the Board of Trade a memorial in behalf of George Croghan, William Trent, and eleven other Indian traders. In 1773 he was still in England cooperating with William Trent to secure favorable action.¹⁰²

Some of the other claimants of 1754 refused to give precedence to the claimants of 1763, or to cooperate with them. They presented a separate memorial in 1769 asking that no lands be granted to the claimants of 1763 unless all traders who had suffered losses from 1750 to 1763 be granted a proportionate recompense. This division weakened the cause of all the claimants. Their claims were still pending when the Revolution ended all hopes of securing restitution from England.¹⁰³

Some of the traders who had lost so heavily in 1754 maintained that they were not bound to pay their debts to the merchants unless they received restitution. "I will pay them when I am reimbursed and surely that is all they can ask of me or anybody else," wrote one of them.¹⁰⁴ Croghan, however, tried to free himself of his liabilities. As early as 1754 he had conveyed some lands in the Cumberland Valley to Richard Peters. In

1761, Croghan and Trent paid £1000 to their creditors and transferred to them some lands on Aughwick Creek, receiving a full discharge from all their creditors, even though this did not completely cover their debts. They had, however, in addition, assigned to their creditors a prior lien on all financial reimbursement which they might receive from the crown. When it seemed as though they might be reimbursed in land, their creditors tried to include it under the above assignment, but to this Croghan would not submit. The debts which Croghan did not pay in full remained to trouble him to his last days. He felt morally bound to pay the principal, but not the interest. On March 15, 1779, he wrote to Barnard Gratz “. . . itt was of my own free will I promised to pay all those old Debts which was Nott Commonly Done by people that failed in Trade.” Some of his creditors insisted on being paid both principal and interest and also asked for payment in coin which during the Revolution was very difficult to obtain; consequently, they failed to secure a settlement.¹⁰⁵

Never again after 1754 did Croghan devote his major attention to the Indian trade. At intervals he made a few shipments of furs and skins to London or Philadelphia, and in the early seventies he was associated with Thomas Smallman in the Indian trade. He also assisted such friends as the Gratzs to make good connections with the Indians. His chief attention after 1754, however, was devoted to his work as an Indian agent and later on to land speculation and western colonizing projects.¹⁰⁶ Even before the inroads of the French into the Ohio region became serious, his interest was being transferred to furthering the official relations between the Ohio Indians and Pennsylvania. Private as well as public interests caused such men as Croghan to enter into the service of the government to aid in saving English rule in the West.

Croghan's wide experience for over a decade in the actual field work as an Indian trader was the foundation upon which his later career was built. During these years he secured an intimate first hand knowledge of the Indian, learning how to manage the red man and making personal friends with some of the chiefs. He also learned to know the frontiersman and the friends he made among his more able white associates co-operated with him in later years. And finally, he became well known to the wealthy merchants and highest officials in Lancaster and Philadelphia; these were the men who gave him his first opportunities to show his value as an Indian agent and to whom Croghan was to bring a new interest in the great West beyond the mountains.

During the period 1741 to 1754, Croghan left behind him the life of Dublin and was transformed into a typical American frontiersman. He followed the roads that led west from Philadelphia, and traveled practically every path and trail which began where the roads left off, crossed the mountain barrier, and then spread out over the region bounded by Lake Erie, the Maumee and Wabash Rivers and the Cumberland Mountains. He crossed and recrossed the mountains. His journeys enabled him to spy out the finest lands strategically located. As he lived day after day in the fertile valley of the Ohio and on the Lake Plain in the primeval forests, he unconsciously imbibed a deep-seated appreciation of the vast possibilities of the region, which was later to develop into a vision of the future greatness of the trans-Allegheny region. His deep love for the western wilderness and his outlook towards the west were to have a dynamic influence during the next two decades upon the leaders who lived in the Delaware Valley and whose outlook was towards the ocean. His influence was also to be felt in Virginia, New York, New Jersey and in London itself.

REFERENCES.

(All manuscripts referred to are in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania unless otherwise stated.)

¹ Chambers Papers relating to Canada, 1692-1792. (N. Y. Pub. Lib.)

² The following quotation is suggestive for the colonizing movement in North America: "Der Zobel (sable) hat die Erschliessung und Eroberung Sibiriens veranlasst; er hat auch einen grossen Teil der Kosten, mit seiner Haut bezahlt."—Klein, Jos.: *Der Sibirische Peltzhandel und seine Bedeutung für die Eroberung Sibiriens*, p. i.—Cf. Golder, F. A.: *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641-1850*.

³ Crane, V. W.: "The Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina," *Miss. Valley Hist. Rev.*, 3: 3 ff; Crane: "The Southern Frontier in Queen Anne's War," *Am. Hist. Rev.*, 24: 379 ff.

⁴ Gov. Evans' Journal and Report, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 2: 385, 390.

⁵ Pierce's affidavit of losses, O. Co. MSS., 1: 32.

⁶ In 1742 Bienville reported home that the Illinois were restless and that some of them had gone east to meet English traders.—C 13A, 27: 81-84. (Archives Nationales, Paris.) Vaudreuil reported in 1744 and in 1745 recommending the establishment of a fort on the lower Ohio to limit the activities of the English traders and to keep control of the Kickapoo and Mascoutens.—C 13 A, 28: 245-250 and C 13A, 29: 69. In 1747 three Indian emissaries came to the Illinois tribes to win them over to the English and were frustrated with difficulty.—"Diary of Events in 1747," *Wis. Hist. Coll.* 17: 487. An official of Louisiana reported in 1750 that the influence of an English establishment on the Riviere de la Roche (Great Miami) extended even to Illinois and that it should be broken up.—C 13A, 34: 321-323. In 1751, thirty-three Piankashaw Indians (an important tribe living west of the Wabash whose friendship was to play an important part in Croghan's activities) appeared among the French settlements in Illinois to start an Indian uprising.—Alvord, C. W.: *Centennial History of Illinois*, 1: 234. In 1752 Vaudreuil reported home that deserters from the army in Illinois had gone over to the English.—C 13 A, 36: 81.

⁷ Gibson, John: Map of the Middle British Colonies in America. 1758. (N. Y. Pub. Lib.)

⁸ In J. S. Walton's *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Pennsylvania*, there is a picture of Colonel George Croghan, famous in the War of 1812, taken in a U. S. Army uniform, which is erroneously ascribed to the earlier George Croghan.

⁹ Gov. Morris to Gov. Sharpe, Jan. 7, 1754, *Pa. Arch.*, 2: 114.

¹⁰ Bouquet to Gen. Gage, Dec. 22, 1764, Bouquet Coll. (Canadian Archives), A 23-2, p. 464. No evidence has been found to prove the statement that Croghan was educated at Dublin University, made both by C. R. Williams in an article on George Croghan in the *O. Arch. and Hist. Pub.*, 12: 381 and by L. E. Keeler in an article on the Croghan Celebration in the same publication, 16: 8.

¹¹ The legibility of Croghan's letters varies greatly. The following

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postscript to a letter to Peters, dated Sept. 26, 1758, suggests one cause of such variation: "You 'l Excuse boath Writing and peper, and guess at my Maining, fer I have this Minnitt 20 Drunken Indians about me . . ."—*Pa. Arch.*, 3: 544.

¹² Various dates from 1740 to 1747 are given by writers on Pennsylvania history. The date 1741 is incidentally established by an affidavit which Croghan made before the Board of Trade in London on July 27, 1764, to aid the Penns in their case against Connecticut's land claims. C. A. Hanna in *The Wilderness Trail*, 2: 30, following the copy in the Penn MSS., Penn Land Grants 1681-1806, pages 205-209, adds that Croghan was made a Councillor of the Six Nations at Onondago in 1746, which would be rather significant. However, this copy of the affidavit seems to have been drafted by a third party, for it makes many inaccurate statements about Croghan. These are corrected in Croghan's own handwriting in a copy in the Penn. MSS., Wyoming Controversy, 5: 71-75. The qualifying phrases which he introduces beside the above statement make it appear that it was incorrect, but that for the sake of Penn's case, it was so stated to carry weight in London.

¹³ Gov. Sharpe to Gov. Morris, Dec. 27, 1754, *Md. Arch.*, 1888: 153.

¹⁴ *Pa. Stat. at Large*, 6: 382; Linn, J. B.: "The Butler Family of the Pennsylvania Line." *PA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG.*, 7: 2.

¹⁵ Croghan to Johnson, Nov. 16, 1769, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, 4: 419.

¹⁶ Wm. Powell's account with the Croghan Estate, 1804, MSS., Register of Wills, County of Philadelphia.

¹⁷ Dahlinger, C. W.: *Pittsburgh: A Sketch of its Early Social Life*, 9-10.

¹⁸ Jones, Rev. D.: *Diary*, 21; Cf. McClure, Rev. D.: *Diary*, 46, 101.

¹⁹ This statement is based upon a study of Croghan's entire life. E. W. Hassler's statement in *Old Westmoreland: a History of Western Pennsylvania during the Revolution*, p. 10, that "He was an Irishman by birth and an Episcopalian by religion, when he permitted religion to trouble him," is probably an incorrect deduction from the general characterization of Indian traders.

²⁰ Croghan's will, Register of Wills, County of Philadelphia.

²¹ Brant MSS. (Wis. Hist. Soc.), 1G2, 1F24, 13F103; Thomson C.: *Alienation of the Delaware and Shawnees*, 178.

²² Croghan's will; Trent to Mrs. Prevost, Aug. 21, 1775, Hist. Soc. of Pa. Coll.

²³ Brant MSS., 16F 65, 16F 66, 16F 72; Draper MSS. (Wis. Hist. Soc.), 16F 76. Dennis Croghan was an intimate friend but no relation to Croghan.—Etting Coll., Misc. MSS., 1: 110. General Wm. Croghan of the Revolution, who married a sister to George Rogers Clark and helped develop the state of Kentucky, was a very intimate personal friend of George Croghan.—Byars, Wm. V.: *B. and M. Gratz*, 175, 183, 185, 194. Col. George Croghan, son of Wm. Croghan and hero of the War of 1812, is often confused with the elder George Croghan. Some of the descendants of the Kentucky Croghans recognize a relationship to the elder Croghan while others deny it.

²⁴ Samuel Blunston was granted a special commission on January 11, 1734, authorizing him to issue special licenses upon which patents could be obtained after the Indian claims had been purchased. The original list of licenses granted, ending on October 31, 1737, has been found recently and will soon be published in the *Pennsylvania Archives*.

²⁵ Lewis Evans' Brief Account of Pa., 1753, in, Papers relating to Pa., Carolina, etc., Du Simitiere Coll. (Library Co. of Philadelphia.)

²⁶ In 1855 the traces left by thousands upon thousands of warriors and packhorses which traveled it for years were still plainly visible. — Jones, U. J.: *History of Juniata Valley*, 135.

²⁷ Washington to Bouquet, Aug. 2, 1758, *Writings of George Washington*, 2 : 62; *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 607.

²⁸ *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 6 : 302; Evans' Map of the Middle British Colonies, *Pa. Arch.*, *Third Series, App. to Volumes I-X*; Instructions of Gov. Hamilton to N. Scull and T. Cookson, surveyors, *Early Hist. of Carlisle* (1841), 1 : 6.

²⁹ O. Co. MSS., 1 : 7; *Md. Arch.*, 1888, 126; *Pa. Col. Rec.* 5 : 294, 295, 490, 498; *ibid.*, 9 : 495; Evans, L.: *Analysis of a Map of the Middle British Colonies*, 25.

³⁰ Conrad Weiser's Journal, 1748, *Pa. Col. Rec.* 5 : 348-358; Croghan's Journal 1751, *Pa. Col. Rec.* 5 : 530-539; Hutchins, T.: *Topographical Description, etc.*, App. III.

³¹ Lists prepared under Croghan's supervision are found in O. Co. MSS., 1 : 37 and in C. O. 5 : 61. Cf. *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, 18 : 245; Byars: *B. and M. Gratz*, 114.

³² O. Co. MSS., 1 : 44.

³³ *Pa. Gaz.*, Sept. 26, 1754; cf. *ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1754.

³⁴ Cf. Gov. Wright to Bd. of Trade, Dec. 29, 1754, Bd. of Tr. Pap., Plan. Gen'l., 22 : 163.

³⁵ Byars, Wm. V.: *The First American Movement West*.

³⁶ Deed Bk. A, I, p. 19, Register of Deeds, Carlisle, Pa.; Peters MSS., 2 : 86, 113, 114, 120; *ibid.*, 6 : 87; *Pa. Arch.*, *3d ser.*, 2 : 180; Magaw to Shippen, Jan. 25, 1746, Shippen Corresp., 1 : 73.

³⁷ *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 135; *Pa. Arch.*, *3d ser.*, *Appendix to Vol. 1-10*.

³⁸ Today it is called Sterret's Gap and is still important, being utilized by a state highway.

³⁹ Prov. Pap. (State Library of Pa.), 10 : 31 and 11 : 57; *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 348, 358; *Pa. Arch.*, *4th ser.*, 2 : 117.

⁴⁰ Peters MSS., 6 : 87; C. Weiser to R. Peters, July 10, 1748, *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 8.

⁴¹ Gov. Morris to Gov. Hardy, July 5, 1756, *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 689.

⁴² *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 14; *Pa. Arch.*, *2nd ser.*, 2 : 619. This is the earliest contemporary reference to Croghan that was found in the course of this study.

⁴³ Min. of the Prov. Council, June 8, 1747, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 72.

⁴⁴ Croghan's Affidavit of Losses in 1754, made at Carlisle in 1756, O. Co., MSS., 1 : 7.

⁴⁵ Weiser's Journal to Ohio, 1748, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 349.

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⁴⁶ There is an excellent description of travel on this trail by Croghan in his Journal for 1761.—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th ser., 9 : 378-379.

⁴⁷ Christopher Gist's *Journals*, Dec. 14, 1750, 37.

⁴⁸ Jonquière to Clinton, Aug. 10, 1751, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, 6 : 731-733; *Pa. Arch.*, 2nd ser., 6 : 126; *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, 18 : 112; John Patten's account, Du Simitiere MSS., Pap. Rel. to Pa., Car. etc.; Raymond to Minister, Nov. 2, 1747, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, 17 : 474; Vaudreuil to Minister, Dec. 30, 1745, C 13 A 29: 89-92; Moreau, J. N.; *Mémoire contenant le précis des faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives, pour servir de réponse aux Observations envoyées par les ministres d'Angleterre, dans les cours de l'Europe*, App. V, 89ff.

⁴⁹ Rich. Peters to C. Weiser, Sept., 1747 (?), *Prov. Pap.*, 10 : 17; cf. *ibid.*, 9 : 64.

⁵⁰ Evans, Lewis: *Analysis of a Map of the Middle British Colonies*, 30; cf. Hutchins, Thos.: *Topog. Descrip. of Va., Pa., Md. and N. C.*, 96.

⁵¹ Croghan's Transactions, etc., *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, 7 : 267.

⁵² Croghan states in his *Journals* that while he was traveling along Lake Erie to Detroit in 1760 he met several Ottawas "who received us very kindly, they being old Acquaintances of mine."—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4th ser., 9 : 365.

⁵³ Gist's *Journals*, Feb. 17, 1751, 47.

⁵⁴ B. Stoddert to Sir. Wm. Johnson, July 19, 1751, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, 6 : 730.

⁵⁵ *Jour. of Capt. Wm. Trent*, July 6, 1752, 86-88; O. Co. MSS., 1 : 7.

⁵⁶ Croghan's Deposition, 1777, in *Cal. of Va. State Papers*, 1 : 276; O. Co. MSS., 1 : 7.

⁵⁷ O'Callaghan, E. B.: *Cal. of Hist. MSS. in Office of Sec'y of State*, 603; Letter of the prisoners to R. Saunders, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 627; Trent to Gov. Hamilton, Apr. 10, 1753, *Gist's Journals*, 192; O. Co. MSS., 1 : 7.

⁵⁸ *Pa. Gaz.*, July 30, 1754; Deposition of one of the prisoners, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 663.

⁵⁹ Detail of Indian Affairs 1752-4, *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 238; the use of the phrase "Croghan and others" instead of "the Pennsylvania Traders" or "the English traders" is excellent evidence of Croghan's pre-eminence.

⁶⁰ O. Co. MSS., 1 : 7.

⁶¹ O. Co. MSS., 1 : 7.

⁶² O. Co. MSS., 1 : 85-86.

⁶³ No mention of such traders was encountered in this study. The various memorials sent to the Crown between 1756 and 1775 by the Indian traders, asking restitutions for their losses in the Ohio country from 1749 to 1754, include no Virginia or Maryland traders; had there been many they probably would have pooled their claims in spite of their great rivalry.

⁶⁴ Croghan to ———, July 3, 1749, *Prov. Pap.* 10 : 62.

⁶⁵ *Prov. Pap.*, 10 : 17. Cf. Croghan to B. Gratz, Mar. 15, 1779, McAllister Coll. (Library Co. of Philadelphia).

⁶⁶ Geo. Gibson to Edw. Shippen, Sept. 28, 1748, *Shippen Corresp.* 1 : 75.

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⁶⁷ Original accounts, O. Co. MSS., 1 : 12, 14, and 68; Peters MSS., 3 : 46. Etting Coll., Misc. MSS.; *Votes of the Assembly*, 4 : 524-525.

⁶⁸ Shippen Corresp., 1 : 159; *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 743; O. Co. MSS., 1 : 15.

⁶⁹ Deed Bk., A, 1, p. 19, Reg. of Deeds, Carlisle, Pa. We have a long list of Croghan's creditors in 1754, but whether they had furnished him capital or goods, or both is not evident.

⁷⁰ *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 72, 461.

⁷¹ Gov. Morris to Gov. Hardy, July 5, 1756, *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 689.

⁷² O. Co. MSS., 2 : 114. George Ross, who was later to become chairman of the United Illinois and Wabash Land Co., and Joseph Galloway, later interested in the Indiana Co., served as Croghan's attorneys.

⁷³ O. Co. MSS., 1 : 85-86; cf. *ibid.*, 1 : 7. In a letter to Sir Wm. Johnson, May 15, 1765, Croghan estimates both his own and Trent's losses at between £5000 and £6000, or about half of their government claim.—Johnson MSS. (N. Y. State Library), 1 : 168. This would not affect the relativity of his losses, however. Cf. *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 663; *Gist's Journals*, 192.

⁷⁴ A modern French historian writes of the "fameux traitant George Croghan l'adversaire acharné des Français."—Villiers du Terrage: *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, 87; cf. Moreau: *Mémoire contenant le précis des faits*, etc., App. V, 89ff.

⁷⁵ Vaudreuil to Minister, Apr. 12, 1746, C 13A, 30 : 57, 245, same to same, Apr. 8, 1747, C 13A, 31 : 52-55; instructions to La Galissonière, etc., Feb. 23, 1748, B 87 : 31; C 13A, 36 : 309; La Galissonière and Hocquart to Minister, Oct. 7, 1747, *Wis. Hist. Coll.*, 17 : 470, 503; Beauharnais to Minister, Sept. 22, 1746, *ibid.*, 17 : 450; Celèron's Journal, *ibid.*, 18 : 43, 57; Weiser's Report, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 86.

⁷⁶ *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 630, 749.

⁷⁷ *Gist's Journals*, Nov. 25, 1750, 35.

⁷⁸ Croghan's Journals and Letters in Thwaites, R. G.: *Early Western Travels*, 1 : 82, 107, 142, 150.

⁷⁹ "Journal of the Va. Commissioners," *Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.* 13; 165; this report was made by rivals of Croghan. Thomson states that Croghan, when in council, sometimes claimed he was an Indian:—*Alienation of the Delawares and Shawnees*, 173.

⁸⁰ Croghan's deposition, 1764, Penn. MSS., Wyoming Controversy, 5 : 71; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, 7 : 295.

⁸¹ At times Croghan cared for sick Indians in his home.—*Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 13.

⁸² Byars: *The Fur Trade, the beginning of Transcontinental Highways as Trails followed by Fur Traders*, Gratz Pap., 1st ser. (Mo. Hist. Soc.), 6 : 1-35; cf. *ibid.*, 6 : 44-50.

⁸³ Day, R. E.: *Cal. of Sir Wm. Johnson MSS.*, 193.

⁸⁴ *Ill. Hist. Coll.*, 11 : 316.

⁸⁵ O. Co. MSS., 1 : 5.

⁸⁶ Croghan to Sir Wm. Johnson, May 15, 1765. Johnson MSS., 1 : 168.

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⁸⁷ O. Co. MSS., 1 : 7-8; *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 222; Trent to Gov. Hamilton, Apr. 10, 1753, *Gist's Journals*, 192; *ibid.*, 37; *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 660.

⁸⁸ Letter to Wm. Buchanan, Sept. 2, 1753, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 684.

⁸⁹ *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 5 : 675, 707; *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 689.

⁹⁰ Johnson MSS., 2 : 212.

⁹¹ *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 484.

⁹² *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 452, 454.

⁹³ James Burd to ———, Mar. 11, 1755, *Shippen Corresp.* 1 : 173; Croghan to Gov. Morris, May 20, 1755, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 6 : 399; Weiser to Gov. Hamilton, Sept. 13, 1754, *ibid.*, 149.

⁹⁴ *Votes of Assembly*, 4 : 524; Byars: *B. and M. Gratz*, 31.

⁹⁵ *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 211; *ibid.*, 214.

⁹⁶ *Votes of Assembly*, 4 : 524-527; *Pa. Stat. at Large*, 5 : 212-216; *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 6 : 743-745; Gov. Morris to Gov. Hardy, July 5, 1756, *Pa. Arch.*, 2 : 689; Hockley's amendment is not given. He had made a special agreement with Croghan and Trent.—James Burd to ———, Sept. 25, 1754, *Shippen Corresp.*, 1 : 159; O. Co. MSS., 1 : 15.

⁹⁷ *Acts of the Privy Council, Col. Ser.*, 1745-1766, 341; Board of Trade Pap., Prop., XX, W 14, W 20, W 49; Board of Trade Journal, 68; 189; *Pa. Stat. at Large*, 4 : 576, 577, 582, 584, 585, 592; *Pa. Col. Rec.* 8 : 320. This is a good illustration of the way in which royal disallowance of Pennsylvania laws actually worked.

⁹⁸ O. Co. MSS., 1 : passim, particularly 7, 85, 86.

⁹⁹ O. Co. MSS., 1 : 5-7.

¹⁰⁰ *Acts of the Privy Council, Col. Ser., Unbound Pap.*, 353.

¹⁰¹ Minutes of the Meeting in Philadelphia, Instructions to Croghan and Franks, and the Memorial are found in the Johnson MSS., 24 : 190-191; cf. O. Co. MSS., 1 : 15-16.

¹⁰² The legal papers drawn up in America are found in the O. Co. MSS., 1 : 57-71; Trent to Moses Franks, Jan. 1, 1773, *ibid.*, 97; *Royal Hist. MSS. Com., Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part X, MSS. of the Earl of Dartmouth*, 2 : 74.

¹⁰³ O. Co. MSS., 1 : 53, 57; *Acts of the Privy Council*, June 9, 1769, 2 : 114, p. 44.

¹⁰⁴ Hugh Crawford to Trent, Dec. 10, 1768, O. Co. MSS., 1 : 54.

¹⁰⁵ Peters MSS., 6 : 87; Deed of D. Franks and J. Warder to Croghan and Trent, July 19, 1761, Deed Bk. M, I : 402, Register of Deeds, Huntingdon Co., Pa.; Croghan to J. Warder and D. Franks, Dec. 21, 1768, Gratz Pap. 1st ser., 8 : 105; Croghan to B. Gratz, March 15, 1779, McAllister Coll.

¹⁰⁶ These statements are based on the lack of any evidence in the records examined to show large and consistent trading activities. For the exceptions see, *Pa. Col. Rec.*, 9 : 495; *PA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG.*, 37; 13, 194; O. Co. MSS., 2 : 24; Croghan to M. Gratz, July 29, 1773 and to B. and M. Gratz, Aug. 26, 1772, Simon Gratz Coll. A striking exception is a consignment of furs valued at £1200 sterling and shipped via Detroit and Quebec to London:—Croghan to Richard Neave and Son, June 24, 1767, Dreer Coll.

(To be continued.)

ACCOUNT OF THE JOURNEY OF BR. AND SR. LUDWIG
v. SCHWEINITZ FROM HERRNHUT TO BETH-
LEHEM IN PENNSYLVANIA.

By way of preface it may be stated that Dr. Ludwig was born in Bethlehem in 1780, his father being the financial representative of the Unitas Fratrum there, and the chief Church officer. When the Revolutionary War broke out Hans Christian Alexander von Schweinitz sided with the Colonies, and used his influence in their behalf with his associates of Tory proclivity, so Ludwig was not only born in America,—he was born an American, and as such he ever remained, although when he was eighteen years of age his parents returned to Germany, and he went with them to continue his education. That phrase is used advisedly, for he never “finished his education” as many do, but was a lifelong student, his botanical researches winning for him recognition by and membership in the leading scientific societies in Europe and America.

In 1808 he entered the ministry of the Moravian Church, and soon gave evidence of decided gifts as pastor and preacher, also developing so great executive ability that he was ultimately ordained a Senior Civilis, the last to hold that high office.

Politically speaking, when the spring of 1812 arrived the entire so-called civilized world was in a ferment. Napoleon was master of Europe, and had extended the boundaries of France to include much of Westphalia and Hanover, and even Hamburg and Lübeck beyond the Elbe. He had made and re-made kingdoms and principalities at will, and was planning the invasion of Russia, safe passage for his troops having been guaranteed by beaten, humiliated, and in-

wardly resentful Germany. England was mistress of the seas, and her claimed right to stop and search the vessels of all nations had gained for her their bitter dislike, and had strained relations with America to the breaking point.

The Unity's Elders Conference, that is, the central Board of the Moravian Church, was much concerned for its American churches, especially for those in North Carolina, which seemed destitute of leaders since the passing of Frederick William Marshall, Traugott Bagge, and other strong men of the Revolutionary and immediately post-Revolutionary years. So, despite the uncertainty of the times, or rather despite the certainty of danger, they decided to call Ludwig David von Schweinitz, then stationed at Gnadau, near Magdeburg, to go to Salem as Administrator of the affairs of the Unity in Wachovia. He, fully persuaded that the Lord was calling him to return to his native land, accepted the appointment, married Louisa Amalia LeDoux, purchased the necessary outfit for the long journey, and put himself into the hands of the Conference for further orders. At this point his own account begins.

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“Thou hast set my feet in a large place.”—Ps. 31: 8.

“So I gladly tread the pathway
Leading onward to my home.”

This was the comforting Text for July 5th, the day on which we left Klein Welcke, the last Lusatian Moravian congregation which we would see, and therefore the real beginning of our pilgrimage. And truly it was the Lord himself who called us to this journey in these strange and critical times; and He who stilled the winds and waves in Galilee held His hand over us and shielded us in every danger, and if He tested our faith to the uttermost He never forsook us, but comforted us,

strengthened us, and delivered us, and finally brought us to the land to which we were called.

Although war had not yet been declared between Great Britain and the United States, it was known to be imminent. Moreover, conditions in Europe rendered land travel difficult, while the multitude of privateers that infested the ocean made shipping so unsafe that for a while it looked as though we would have to give up our trip. The Unity's Elders Conference could hear of only one ship intending to sail for America, and there would not be time for us to reach her port of departure; but in the middle of May we heard that her date of sailing had been postponed to June 15th, and at once decided to try to avail ourselves of this opportunity. It was, indeed, our only chance, for as things turned out this ship, the *Minerva Smith*, Captain Mann, was the only one then in European waters to safely reach an American port, all others were either captured or forced to remain in neutral harbors.

Since the *Minerva Smith* was to sail from Keil, in Holstein, on June 15th, there was need of haste, and no time to travel in ordinary stages, so a chaise was bought, so remodeled that we could take all our luggage with us, post horses were engaged, and after a tender parting with kindred and friends we set out from Herrnhut in the early morning of June 4th, spending the first night of our journey with relations in Klein Welcke.

Next day we halted in Dresden to secure the Pass for which I had written to Count Hohenthal. He had obtained it for me, but had sent it to Herrnhut! I was terribly distressed, for it was impossible to secure another, and equally impossible to return to Herrnhut for this one. There was nothing to do but trust in God and risk using my old Pass as Vorsteher of Gnadau, though it was dated some years back and said nothing about our voyage to America. In the event this proved

fortunate, for on account of the Conscription Act we would not have been allowed to pass through French territory had it been known that we intended to go to the United States,—and so from the beginning God provided for us.

Leaving Dresden in the evening we traveled a night and a day, pausing only for a few hours at Leipsig; then on again for another night and half a day until we reached Gnadau, where we permitted ourselves one day of rest with friends. Two more days and nights of steady driving brought us nearly to Lüneburg, and to the first French Customs-house and the first examination of our luggage. The Customs Officer was polite, and consented to seal our bags and boxes, to spare us nine more examinations ahead; and in Lüneburg no objection was made about the use of my old Pass, the old signature of the French Governor of Magdeburg being evidently still sufficient.

We anticipated more trouble in Hamburg, and, indeed, had an anxious day there. Having spent the night at an uncomfortable little Inn outside the walls, we entered the city early in the morning. Police headquarters was not yet open, so after resting a bit at a hotel we went back, and were politely escorted into a large room, where some forty other people were waiting, apparently on the same errand. The Secretary soon turned to me, examined my Pass, looked at me sharply, and informed me curtly that it was of no account. I replied that I had already traveled a long way on it, and that I must go on to Altona at once,—and without another word he certified it for that distance, a remarkable evidence of Divine help, for the matter frequently takes two or three days, and for us it had meant only a few minutes.

As we entered the city the Custom Officer, while he did not detain us, cut all the seals off our luggage, and we expected all kinds of trouble when we left, for the

inspection was very strict, and many people were being searched even to their pockets. I trembled for my books, for it was against French law to permit any books to be taken from the country, or even across French territory without special permission; but to our surprise the Officer listened courteously to my story of our experience at the other gate and the removal of the seals, and we were passed with only a formal look at one roll of bedding.

In Altona we were kindly received by Br. and Sr. Staehlin, and hearing from them that we must hurry on to Kiel I at once returned to Hamburg to secure the signature of the Danish Consul General to my Pass. He objected to its date, but I persuaded him to sign it, and with this endorsement applied next day to the President of Altona for a Pass to America. Imagine my sensations when he told me he had positive orders not to issue any pass which would enable any person to leave Europe! Finally he admitted that he was not sure that the same prohibition was in force in Kiel, and suggested that he give a pass to that port, with a letter of recommendation to the Officer there, which we thankfully accepted.

After an annoying delay at Langenfeld,—where we were subjected to a thorough Customs inspection and some wool we had bought in Altona was confiscated for lack of a certificate,—we reached Kiel a little before midnight, and it was not until the next morning, June 15th, that we learned that our ship was still in port, and that it was still possible for us to secure permission to sail in her. It was a great relief, for it had seemed most probable that our long, hard, hurried trip across the country would be in vain. A young Brother, Koehler, had decided to go to America with us, and we three now bought the provisions needed for our trip, and made all other preparations for the voyage.

Capt. Mann was most polite, and invited us to come

aboard the *Minerva* and see how we would be lodged, and we found it a pretty, well-arranged vessel, in which we ought to be quite comfortable. Besides Br. Koehler, my wife and myself, the cabin passengers consisted of a French gentleman, his wife and six-year-old son, and sister-in-law, a New York merchant and his son, and a young merchant from Hanover. In the steerage were a considerable number of glass-blowers with their wives and children,—the number of the latter was increased by one during the voyage! There were also Capt. John Ashley and his mate, Americans, who had lost their ships to a privateer, and were now returning to America. All proved to be pleasant-fellow-travelers, especially Capt. Mann and Capt. Ashley.

There was, however, a vexatious delay before the voyage began. Day by day we expected to sail, hour by hour we needed to hold ourselves in readiness for the signal, but time dragged on and we were still in port. Two years earlier the *Minerva Smith* had been seized by a Danish privateer, and taken as a prize into the harbor of Kiel. After a long law-suit Capt. Mann had regained possession of his vessel, but the other party continued by all sorts of chicanery to try to re-open the case. When we had waited two weeks it really was referred once more to a Commission, and had an adverse judgment been rendered all hope of our sailing would have ended, but within three days the former ruling was re-affirmed, and we were free to proceed.

The delay, trying and expensive as it was for us, had at least a few redeeming features. In the first place Sedin Lorenze, a brother of the widow Drudea Hübner, treated us with the utmost kindness. Then by accident we had an opportunity to make acquaintances among the Professors of the University, who had many questions to ask about the Unity of Brethren, and expressed much surprise that we should undertake

such a voyage at such a time. In the third place we were still in Kiel when a letter came from the Unity's Elders Conference, bringing word of the death of Bishop Herbst at Salem, and the information that he would be succeeded by Br. Jacob Van Vleck, a matter of much interest to us since we were bound for Wachovia. And finally, and most important of all, the delay delivered us from an apparently unescapable danger. The privateers in these waters have an unpleasant habit of running into a harbor, deliberately selecting a victim, watching until it lifts anchor, then spreading their own sails, and running out at the same time they attack their prey as soon as it reaches the open sea. While we lay at Kiel two French privateers came in, and openly declared that they intended to capture the *Minerva Smith*. Our Captain thought that our only possible chance would be to sail in a gale, when they would be unable to board us, but in the Belt this would be extremely dangerous. But our seeming annoyance was our escape, for while we were kept at Kiel the one privateer ran out of money and had to leave. The other still watched us, and was ready to go out with us, but the night before we were to sail some of the privateersmen were on shore, got into a fight with several American sailors belonging to another ship, one man was badly hurt, and the police put them all under arrest and forbade the privateer to leave the harbor!

Unhindered and unaccompanied therefore, about noon on July 2nd, the *Minerva Smith* weighed anchor and sailed briskly down the harbor. As we neared the fort that guards the entrance there came a sudden summons to halt! The ship nearly grounded as we obeyed and we had to anchor while a messenger went ashore and hurried over the eight miles to the city to find out what it meant. It proved to be all a mistake, and we again set sail, after having lost several hours of a good breeze.

Next morning found us in the Great Belt, beyond Nyborg, but a calm was followed by a head wind against which we could make no progress. This put us again in danger, for report said the Belt swarmed with privateers, like those which had threatened us at Kiel. There was a chance that they might fear to attack us, for the *Minerva* had the lines of a man-of-war, with places for cannon,—though we had none,—but our appearance caught the attention of the Danish gun-boats at Kalundborg, and fifteen of them came out to investigate us. Finding us unarmed, the officers came on board to talk, and told us there were a number of privateers in Kalundborg harbor, who would doubtless be after us as soon as they found out that we had no guns.

What to do was the question. The officers suggested that we come into the harbor where they could protect us, but if we did that it would be the Kiel story over again, with less chance of escape. The only other alternative was to try to reach the shore battery at Refnaes, at the point of Zealand, but it was twenty-four hours before we could lift anchor and make the attempt, and even then the wind was unfavorable. We were drawing near the point when two French privateers, under full sail, stood out from Kalundborg harbor, and tried to run between us and the shore. At the same moment a Danish gun-boat hastened toward us, meaning to send an officer aboard us to *visée* our papers, so that if we were captured we could probably ultimately regain possession of the ship, even though it would take a long time. But we beat the privateers to gun-shot range, despite their boasting at Kalundborg that the American boat was to be their prize! Full of chagrin, they ran under our bowsprit and anchored a short distance off shore, vowing to have us yet; and for two days we lay and watched each other, we under the additional protection of a gun-boat, kindly detailed by the battery to guard our cable, for we feared they would attempt

to cut it on the sly, hoping we would drift into their power. There seemed no safe way out, and our captain threatened, if the wind grew strong enough, to run straight at them, try to force one aground, and repel boarders from the other by arming his men with handspikes, but it was a desperate expedient, likely to fail, and thereby involve us in much worse trouble, so we were glad that the wind remained light.

Finally the telegraph on the fort signaled the approach of 150 English ships, convoyed by a number of men-of-war. We knew this would break the deadlock, and drive off the privateers, but it was doubtful whether it improved our position, for if we joined the English fleet it was uncertain how they would treat us, and if we stayed where we were and the English attempted to search us the Danes would resent it and we would be between two fires. So night fell and we lay down to rest, anxious, but trusting in the Lord, who was still mighty to save.

July 8th dawned, with a strong north wind, and much uncertainty as to our fate. About eight o'clock the first English man-of-war came in sight, and at the same moment a Danish officer stepped on our deck, bringing peremptory orders that we must at once either run into Kalundborg harbor or go out to join the English, for if the English came in to us the battery would certainly fire. It was a difficult situation, but Capt. Mann decided to risk the fleet rather than the harbor. Scarcely, however, had the anchor cleared the bottom when the ship drove so rapidly towards the rocks that the sailors' utmost speed in dropping it again scarcely availed to stop us a cable's length from destruction. It required the second anchor also to hold us, and there we lay, unable to move, and only eight or nine hundred yards from the fort, directly in line from the guns!

By this time the whole fleet was in sight, making a truly majestic appearance as it came. When the first

vessels were opposite us there was a signal shot from the Flag Ship, and a brig swung out of line and came toward us. It stopped just out of range and lowered a small boat, which headed straight for us. Immediately the entire garrison of the fort sprang to the walls, the Danish flag was flung to the breeze, and the first 48 lb. cannon ball whizzed over our heads, seeking the boat. It is impossible to describe the terror on our ship. All fled hither and thither, but each place seemed more dangerous than the last. My wife and I took refuge behind the main-mast, in the steerage, but were warned of the danger from splinters if the mast were struck, so we moved to the cabin gang-way, joining the other cabin passengers, and the women from the steerage.

Each succeeding ball was more terrifyingly near us, and at each shot we expected the ship to be struck, for the English boatmen were making desperate efforts to reach us, and we knew that if they appeared on our deck the guns would be trained directly on us. Amid these wild alarms we raised our eyes to the Saviour, and with childlike submission committed our lives to Him, and He gave to us that inexpressible peace that can only come to them that trust Him. Nor did He put our faith to shame, for He sustained our sinking hearts, and when the boat was within five hundred feet of us a second signal from the Admiral recalled it to the fleet, while we remained unsearched, untouched. The greater the danger, the greater the gratitude of our hearts for this deliverance!

Though the wind gradually failed, and it took hours for the fleet to pass, we were not again molested, and the privateers did not return, for that night and all next day the English lay at anchor within sight, becalmed.

Early on the 10th there was a little breeze, and under cover of a thick fog we stole out by the fort, and

during the day safely reached the Cattegat. There we struck contrary storm winds, and rough seas, so that we several times narrowly missed running aground, and nearly everybody on board was seasick. My wife had a bad attack, which returned with every storm, while I entirely escaped the infliction.

Capt. Mann wished to make the point of Jutland to land the pilot brought from Kiel, but contrary winds forbade, and he finally followed the advice of the Captain of an English cruiser, and made for the coast of Sweden. The cruiser had stopped us to scrutinize our papers, but the officers were polite, and warned us of the whereabouts of the French privateers with whom they had fought the preceding day.

We reached the Swedish coast early in the morning of July 14th, thanks to Almighty God, whose guiding hand kept us off the reefs during the night, when wind and tide carried us into dangers of which we knew nothing until they were passed. At daybreak we found ourselves near the entrance to Gothenberg harbor, and as a severe storm threatened the captain decided to run in, rather than risk it on this rocky coast. Before we could anchor we had to submit to the usual visitation from the English, whose men-of-war, under Admiral Saumarez, held the outer harbor, but they treated us well, and made no trouble.

During the days that we were detained here by head winds I had the opportunity to pay two visits to the Moravians in the city of Gothenberg, and proved anew the bond of fellowship which secures a warm welcome for a Brother, even when there has been no previous personal acquaintance. The first time, having no knowledge of the language, I found my way by showing Br. Stare's written address; the second time I took my wife with me, and she also enjoyed the kindly hospitality of the Stare home.

But political news caused much apprehension among

the many Americans anchored in Gothenberg roadstead. We had hoped that the reversal of the English Orders in Council would avert a crisis between that country and the United States, but Admiral Saumarez had newspapers from America of date as late as June 12th, and in them everything pointed to an early outbreak of hostilities. If we could not clear European waters before the actual declaration of war reached the numerous English cruisers plying the North Sea we would assuredly be captured; and if we evaded these we would still have to face the cruisers off the American coast. Under these circumstances Capt. Mann seriously considered giving up the voyage; and I lay awake an entire night trying to decide what we ought to do. On the one hand was the danger of capture, of being treated as a prisoner of war, and the discomfort and expense should we be taken to a strange port,—Halifax in Nova Scotia, for instance,—and from this standpoint it seemed wisest to at least wait for advice from the Unity's Elders Conference. On the other hand, was my own desire to go, and a feeling that we should venture it in the name of the Lord, who had assured us that whatever happened came from His hand, and that whatever the trials we could endure them in the strength He would give. So we decided to follow the fortunes of the ship, and if Capt. Mann dared to sail we would not remain behind.

Early on July 20th a good wind rose, and several American captains gathered in the *Minerva Smith* for a final conference. A packet-boat from London had arrived during the night, and no one knew what word she had brought the English in the outer roads, and no one wanted to be the first to sail and face capture! However, they decided to venture, and at ten o'clock we weighed anchor, praying earnestly that it need not be let fall again until we were safe in a home harbor,—and unlikely as it then seemed this prayer was granted.

The English stopped us, as usual, but did not hold us, and by noon we were out of sight of the Swedish coast. Soon, however, the wind changed, and for five days we were in the Skager Rack, and thrice had to furl all sail, and, driven by the storm, were more than once in great danger of shipwreck on the fearful rocks of Norway.

Most of the ships that came out with us turned back to Gothenberg, but our captain could not make up his mind to this, and finally with a favorable wind we reached the North Sea, crossed it, passed between Scotland and the Orkney Islands, and at least reached the Atlantic, having been twice stopped by English cruisers, but not otherwise molested. Aug. 2nd, the Scottish coast faded from view, and we sped swiftly westward, thankful even for the storm which tossed us about but hurried us on.

Aug. 8th found us in the midst of a thick fog, and when it lifted we were terrified to see that we were in the heart of an English fleet, returning from the West Indies! A shot from a man-of-war stopped us, and while we soon felt sure they had no later news than we they ordered us to turn and accompany them back to England, keeping on the lee side of the vessel that had captured us. Probably the large number we had on board, and the rough sea, prevented their sending a prize crew on board, and their failure to do this favored Capt. Mann's resolve to escape. He had soon discovered that we could outsail the man-of-war, and when a heavy rain increased the darkness of night he ordered all lights put out and slipped away, risking collision with other vessels of the fleet, and shots if we were discovered.

The danger was great, and from the bottom of our hearts we cried to Him who alone was able to save, taking no little comfort in the beautiful text we had drawn that morning:—"Thou art my hiding place; thou wilt

preserve me from trouble; Thou wilt compass me about with songs of deliverance." Ps. 32: 7. And here let me testify to the unspeakable comfort that in every trial that came to us from the precious collection of texts. Truly only he who has known danger and distress can hear God's voice speaking such a word to his heart and can grasp the comfort that therein lies. It behooved us therefore, in this our need, not to lose faith; and when morning dawned the fleet was nowhere to be seen, and songs of deliverance verily could and did arise from our thankful hearts.

During the next week we made good progress, in spite of several severe storms, and drew near the Banks of Newfoundland. I enjoyed a number of talks with Capt. Ashley, a Methodist, and found him a most likable man and true Child of God, in whose presence even the rough men in the steerage checked their evil speech. He expressed much pleasure in our acquaintance, and in learning that in Germany there were whole congregations of Christians, and many scattered adherents of the Faith, for he had thought that in that land religion was almost entirely lost.

Sunday, Aug. 16th, we had another severe test. Soon after noon the lookout reported a sail, and soon a man-of-war, flying the British flag, and showing sixteen cannon, overhauled us, and with a warning shot commanded us to stop. After the usual questions, "Whence" and "Whither," came the terrifying order to strike our flag and surrender, and we knew that war had verily come and we were taken. Deep sorrow spread over our ship! Presently an officer, with armed men, came aboard, directed our sailors to prepare for transfer to the man-of-war, and informed us that on June 18th Congress had declared war on England, that we were prisoners, and that we would be taken to Bermuda. Bad as this fate was, on account of the poverty and climate of that island, and the small chance of getting away, it was not

the worst that might have happened, for our cargo was of small value,—two-thirds ballast,—and in such cases it was customary on both sides to burn the ship, so preventing a possible re-capture. Had that been done we would have lost many of our effects, and would have had many discomforts to endure on the man-of-war, and probably danger in later engagements.

The officer ordered Captain Mann to take his papers to the man-of-war, himself remaining with us. And then, as the Captain disappeared over the side of the other ship, the officer turned to us, and into our hopelessness poured the astonishing information that the war news was true, but that we were not prisoners, for our captor was an American privateer, *Yankee*, Captain Wilson, who had hoisted the British flag as a ruse to induce our Captain to produce his English license, if he had one! Presently the American flag was really run up on the privateer, our Captain returned much relieved, and we were once more, and most unexpectedly, free.

Not free of anxiety, however, for the officer told us of the many English cruisers lying in wait off the American coast, and it hardly seemed possible that we could evade them all. He strongly advised against trying for Philadelphia, which was blockaded, and suggested that instead of following the usual course from the Banks we keep in the Gulf Stream, risking its storms because ships generally avoided it on account of its bad weather and eastward drift, and that when we were opposite the Coast of the United States we should try to run into the first open port for which the wind served. As between storms and English cruisers Capt. Mann preferred the former, and decided to follow the officer's advice.

The *Yankee* was also homeward bound, and remained within sight for two days, and we hoped this would afford us some protection, but on the 18th she spread

all sail and ran before the wind, apparently in flight. We believed this meant the presence of enemy craft, and followed her example, crowding on all sail, the wind, fortunately, being almost in the right direction. When the fog lifted, the lookout, through the spyglass, was able to discern five vessels, which immediately gave us chase. We were sailing with unusual rapidity, fourteen and four-fifths English miles an hour, and at first hoped to distance them, but they gained on us, and when we saw they were three large frigates and two smaller men-of-war we gave up all hope of keeping ahead until night might give us a better chance of escape. No one doubted that they were English, for they were too far from land, and coming from the wrong direction to be American. Therefore all prepared for capture, putting on their best clothes, and placing their valuables within easy reach. We did the same, packing our most necessary articles in such fashion that we could take them with us, and then patiently awaited the outcome.

About five o'clock the two foremost frigates were near enough to fire the signal that stopped us. They had been sailing directly behind us and the wind was blowing their flags so that we could not see them, but now as they came abreast we saw the American flag. A shout of joy rang over the ship! Very soon a lieutenant came aboard, bringing the information that they were returning from a fruitless chase after the English West Indian fleet, and that they were under the command of Commodore Rogers. Captain Mann was bidden to come to the nearest frigate, and presently returned, having promised them some fresh meat for their sick, which they very much needed. We sailed before dark, full of praise and thanksgiving to God who had again tested our faith, but had allowed no harm to befall us.

Next day we entered the Gulf Stream, the well-known

current that starts in the Gulf of Mexico and sweeps diagonally across the Atlantic, retarding the progress of west-bound vessels two to four miles an hour. Sudden, severe, storms endanger ships in its track, as we learned to our sorrow, for often sails must be furled four or five times in one night, until the sailors were quite worn out by the constant work and dampness, for each squall was accompanied by heavy rain. Between squalls there was almost no wind, though the sea remained uncomfortably rough; and, worst of all, we made very little progress.

After five days of this a favorable wind arose, and there never was a more beautiful morning than Aug. 26th, though the heat was rather trying after the long-continued cold. During the morning I had a talk with Capt. Ashley, and, oddly enough, the conversation turned on the joy of a Christian in sudden death. He said, it worried him to know that he did not desire a sudden summons from the world,—though his profession made its occurrence likely enough,—for he had often heard it said that a Christian should welcome death. I replied that I also had no wish to leave a world to which I was bound by so many ties of love, and that I thought a desire for death was unnatural and contrary to the intent of God, who had planted in each heart the love of life. I added that I fully believed that when God called me, when the last inevitable battle of nature with death had been fought, I could exchange the mortal for an eternal life with submission, even with joy, assured of salvation through Jesus Christ, and that to me this seemed sufficient, and with it I was quite content. He said my point of view comforted him greatly; and I little knew how soon my faith would be put to the test,—thanks be to God for the sustaining grace vouchsafed to my wife and me when the hour came!

Already before noon the aspect of the heavens had

changed. Black clouds rested heavily on the southern horizon, and all signs foretold an unusually severe storm. All possible preparation was made to meet it, port-holes and hatches were closed and fastened, the upper yards were lowered, and toward evening all sails were furled.

Soon after eight o'clock a hurricane broke loose, far more terrible than we dreamed an ocean storm could be, in spite of all those we had already experienced. Winds howled, the roaring waves ran mountain high, and even the sailors declared it the worst they had ever seen. Terrible thunder rolled, frightful flashes of lightning gleamed over the raging billows, heavy hail almost forced the seamen from their work. Waves poured over the deck, threatening to sweep everything away. The ship would no longer keep her head to the wind, but lay in the trough of the waves, so perilous a position that Capt. Mann, with the approval of Capt. Ashley, decided to put her before the wind and let her drive, though this greatly increased the danger of running aground or of capsizing.

In anticipation of the latter catastrophe axes were sought, but only two could be found, and they without handles, which had to be hurriedly made in the cabin.

Meanwhile the ship tore through the water with incredible velocity, with the two most skillful helmsmen lashed at the wheel. For a while the ship was able to ride the onrushing waves, but their fury increased, and finally she struck one just wrong, buried herself in water from bow to main-mast, while the rudder was in the air, and of course all control of her was lost.

Our own condition, meanwhile, needs not be described! All passengers were gathered in the cabins, and a solemn stillness reigned, except when one or another gave expression to trust in God and submission to His will. About ten o'clock I got up, meaning to take a flask of rum to the exhausted sailors, when sud-

denly there was a terrific shock which threw me to the floor. All stared in consternation, wondering what had happened. The side of the ship, against which Br. Koehler, my wife and I had been leaning, was now the bottom, and the bottom had become one of the sides of the cabin, and we realized that the ship had capsized, and so far as man could see the solemn hour of our end had come.

On deck the terrible blast of wind had carried away the three top-gallant masts, and also the small boat which, securely fastened, usually trailed astern. A cry was raised for axes to cut away the masts, as our only possible chance; while the man at the wheel left his post and joined the other frightened men.

The first moment of terror, and thought of parting which we believed to be imminent, overwhelmed my wife and me; then suddenly the peace of God came upon us, and bright glimpses of the future outweighed our fears. Our companion, Br. Koehler, felt the same, and we agreed to commit ourselves to the Lord, and to pray for an indication of His will, and for strengthening of our souls, through the Text we should now draw. Who can describe how we felt when we read the Text for Oct. 16th:—"Is my hand shortened at all, that it cannot redeem? or have I no power to deliver?" Is. 50: 2, with the verse—

"Help surely will be given,
That with joy we may declare
All the names our Jesus bears
For us are truly proven."

Had an angel from heaven spoken this it could not have been more convincingly the word of God, spoken for such a time as this, and from that moment on we felt so sure of our deliverance that it was necessary to remind ourselves that it might not be an earthly deliverance with God was promising. The remaining twenty minutes of our utmost danger we spent in affectionate

converse, and in a continuing sense of the peace of God; though we knew that the next great wave might sink us, and lying on her side, as the ship did, with her keel on the surface of the sea, water was coming in at every crack.

Meanwhile Capt. Mann was trying to persuade the sailors to cut the masts at the first joint, not at the deck, but no one dared go up for fear of being carried overboard when the mast fell. Then Capt. Ashley, who had been calm and brave throughout, volunteered his services, climbed the foremast, and presently we heard the tremendous splash with which it fell into the sea, taking the bowsprit with it. Then bravely he climbed the main-mast, and under his blows it too parted and went over, with all its ropes and sails.

Next minute a great wave swept the deck, and Capt. Ashley expected to see every man washed away; while into the cabin a stream of water rushed through a broken port-hole as though from a fire-hose. But when it passed the ship lay as before, and Capt. Ashley climbed the mizzen-mast, to cut that also. Before he was ready to strike a third shock of wind and wave struck the ship, the mizzen-mast snapped in two,—and instantly the ship righted herself and floated on even keel!

Now the masts and sails, held to the ship by the ropes, struck against her sides, and the sailors clamored to have all ropes cut. Capt. Mann implored them to ascertain first how great the danger really was, since it was most important for the further voyage to save the ropes, sails and spars. Flashes of lightning still lit up the scene, and all wondered to see that the masts lay parallel with the ship, and therefore could safely be drawn closer and made fast, which was done at once with much effort. Before midnight the Captain came to the cabin, told us the hurricane was over, and bade us thank God for our deliverance, which we gladly did.

Then the pumps were tried, and proved that the hull had suffered no harm. The poor, wornout sailors were next to be considered, and were in turn called to the cabin for such refreshments as we could give them. It was marvelous that not one had been injured or lost!

By 3 A. M. order was so far restored that we could go to bed, but I could not resist the temptation to go on deck once more. It was a strange sight, for in the clear moonlight which now prevailed our ship showed as a wreck, with the mass of sails and spars floating about her on the waves, which still ran mountain high. There was small hope of sleep, for without her masts the ship rolled and pitched more than ever, and we rejoiced when morning brought fair weather, and the sea grew quiet.

During the day all were busy saving the spars, sails and cordage, a difficult task, for the ropes were in the greatest confusion. The fore-mast had passed under the ship from bow to stern, and the main-mast exactly the reverse! Capt. Ashley's mate was particularly helpful, swimming about to cut the knots with his hatchet. By evening all had been secured, and a sail rigged on the fore-mast.

One serious feature of the storm was that we had quite lost our bearings; but on the 28th we had another evidence of God's care, for a large frigate, this time really British, came to within three miles of us, then turned and sailed away, evidently thinking us a wreck and having no desire to aid us.

Thanks to the fact that uncut mast timber was part of our cargo, we were able to reset the masts, and stretch practically all the sails that had been saved, and by Sept. 1st were ready to try to reach the American coast, and decided to steer toward Nantucket Shoals, hoping to make either Boston or Newport.

At 4 A. M., Sept. 6th, the lead showed that we were drawing near shore. There was a favorable wind, and

a thick fog, which protected us from being seen, for which we were the more thankful because the preceding evening reports of cannon had been heard, indicating the nearness of war-ships.

Early on the 7th,—our Festal Day,—we approached land, and when the fog lifted saw Block Island, opposite Newport. The favorable wind continued, no enemy appeared, and by noon we had taken on board an American pilot, who told us that the British blockade fleet had sailed three days before! Our hearts were the more rejoiced because we had been anxious so long, and we will never forget the blessedness and wonder of that day.

Now the wind changed, so that we decided to make straight for New York, up Long Island Sound, and could have reached the harbor that night, but the pilot did not want to go through the whirlpool at Hurl Gate (commonly called Hell Gate) in the dark.

Next morning the further way to New York was like a pleasure trip, with beautiful gardens along the shores; and about 11 A. M., Sept. 8th, we came to anchor. I rejoiced to be once more in my native land, and at once notified friends of our arrival, and that afternoon my wife and I were kindly received into their home. After a week's detention while our luggage was passing through the Custom House we took the post-stage for Bethlehem; and after a pleasant stay there and at Nazareth set out for Carolina.

I might add that a few days after we landed in New York the newspapers reported that the British blockade fleet had returned to Block Island, and the ports there were again closed!

(Translated from the Moravian Church Archives by Miss Adelaide L. Fries)

J. GRANVILLE LEACH.

BY NORRIS S. BARRATT.

Col. Josiah Granville Leach, a well-known member of the senior Bar of Philadelphia, passed away quietly at his residence, No. 2218 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, May 27, 1922, where he had resided for half a century. He was born at Cape May Court House, New Jersey, July 27, 1842, and was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar March 17, 1866. D. Newlin Fell, lately Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, who was loved and respected by the whole Bar of Pennsylvania, was admitted to practice on the same day, St. Patrick's Day.

I have been asked to write a few words in the way of a memorial of Colonel Leach, and while it had to be done in the midst of the pressure of many judicial duties, including jury trials, such as it is, with all its imperfections, I submit to the friendly and indulgent criticism of my professional brethren; regarding it as a duty just as one would reverently place a flower upon a friend's grave.

Nearly forty years ago Colonel Leach and I formed a close personal relationship which strengthened with the fleeting years, and, due largely to the many similar views of colonial history which we shared in common, I am proud to say that that relationship was maintained to my profound satisfaction in the most cordial manner up until his death. Knowing the man, his aspirations, his worth, integrity and purity of character, and his efficient lifework within the lines selected by himself, I am aware that much of his success was achieved under unusual difficulties, disappointments and obstacles which he surmounted. He excited my genuine sympathy and admiration, especially so during the last five years of his life, when his physical strength

was failing and he was no longer able to do the same work, day in and day out, as formerly, exemplifying the adage that the Old Guard dies but does not surrender. You did not accord him honor as a tribute when you realized what he had to contend with physically as he compelled it. It will be remembered that at the time of his admission to the Bar the Civil War had just closed, and that both himself and Mr. Justice Fell had served in the United States Army; Colonel Leach as Sergeant, 25th New Jersey Infantry. At the Philadelphia Bar he was not known as a trial lawyer. The forum did not appeal to him. He devoted himself to Orphans' Court work, conveyancing, drawing wills and managing estates, which is now done almost exclusively by title and trust companies. In those days, before the advent of title and trust companies, all deeds and wills were drawn and briefs of title prepared and opinions thereon given by lawyers as to its marketability. Today one simply gets a title policy. I recall my surprise in my early days at the Bar, nearly forty years ago, when no less an authority than Mr. Richard C. McMurtrie declined to accept a policy of title insurance in a matter in which I was counsel, and told me to give him a brief of title and searches showing a clear title to the property, so that he himself could decide whether his client was obtaining a title, and he added: "And you want me to accept a deed and pass a title upon the mere say so of a corporation title company which may be correct or not!" This is only interesting now as a matter of history, showing the antagonistic attitude of the older members of the Bar toward title companies in their incipiency. Now title insurance is the accepted method of the transfer of real estate and many other legal matters also which the old lawyers of Philadelphia like Joseph B. Townsend, Eli K. Price, George W. Biddle, William Henry Rawle, John Cadwalader, John Samuel and many other law-

yers of high standing regarded as a commercial invasion of the practice of the law and not to be encouraged. Most of their fears have not materialized, although some have, and while some title companies have failed, as they predicted, all that the owners of real estate had to guarantee their title was a policy of a bankrupt title company, as once happened before me in court. Colonel Leach was not enthusiastic about title companies, as he was of the old school, but he lived to see them eminently successful and doing properly the work formerly done by lawyers, and to the satisfaction of those who employed them. He never undertook any criminal work. It was distasteful to him, and I imagine if he had gone into the criminal court he would have felt so strangely that he would almost have asked to be introduced. I recollect his having so stated to me when I was one of the Assistant District Attorneys of this county over twenty years ago. Among the things not generally known of him were his many ready kindnesses to his clients, both rich and poor; like the general practitioner in medicine, he was the family lawyer. The courtesies may have differed in kind, but the result was ever the same. It can be said of few attorneys in active practice, as can be said of Colonel Leach, except perhaps Mr. Cadwalader, unless we remember the Binneys, the Tilghmans, the Rawles, the Sergeants, Ingersolls and Gerhards in their time, that they have rendered legal services to five generations of one family, settling the estates of generation after generation, and investing the proceeds of the estates of those who followed, remaining meanwhile the friend, advisor and counselor of all. It seems, in relating this incident, like taking a page from an old English family history rather than the recital of a fact about the practice of a Philadelphia lawyer of our day; but it illustrates the changes that have taken place, and it shows the man, simple and direct of manner, positive in his

viewpoint, faithful to his ideals, partisan perhaps at times, and uncompromising in his attitude towards matters which seemed to him of principle and fundamental.

He was the Honorary President of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution, of which I have the honor to be a Vice-President with Rt. Rev. James H. Darlington, D.D., Hon. Charlemagne Tower, General Asher Miner, U. S. A., and Edward S. Sayres.

Colonel Leach was Chairman of the Membership Committee from the organization of the Society in April, 1888, until April 4, 1921, as well as a member of the Board of Managers, and he passed upon over 4000 applications, original and supplemental, which bear his signature, and during this whole period of thirty-four years he never missed a meeting until April 4th of last year, a rather remarkable record and much to his credit and honor.

His charity was of such a generous character that one might venture to say it was disproportioned to his income, and, in addition, in many legal matters, if his clients were poor, he charged them little, if anything. If he loomed large in the hearts of many grateful clients, it may be said of him, as Senator Dolliver once said of Lincoln, speaking materially, "A man who habitually gives his advice away for nothing, has not the foresight to ask for a retainer, nor the energy to collect a fee after he has earned it, no matter what other gifts and graces he may have, is not fitted by nature or cut out for a lawyer." An altruist has little regard for money, but such conduct redounds greatly to his honor in life and when he is no more.

I should say two of the facts I have admired in him were his conservative ideas as to the making of money, and his devotion to his friends in life, and their memory after they have passed into the beyond.

Colonel Leach's great care and accuracy in historical

matters tempt me to relate a personal incident which illustrates it. He seemed to have always a record, will or deed for his historical statements, as lawyers say it, he was always ready to prove them beyond a reasonable doubt. Some ten years ago I was asked by a mutual friend, Dr. T. Hewson Bradford, to address the Society of Colonial Wars of Pennsylvania upon the subject of "Colonial Judges and Lawyers," and I said I would do it. After three months had gone by, during which time I had, with the aid of Dr. J. F. Sachse and Colonel Leach, been gathering material for it, Dr. Bradford called upon me and said: "I find our annual meeting is our twentieth anniversary. Would it make any difference to you if you should change your address from "Colonial Judges and Lawyers" to the "Colonial Wars in America?" I replied, "Not at all, Doctor; I do not know anything much about either subject, and I can talk equally well about one as the other."

After my Colonial Wars address was prepared, I sent a copy of it to Colonel Leach, and he, with his great caution, suggested that I add a few words that it was not to be considered a history in detail of Colonial Wars of America, but rather a brief *résumé* of the same. The Society of Colonial Wars did me the honor of printing this address, and a copy of it can be found in the library of the Law Association.

Pennsylvania owes a debt of gratitude to Colonel Leach for preserving many notable incidents of her history, and to a small group consisting of Dr. Charles I. Stille, Dr. Frederick D. Stone, Charles R. Hildeburn, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Dr. Gregory B. Keen, Brinton Coxe, John Samuel, Charles Henry Jones, Joseph Ingersoll Doran, Edward S. Sayres, John F. Lewis, Dr. John Woolf Jordan, S. Davis Page and Hampton L. Carson, their literary labors, evidenced by books and printed papers in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, are of great interest

and of the highest value to the critical student and investigator of American history who may have occasion to consult them, because their strongest point is their accuracy. Like President Roosevelt, Colonel Leach held the thought that the most uncomfortable truth, in the long run, is a safer companion than the pleasantest falsehood.

One is almost tempted to say that the men whom I have thus hastily named from memory, with Colonel Leach, were in fact The Historical Society of Pennsylvania itself. They were the master workmen who built the foundations upon which it rests so securely to-day, and it will forever remain as their monument.

Governor Pennypacker records in his Autobiography his meeting with Colonel Leach in 1865, when he was reading law in the office of Byron Woodward. The Governor adds: "Leach introduced me into the Law Academy, and at his suggestion, while yet a student in 1865, was elected its assistant secretary. I, therefore, owe to Leach my first professional recognition."

Colonel Leach had great regard for my predecessor, Judge Sharswood, President Judge of the District Court, noted for his learning, dignity and impartiality, whose portrait hangs in my court room, who taught him law at the University of Pennsylvania, and he always mentioned him with love and profound respect. Sharswood had one of those kindly dispositions which made everybody fond of him, and Pennypacker, who also was one of his scholars, tells us: "With young men he was ever gentle, and late in life he afforded the pathetic spectacle of a father watching through the night for the incoming of an only son whose wildness and waywardness he ever condoned. He had no presence, no voice and a troubled utterance; he suffered much from a physical cause, and, in the trial of cases, paced slowly up and down behind the bench. Later he became Chief Justice of the Commonwealth, and after a career of

great distinction, died universally esteemed and leaving his edition of Blackstone for the instruction of the profession." The lectures he delivered in a building on the west side of Ninth Street, north of Chestnut Street, and it was here Colonel Leach graduated as a Bachelor of Law, and he was given the diploma in 1866.

Muddy thinking and inaccurate writing, especially exploiting that as history which never happened, annoyed him. Sir Boyle Roche's *Humor* did not amuse him as it did the writer. I once used one of Roche's Jokes to emphasize a point I was trying to make. During the troublous times in which Roche lived, life and property were deemed insecure. He wrote to a friend: "You may judge of our state when I tell you that I write this with a pistol in each hand and a sword in the other." Colonel Leach used his blue pencil (and it was unused by me), and I gladly accepted his judgment.

The American branch of the Leach family was founded in Massachusetts, in 1629, by Lawrence Leach. In 1676 the Colonial Government appointed William Manning, another of Mr. Leach's ancestors, to obtain funds for the erection of the first hall of Harvard College.

Colonel Leach received his preliminary education under private tutors and in private schools in Philadelphia. For several years prior to 1863 he was engaged in newspaper work, but in that year he entered the Union Army as sergeant in the 25th New Jersey Volunteers.

He devoted much time to organizing soldiers' aid societies to provide clothing and hospital stores for the sick and wounded. For gallant conduct at the Battle of Fredericksburg he was promoted to sergeant-major, and then to second lieutenant. In 1887 he was commissioned Commissary General of the National Guard of Pennsylvania with the rank of colonel. At the time

of the Johnstown flood he was summoned to that city, where he organized the department for feeding and clothing the sufferers. The strongest factors in his life were, I think, his love for work and his love for his fellow-men. His industry was unceasing; his desire to help others unbounded.

In 1866 he was graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Law Department and entered upon active practice in Philadelphia, in which he continued until his death.

When only nineteen he became interested in politics and delivered campaign speeches in support of Lincoln, Hamlin and others.

He was a member of the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1876, but declined renomination. Subsequently the Greenback Labor Party nominated him for the same position, but he declined.

In 1880, in the Garfield Campaign, he took an active interest for the Republican candidate. At that period it was customary in order to stir up enthusiasm for the respective candidates of the Republican and Democratic Parties to have campaign marching clubs. Philadelphia had the Young Republicans, marshalled by such young men as Edwin S. Stuart, afterwards Mayor of Philadelphia, and in 1907, Governor of Pennsylvania; Robert von Moschzisker, now Chief Justice of Pennsylvania; Dimmer Beeber, later Judge of the Superior Court; Gen. Wendell P. Bowman and Gen. J. Lewis Good, Joseph M. Gazzam, an Allegheny County Senator; C. C. A. Baldi, now an Inspector of the Eastern Penitentiary; Charles F. Warwick, City Solicitor and afterwards Mayor of Philadelphia; Abraham M. Beitler, Director of Public Safety, and after that Judge of Court of Common Pleas No. 1, now practicing law and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge Free and Accepted Masons of Pennsylvania; James Alcorn, subsequently City Solicitor and more lately on the Public

Service Commission; A. Lincoln Acker, lately High Sheriff; Mahlon D. Young, Alfred S. Eisenhower, Hampton L. Carson, later Attorney General of Pennsylvania; Robert N. Willson, F. Amadee Brégy, Charles B. McMichael, Robert Ralston, subsequently to go upon the bench of the Common Pleas Courts, and a host of others subsequently prominent at the Philadelphia Bar and in commercial life, not forgetting Thomas L. Hicks, then Chairman of the Finance Committee of City Councils. The Republican Invincibles under James L. Miles, President of Select Council, and afterward High Sheriff of the County of Philadelphia, and the old Harmony Legion under John O'Donnell, later Recorder of Deeds of Philadelphia County, were the other prominent Republican marching clubs, but these two latter organizations differed from the Young Republicans in their personnel, in that most of their membership consisted of men active politically in their respective wards. The Democratic Party had the Moyamensing Legion under William McMullin, locally known as "The Squire," and the Young Men's Democratic Association under John Cadwalader, later Collector of the Port of Philadelphia. It was then thought these marching organizations kept the young men in line, educated them in the principles they advocated, and they were regarded as important parts of their party organization, and most helpful in obtaining results. Col. Leach raised one of the companies of the Young Republicans, known as "Company H," was elected its captain and served as such most efficiently during the whole campaign. He was ably assisted by two well-known lawyers, Theodore M. Etting, as *first* lieutenant, Edward S. Sayres, *second* lieutenant, and James Mauran Rhodes, of the old banking firm of C. & H. Borie, as *third* lieutenant. This company ranked unusually high even for the Young Republicans, especially socially, as it was composed mostly of members of the Philadelphia

and Rittenhouse Clubs, and its members and their relatives and friends were more or less independent politically, not previously taking part in local politics in any manner. The company was always greeted with great applause, and the citizens of the Seventh and Eighth Wards residing on Spruce street presented them with a set of colors in front of Joseph Hazlehurst's house on Spruce Street below Eleventh street.

It will be noted that most of the members of the Young Republicans possessed names now known and honored throughout the State of Pennsylvania, but it was not until later they rendered public service and achieved distinction. Forty-two years ago when they marched with the Young Republicans they were little more than boys with life and its possibilities before them, with all its aspirations, illusions and dreams, and they had not yet succeeded in getting on the first rung of the ladder of success, which many of them afterward climbed to the top. At this time they were merely in a receptive condition, working and waiting for success.

In the spirit of accuracy it might not be amiss to mention that the writer was President of the Young Republicans when he was nominated by the Republican citizens of this County for the Bench in 1902, to succeed Judge Pennypacker, who had resigned to accept the nomination for Governor.

In 1889 he was appointed appraiser at the Port of Philadelphia, this being President Harrison's first appointment in the city. His management of the office won him commendatory notice from the Treasury Department.

On Oct. 5, 1866, in Philadelphia, Colonel Leach was married to Miss Elizabeth R. Whilldin, a daughter of the late Captain Wilmon Whilldin, a wealthy steamboat owner of this city. Mrs. Leach died last January. Their children are J. Granville Leach, Jr., Dr. Wilmon Whilldin Leach, Meredith Biddle Leach and Annie Adele Leach.

Colonel Leach was a member of Old St. Peter's Church (Episcopal) of Philadelphia. He was widely known for his historical and genealogical investigations. He was the first to suggest June 14th be recognized as Flag Day.

He was one of the leaders in the formation of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania and since 1913 its president. He was historiographer of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for over twenty years; a founder and historian of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution; a deputy governor general of the Society of *Mayflower* Descendants; a councilor of the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania; a member of the Society of Colonial Wars; founder and councilor of the Old Planters' Society of Massachusetts, and a member of numerous historic organizations.

His belief in the importance and efficacy of the patriotic hereditary societies was fixed and immovable upon the principle that like produces like, and the descendant of a race-horse once started would run true to form. He thought no better agency existed wherein and whereby minds could be turned to the study of history and the development of mankind. Under this influence he had seen men and women gain in self-respect and in appreciation of the things of the spirit. Indeed, I may almost say this whole subject was a half-religion with him, increasing with years as his strength to "carry on" diminished.

His historical and genealogical writings include "Memoranda Relating to the Ancestry and Family of Levi P. Morton," "Memorials of the Reading, Howell, Yerkes, Watts, Latham and Elkins Families," "Genealogy of Harry Alden Richardson," "History of the Bringhurst Family, with notes of the Clarkson, DePeyster and Boudinot Families," "History of the Penrose Family of Philadelphia," including the life of our late Senator, Hon. Boies Penrose; "History of the Girard National Bank of Philadelphia."

He was the editor of "The Journal of the Rev. Silas Constant," "Annals of the Sinnott, Rogers, Coffin, Corlies, Reeves, Bodie and Allied Families," "Some Account of the Tree Family," and "Some Account of John Redington, of Topsfield, Massachusetts, and Some of His Descendants, with notes on the Wales Family." His last work is entitled "Some Account of Captain John Frazier and His Descendants, with notes on the West and Checkley Families." These are printed solely for private circulation.

If Colonel Leach had failings, as all human beings have, I do not recall them. I can think only of acts which merit praise, and high praise—*Semper Fidelis*—Like David Garrick, I have learned to think more of a friend's virtues than of his failings.

Since I have been upon the bench, such judges as Michael Arnold, M. Russell Thayer, Craig Biddle, Thomas K. Finletter, Henry J. McCarthy, W. Wilkins Carr, Edward W. Magill, John L. Kinsey, William W. Wiltbank, D. Webster Dougherty and Henry M. Wessel have been removed by death, and hardly a week passes now but that some well-known member of the Bar, often a friend and associate of many years, will leave us, his work on earth completed, to join the great majority beyond the river. The other day it was R. Stuart Smith, Esq., who, though a young man, had already earned an enviable place for himself at the Bar. Then Judges Brégy and Willson, full of years and honors. Now it is Colonel Leach whose loss we mourn, after a worthy career. Another of these sad events cannot fail to remind us of the senior Bar that our circle is narrowing, that the time of our own departure may not be very far removed. My deepest hope is that our personal example and professional conduct may shine with no uncertain light, and our memories, like that of our friend and brother, Colonel Leach, may be cherished and hallowed when we are no more.

THE SECOND TROOP PHILADELPHIA CITY
CAVALRY.

BY W. A. NEWMAN DORLAND, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.S.

Major, Medical Corps, U. S. Army; formerly First Lieutenant and Surgeon of the Troop (April 1, 1898–November 10, 1903.)

[*For References see pages 360–365.*]

(Continued from page 271.)

ARTICLE VII.

It shall be the duty of the quarter-master to keep an exact record of the proceedings at the several meetings of the troop, and to give notice to the members of the time and place of assembling, on the order of the commanding officer; that he make and exhibit a statement of the receipts and expenditures of the troop half-yearly; that he report at the meetings the delinquent members, charged with fines or such quotas as may have been agreed to for the support of the troop.

ARTICLE VIII.

If any member shall (after having had due notice thereof) neglect or refuse to meet the troop, for the space of three months, and shall refuse or neglect to pay his fines and quotas, as aforesaid, unless excused, as specified in Article II; on motion of one of the members present, the sense of the troop shall be taken by ballot, at the next meeting, whether the member, so refusing or neglecting, shall be any longer considered as a member, or expelled the troop, previous notice being given to such delinquent at least one week before the vote is taken.

ARTICLE IX.

The consent of two-thirds of the members present (provided there is a sufficient number to constitute a quorum) shall be required to expel a member.

ARTICLE X.

Disobedience of orders, or indecorum in behaviour on parade, or on duty, if repeated after once being reprimanded by the commanding officer, shall, with the consent of two-thirds of the members, be sufficient to expel a member.

ARTICLE XI.

All subjects proposed for the consideration of the troop at one meeting, shall be postponed at the request of six members present, for a discussion at the next meeting—unless in the opinion of two-thirds of the members present, the subject requires a decision at the meeting in which it is proposed.

ARTICLE XII.

The uniform of the Troop shall consist of the following articles, to wit:—A leather cap, bearskin crest, leopard's skin band, black leather cockade, and a buck's tail worn with the white side out; a black leather stock; a blue cloth roundabout jacket, edged with buff, and buff collar, with three rows of buttons, agreeable to pattern; a buff cloth or cassimer under-waistcoat with four rows of buttons; a pair of buff buckskin breeches; a pair of long boots, with black tops; a pair of silver or plated spurs; a pair of buff leather gloves; an uniform brass or gilt mounted sword, carried in a buff belt across the shoulder; a substantial pair of horse-man's pistols; a cartouch box and belt of black leather, worn round the waist; a saddle with buff pad, without saddle-cloth, with crupper and a black leather breast-plate, and with blue and buff girths; holsters with bear-

skin caps; a bit and bridoon bridle with black reins, buff front, with a blue and buff rose made of cloth, on each side; an uniform black leather halter.

ARTICLE XIII.

For each of the above enumerated articles not worn on parade; the delinquent member shall pay a fine of twenty-five cents.

ARTICLE XIV.

The troop shall parade during the months of May, June, July, August, September, and October, in every year, on the first and third Mondays of each month.

ARTICLE XV.

The place of meeting, or rendezvous of the troop, shall be appointed by the officers, and the commanding officer may, at his discretion, appoint special parades, and adjourn them as occasion may require.

The first half of 1794 was, from the local military stand-point, given to the customary social duties and military exercises and manœuvres. The graceful practice, then in vogue, of officially observing New Year's day, was participated in by Captain Singer and his fellow officers of the Troop. We read that "on Wednesday last, New Year's day—Members of both Houses of Congress—Heads of Departments—Foreign Ministers—members of the Society of the Cincinnati—Officers of the Militia, etc., waited on the President of the United States, to offer him the compliments of the season."²¹⁶ A similar courtesy was tendered the President on the occasion of his birthday, of which we have the following notice and account:²¹⁷

"The Officers of the Militia of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, who propose waiting on the President, to congratulate him on his Birth-Day, are requested to meet at the State House, at 12 o'clock, on the morning

of the 22^d inst. and from thence proceed to the Governor's [Mifflin], who will accompany them to the President's house."

"The Light Horse, Artillery, and Light Infantry, which paraded in honor of the day, were more numerous than on any recent occasion—and their truly soldier-like appearance merits the highest approbation. Repeated federal salutes were fired in the course of the day, by the Artillery in High [Market] Street. The field officers of the militia were dressed in new and elegant uniforms on this occasion. . . . The President enters into the 63^d year of his age.²¹⁸

The usual spring inspection occurred in May [1794], for which the following notice appeared:—²¹⁹

"The volunteer troop of Light Horse, commanded by Abraham Singer, will meet at the house of John Dunwoody,²²⁰ in complete uniform on Thursday next [May 1] at 8 o'clock in the morning provided with 12 rounds of cartridge.

"By order of the captain,
"Peter Benson, q. m."

It appears from this notice that Peter Benson held the double office of cornet and quartermaster, or that he had relinquished the former office to assume the duties of the other. A cornet ranked as second lieutenant, as does a quartermaster at the present time; and as the former title was rather honorary than useful, it is probable that its duties included those of the quartermaster of the Troop.

Friday, the Fourth of July, 1794, was celebrated with the customary *éclat*. "The uniform Companies of horse and foot paraded under their respective officers, and made a brilliant appearance:—The customary manœuvres were performed in the view of a multitude of citizens, and numerous salutes were fired by the artillery. . . . According to annual custom, the

officers of the militia and the society of Cincinnati waited on the Governor with their congratulations.'²²¹

The new Philadelphia troop of Light Horse, which had been organized on June 30, 1794, and which was subsequently known as "The Volunteer Greens," whose Captain was Matthew M'Connell, and whose quartermaster was John Inskeep,²²² was, on July 4th, presented with a standard by Mrs. M'Connell, and afterwards dined at Gray's Ferry Inn, the proprietor of which, George Weed,²²³ was a member, and Assistant Quartermaster, of the Troop. The twelfth toast on this occasion was "The Old Philadelphia Troop," and the thirteenth toast, "The Second Philadelphia Troop."²²⁴

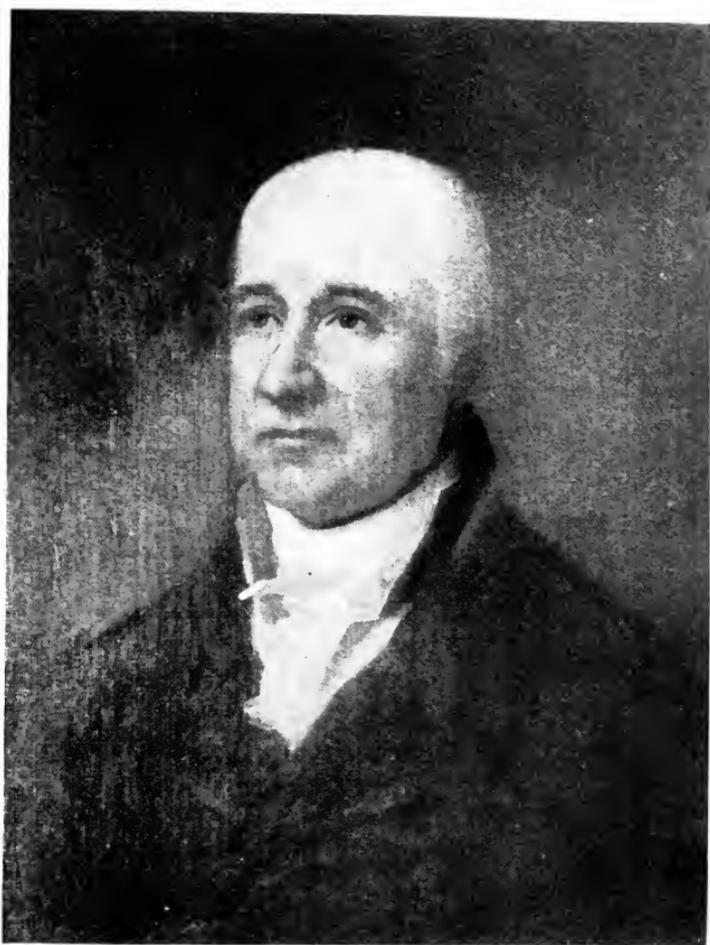
Toward the close of 1793, and in the first half of 1794, there developed a serious state of affairs in Pennsylvania, which, before the expiration of the year, culminated in hostilities that brought to the Second Troop its second great term of service in the field for the support of the National Government.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WHISKY INSURRECTION OF 1794.²²⁵

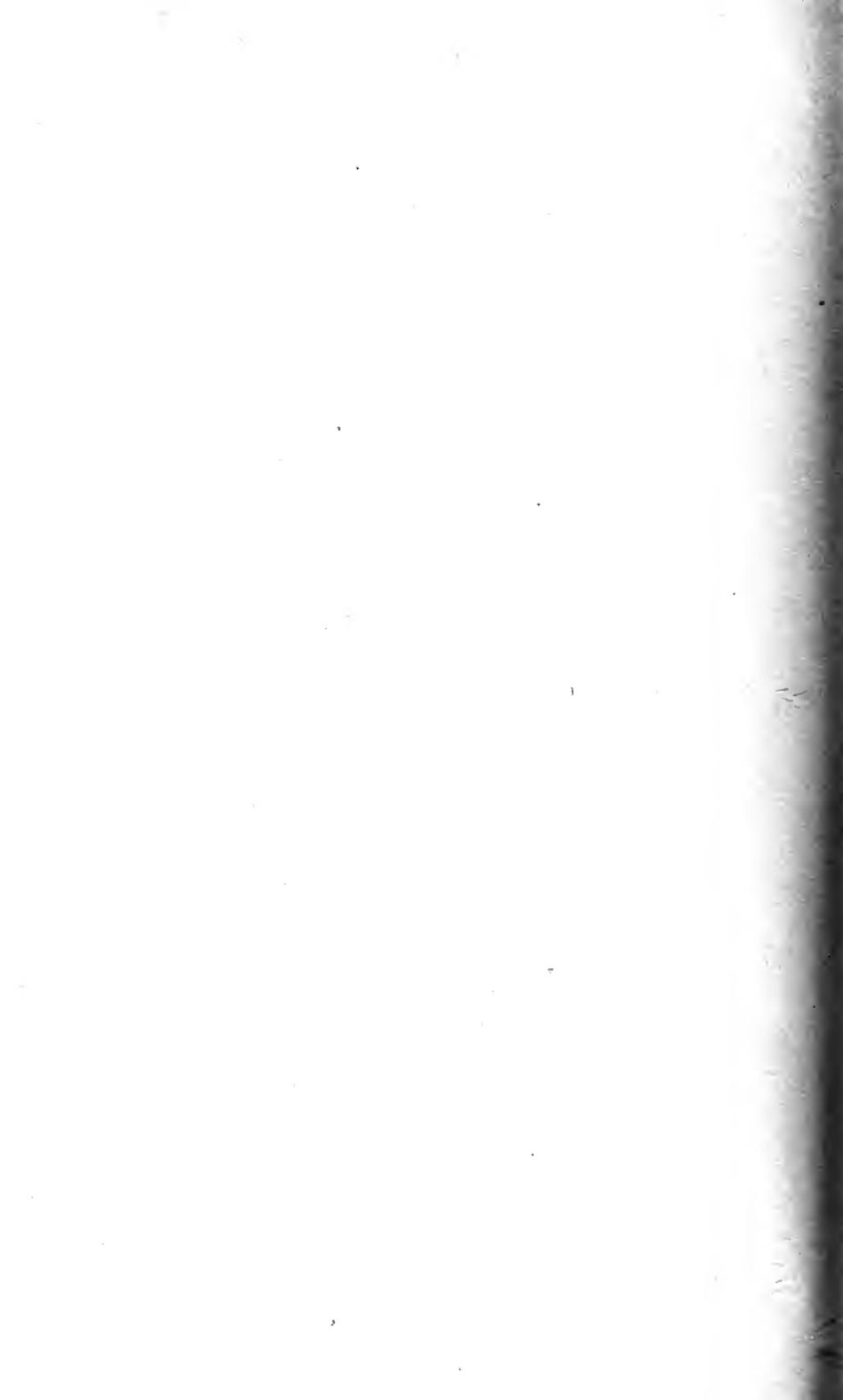
Toward the close of the eighteenth century the Government of the United States, still in its earliest infancy, was subjected to a trial of strength which was as serious as it was unexpected. This emergency—an uprising of the people which became known to history as the "Whisky Insurrection of Western Pennsylvania"—took its origin as follows:—

The seat of the National Government had been changed from New York to Philadelphia in 1790, and the First Congress assembled in that city in the early days of December for its final session. On the third of March, 1791, there was passed by that body an Act—known as "Hamilton's Bill"—imposing a duty upon



JOHN INSKEEP

From an original oil painting done by Thomas Sully in 1810



spirits distilled within the United States. This Act met with violent opposition during its reading in Congress, but this was only a mere foreglimpse of the still greater antagonism it was to encounter from the sections of the country most intimately concerned. Even before the Bill was passed an organized agitation for its repeal was supported by a majority of the congressmen from the West and South. The Act was called an "excise," and as such was popularly associated with the oppressive measures which had been imposed by the mother country prior to the recent rebellion which had culminated in colonial liberty. Accordingly, as soon as it became known that the President's signature had been affixed to the document the measure was violently assailed by the press and the people at large. It was declared unnecessary and tyrannical.

The extreme popular dislike for the Act will be more clearly understood and appreciated if it is recalled that the trade in foreign spirits had been almost entirely cut off by the War of the Revolution. As a necessary sequence, the distillation of rum and whisky had become a very considerable business in the grain-growing districts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. The product of these States was not only sufficient for the needs of the greater part of the United States, as it then was, but spirits were even exported into Canada, and, as Wharton tersely expresses it, the "Western Country swarmed with distilleries." Consequently, whisky and rum had become valuable articles of commerce as well as of consumption, and in addition, owing to the natural deficiency of specie in a wild country, they were used universally as currency. Payments were made in them, and they were received in satisfaction of debts.²²⁵

The western counties of Pennsylvania—Fayette, Washington, Westmoreland and Allegheny—surround the headwaters of the Ohio river within a radius of a

little more than one hundred miles. In 1794 they contained a population of about 70,000 souls, and Pittsburgh, the seat of justice, had about 1200 inhabitants. This wild territory was separated from the eastern section of the State by the Allegheny mountains. The roads were few and poor, and those that existed ran through dense woodlands. The mountain passes were traversable only for pedestrians and horsemen. The sole trade with the East was by pack-horses, while communication with the South was cut off by hostile tribes of Indians who held the banks of the Ohio. This isolation from the older, denser and more highly civilized settlements bred in the inhabitants—in great part Scotch-Irish Presbyterians—an unquenchable spirit of self-reliance and independence. Religious and warlike to the utmost, the hatred of an exciseman was a tradition of their forefathers. They could find no market for their grain; consequently they were driven to preserve it by converting it into whisky. True, the tax imposed by the Act was light—only four pence per gallon on all distilled spirits. (Egle)—but it was payable in money, of which they had little or none, and this was a bitter aggravation of the offence. In Pennsylvania the Act of 1791 was peculiarly disliked, since only shortly before this time the people had successfully resisted a similar law of their own State (Wharton).

As soon as it became known that the Hamilton Bill was under discussion in Congress, the Pennsylvania Assembly adopted, on January 14, 1791, a series of resolutions which are believed to have been drafted by Albert Gallatin and to have been the first legislative paper from his pen (Stevens). These resolutions emphatically charged that the obnoxious Bill was “subversive of the peace, liberty and rights of the citizens,” but notwithstanding their warmth, they passed the Assembly by a vote of 40 to 16. As has already been noted, the excise law passed Congress on March 3, 1791.

Immediately the Legislatures of Maryland, Pennsylvania, Virginia and North Carolina—the States most vitally concerned—united in solemn declarations of rooted dislike and of resistance that, in some cases, were hardly to be reconciled with constitutional opposition. In North Carolina a position was taken which, as Wharton points out, would in later days have been termed “nullification.” It was in the western section of Pennsylvania and Virginia, however, that resistance to the Bill was most pronounced, and it was there that an agitation was started which in three years’ time ripened into an organized insurrection which ultimately involved its leaders in the crime of treason.

The first sign there of a spirit of discontent was the general circulation of opinions unfavorable to the law, which were intended to discourage the acceptance of offices under it or any compliance on the part of those who might be so disposed. This was quickly followed by a pretense of a cessation of distilling and by the widespread organization of secret societies whose object it was to abstain from recognition of the law—all of which proved ineffectual.

The law went into operation in June, 1791, and the offices were very generally accepted. On June 22 the State Legislature of Pennsylvania, by a vote of 36 to 11, requested its senators and representatives in Congress to oppose every part of the Bill which “shall militate against the rights and liberties of the people.” In the meantime, those who were engaged in putting the law into operation became targets for insult and opprobrium. Not infrequently they were threatened with personal injury, and soon actual violence was resorted to in order to prevent the execution of their duties. Throughout the disaffected region public meetings were convened to afford opportunity for an open expression of the feeling of discontent. The first

of these was held at Redstone Old Fort, or Brownsville, on July 27, with Albert Gallatin as clerk of the meeting (Breckinridge), and on this occasion it was resolved to petition Congress for a repeal of the obnoxious Act.

On September 6, 1791, the first occurrence of excessive violence was noted when Robert Johnson, collector of the revenues for Allegheny and Washington counties, was seized at a place on Pigeon Creek, Washington County, by a body of masked armed men who proceeded to strip him, cut off his hair, and tar and feather him. Then, depriving him of his horse and money, they compelled him in that condition to travel a considerable distance on foot. Although similar outrages were perpetrated elsewhere, the Government appeared reluctant to force matters to an issue; which inaction had the effect only of encouraging the opposition, and the outbreaks became bolder and more violent.

In October the Act of March 3 came up before Congress for revision, and on May 8, 1792, it reappeared with several material alterations. The duties were reduced to so moderate a rate as to obviate any complaints on that score, and other changes favorable to the distillers were made; but though the violence subsided to a certain extent, the feeling of bitterness persisted, and shortly a fresh agitation was started. The revised Act required an office for collection in every county; but the malcontents, who had now become popularly known as "whisky boys," argued that if these offices were prevented a material point would be gained. Accordingly, a system of intimidation was adopted directed against those who might be disposed to permit the use of their houses as tax-offices. From the signature affixed to the threatening notices which were scattered broadcast over the land, the disaffected were now termed "Tom-the-tinker" men. A reign of terror was established, and in a short time it

became almost impossible to secure suitable places for the receipt of revenue.

Events now moved rapidly. On August 21, 1792, there was held at Pittsburgh a meeting of which Albert Gallatin was secretary (Stevens), the proceedings of which placed the opposers of the law in a state of open hostility to the Government. This incident was reported to President Washington by the Secretary of the Treasury, with the result that the Executive, on September 15, issued a proclamation admonishing and exhorting the malcontents "to refrain and desist from all unlawful combinations and proceedings whatsoever, having for their object or tending to obstruct the operations of the law aforesaid," and directing that prosecutions be instituted against the offenders in all cases in which the law would support them and the requisite evidence could be obtained.

Affairs had advanced too far, however, to be seriously influenced by mere edict from the remote seat of Government. The usual winter lull occurred, but in April, 1793, a party of armed men in the customary disguise attacked the house of Benjamin Wells, the collector of revenue residing in Fayette County, but as Wells was absent no special harm resulted. In the following June, Inspector General Neville was burned in effigy in Allegheny County at a place and on a day of public election and in the presence of magistrates and other public officers, without opposition. On the night of November 22 the house of Wells was again attacked and he was compelled to surrender his commissions and books and solemnly promise to publish his resignation in the papers within two weeks.

Notwithstanding these and other excesses the law appeared to be gaining ground during the latter part of the year 1793. Several of the principal distillers complied with its requirements and others seemed

favorably disposed. With the exception of some minor outbreaks, comparative quiet was maintained until the summer of 1794. On June 5 of that year Congress again amended the law, but without affording satisfaction to the malcontents, who now determined to push matters to a decisive crisis. More rioting occurred and during one of the fracas, that of July 15, Major Macfarlane, a former distinguished officer of the Revolution, was killed while leading the rioters and six of his men were wounded. The excitement spread rapidly throughout the counties, and was largely fomented by the efforts of one David Bradford, who had assumed the rôle of chief ring-leader of the rebellion and the rank of major-general. Upon his recommendation the militia companies of the Western Counties were called upon to rendezvous on July 30th at their respective places of meeting, thence to march to Braddock's Field on the Monongahela, about eight miles south of Pittsburgh, by two o'clock on Friday, August first. The purpose of Bradford and his associates was nothing less than an attack upon Fort Pitt and the sack of Pittsburgh. Stevens, writing of this gathering, quotes Judge Brackenridge, who states that "it was a motley assembly; the militia were on foot and the light-horse of the counties were in military dress. There were here gathered about 7000 men, of whom 2000 militia were armed and accoutred as for a campaign—a formidable and remarkable assemblage, when it is considered that the entire male population of sixteen years of age and upwards of the four counties did not exceed 16,000 and was scattered over a wide and unsettled country." At a subsequent date Gallatin, on comparing the best attainable records more correctly estimated the whole body at from 1500 to 2000 men.

The Government had now become thoroughly aroused, and on August 7 the President issued a

proclamation summoning all persons involved in the disturbance to lay down their arms and repair to their homes not later than September 1. At the same time requisitions for troops were made upon the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and New Jersey, and a joint Commission of five was appointed for the purpose of thoroughly investigating the condition of affairs and reporting thereon to the Capitol. Three of these Commissioners on the part of the United States were appointed by the President, and two on the part of the State of Pennsylvania by Governor Mifflin.

On August 14 there assembled at Parkinson's Ferry—subsequently known as Williamsport and now as Monongahela City—a convention of 226 delegates, with spectators to about the same number, the purpose of which was to definitely settle the question of resistance or submission to the law. The Commission arrived during the session, which was one of great turbulence. Mr. Gallatin on this occasion delivered a forceful address, urging the counties to refrain from anarchy and civil war, and was ably supported by Judge Brackenridge. On September 10, the last day allowed by the terms of the amnesty, a declaration of acquiescence, drawn up by Mr. Gallatin, was unanimously adopted at Uniontown and immediately circulated for signatures of endorsement among the distillers. This declaration, with but few endorsements, was forwarded to Governor Mifflin on September 17 with reasons for the delay, and with a petition that he retard the forwarding of the troops until every conciliatory measure should have proved fruitless. The Commission had, however, in the meantime returned to Philadelphia, and had, on September 24, presented at the Capitol an unfavorable report. The following day [Sept. 25] President Washington called out the troops.

According to Egle, the quotas of the States were as follows:

358 *The Second Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry.*

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Artillery.
Pennsylvania	4500	500	200
Commanded by Gov. Thomas Mifflin.			
New Jersey	1500	500	100
Commanded by Gov. Richard Howell.			
Maryland	2000	200	150
Commanded by Gov. Thomas S. Lee and Brigadier Gen. Samuel Smith.			
Virginia	3000	300	
Commanded by General Daniel Morgan.			

This gave a total of 12,950 men, Governor Henry Lee, of Virginia, being placed in chief command of the little army.

The Second City Troop formed a part of the cavalry force contributed by Pennsylvania, and as we learn from the following account taken from the daily paper, it was the first of the city cavalry to offer its services for this campaign:²²⁶—

“At a meeting of the old City Troop of Cavalry, commanded by Capt. Dunlap, at the City Tavern, and of the Volunteer Greens, commanded by Capt. McConnell,²²⁷ at McShane’s,²²⁸ on Wednesday afternoon [Sept. 10], we have it from good authority that every member of both troops offered themselves as volunteers in the Expedition against the Western Insurgents.—The second troop, commanded by Capt. Singer, we hear had a previous meeting, at which the same republican spirit was displayed in support of the laws and the violated authority of the State. The company of artillery commanded by Major [Jeremiah] Fisher were the first to offer their services upon this important occasion.”

In pursuance of the following General Orders issued by the Adjutant General of the State, a camp was established on the west side of the Schuylkill River north of the Lancaster Road, where the quota of city troops rendezvoused:—²²⁹

“Philadelphia, Sept. 10, 1794.

“GENERAL ORDERS.

“Col. Clement Biddle, the Quarter Master General of the State Militia, is directed immediately to lay out an encampment, for the quota of the city and county of Philadelphia Brigades under the President’s requisition of the 7th instant, as near to the west bank of the Schuylkill, as he can find a proper and convenient place. He will likewise forthwith provide the requisite supply of arms and Quarter Master Stores; and make the necessary arrangements for furnishing wagons, Bat Horses,²³⁰ and all other supplies—within his Department.

“The Governor takes this opportunity of returning his most cordial thanks to the officers of the Brigades of the city and county of Philadelphia, for the prompt and unanimous declaration of their determination to support the measures of government at this crisis, a conduct so honorable and patriotic was to be expected from their part and will ensure success to their future exertions in the cause of their country. He is confident that actuated by similar principles, every citizen will be eager to manifest his attachment to law and order, and that on Wednesday next, agreeably to appointment, the quota of the city and county of Philadelphia will rendezvous at the encampment compleatly prepared to march. It is expected that each militia-man will bring with him a blanket and a convenient knapsack and canteen.

“By order of the Commander in Chief

“Signed JOSIAH HARMER,²³¹

“Adjutant-General of the

“Militia of Pennsylvania.”

REFERENCES.

²¹⁶ *American Daily Advertiser*, January 6, 1794.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* February 14, 1794.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.* February 24, 1794.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* April 30, 1794.

²²⁰ *John Dunwoody's Tavern*, "*Sign of the Spread Eagle*," was situated at No. 285 High [Market] Street, on the north side, west of Seventh Street [present No. 715]. It was subsequently (about 1800) removed to the northwest corner of Ninth and Market Streets, No. 331 High Street. In 1791, it was kept by *Frederick Hubley*. *John Dunwoody*, who was proprietor of the Inn as early as 1792, was the son of *William Dunwoody*, of 1777, and nephew of *Robert Dunwoody*. In 1776, he was a private in the Flying Camp. In 1794, he was a private in the Third Company, Fourth Regiment, City Militia, Colonel Andrew Guyer. He died on December 16, 1802, leaving an estate valued at \$40,000. A *James Dunwoody*, probably his son, died in Philadelphia on December 4, 1837. The site at Seventh and Market Streets was subsequently occupied by the *White Hall House* and later by the J. B. Lippincott firm. The *Spread Eagle Tavern* at the corner of Ninth and Market Streets existed for almost fifty years. For some years it appears to have been a stage house, coaches leaving for Harrisburg, Sunbury and Pittsburgh. It was later known as the *Philadelphia House*, and in 1850 was kept by *Bernard Mullen*. The entrance was on Ninth Street. A *Robert Dunwoody* served as a private in the Franklin Flying Artillery of Philadelphia from September 15 to December 25, 1814.

²²¹ *American Daily Advertiser*, July 7, 1794.

²²² *John Inskeep* [*Inskip*], second son of *Abraham Inskeep* and *Sarah Ward*, and great-great uncle of W. A. Newman Dorland, the first surgeon of the reorganized Second Troop, was born on January 29, 1757, near Marlton, New Jersey, in which town he was educated. His father was a blacksmith and wheelwright, and, according to the custom of the time, the son learned the same trade. When only 19 years of age he became Lieutenant and then Captain in the Second Battalion of Gloucester County Militia, in 1776; and later served as Quartermaster of Colonel Hillman's command. In 1777, 1778, and 1780, he acted as Commissary for this command. He took part in the battle of Princeton, and shortly afterwards married *Sarah Hulings* at Gloucester, New Jersey. In 1782, he lived in Salem, New Jersey, but soon removed to Philadelphia. In 1785, he became the proprietor of the *George Tavern* ("*Sign of St. George*"), situated at the southwest corner of Second and Arch Streets, which he held until 1791, at least, in the latter year being a member of the firm of Inskeep, Kerlin and Co., who ran the stage coaches between Philadelphia, Baltimore and New York. In 1787-89, he was a private in the Sixth Company, Fourth Battalion, Colonel Will, afterwards Colonel Shee. In 1793, he is recorded as

the host of the "*Sign of the Jolly Bacchus*," No. 46 Arch Street ("Philadelphia and Her Merchants"—Ritter). In 1794, Mr. Inskeep became a china and glassware merchant at No. 31 South Second Street; and the same year, when 37 years old, he became a member and the Quartermaster of the new Troop of "Volunteer Greens," serving with that organization in the Whisky Insurrection (*American Daily Advertiser*, October 10, 1794). In 1799, he succeeded John Barclay as Alderman. On October 21, 1800, he was elected Mayor of Philadelphia, and two days later laid the foundation-stone of the Permanent Bridge at Market Street. In January, 1801, he became an original member of the Chamber of Commerce; and in October, 1800, was elected a trustee of the Mutual Assurance Company. In 1802, he was elected a Director of the Insurance Company of North America. On May 21, 1802, he was commissioned an Associate Judge of Common Pleas in the City of Philadelphia, and was located at No. 80 North Front Street. This office he resigned on March 1, 1805. On October 15, 1805, he was again elected Mayor of Philadelphia; and in 1806, he succeeded Charles Pettit as President of the Insurance Company of North America, which office he held until May, 1831, when he was succeeded by John C. Smith. He died on Thursday, December 18, 1834, in his 77th year, and was buried in Christ Church burying-ground at Fifth and Arch Streets. His brother *Abraham Inskeep* (born June 6, 1752; in 1794, a private in the Second Company, Fourth Philadelphia Regiment, Colonel Andrew Guyer; died in 1820), was for many years Judge of Gloucester County, New Jersey. He married *Hannah Stokes* (born December 18, 1745; died March 16, 1816), daughter of *Joshua Stokes* and *Amy Hinchman*; their daughter, *Sarah Inskeep*, married *Joseph Powel Rogers*; their daughter, *Hannah Inskip Rogers* (born 1800; died 1881), married *Joshua Thorne*; and their eldest daughter, *Sarah Ann Thorne* (born June 20, 1829; died October 11, 1915), married on July 3, 1855, Dr. *William Mathews Dorland* (born November 13, 1816; died August 24, 1884).

²²³ *George Weed* was the son of *George Weed* and *Elizabeth Dickinson*, who were married, in Christ Church, on January 12, 1768; or of Dr. *Elijah Weed* (in 1777, Captain of the Fourth Company of the Third Philadelphia Battalion; on August 17, 1762, married his first wife, *Ann Sreeve*; and on April 3, 1765, his second wife *Mary Mitchell*; in August, 1780, Captain of a Company in the Second Philadelphia Regiment, Colonel Benjamin G. Eyre; a druggist at the "*Sign of the Pestle and Mortar*," No. 69 North Front Street; died in 1793) and his wife, *Mary* (who in 1794, is recorded as jailer). In 1793, he is spoken of as "Dr." *George Weed*. In 1795, he was proprietor of the *White Horse Tavern*, Nos 218-20 High [Market] Street [present No. 624-26]. A *Sarah Weed* (born in 1756), died on May 2, 1837, in her 81st year. *Eliza A. Weed*, youngest daughter of *George Weed*, was married on March 25, 1828, to *Robert J. Arundel*.

²²⁴ *American Daily Advertiser*, July 8, 1794.

²²⁵ For much of the information contained in this chapter the author

is indebted to the records found in the daily papers of the time, and to the following historical works: *H. H. Brackenridge*, "Incidents in the Insurrection in the Western Part of Pennsylvania in the Year 1794." Philadelphia, 1795; *Francis Wharton*, "State Trials of the United States During the Administrations of Washington and Adams." Philadelphia, 1849, pp. 102-184; *William Findlay*, "History of the Insurrection in the Four Western Counties of Pennsylvania," 1794; Townsend Ward, "The Insurrection of the Year 1794 in the Western Counties of Pa." Mem. Hist. Soc. of Pa., vol. vi, 1858); *William H. Egle*, "History of Pennsylvania," chapter xiv, Philadelphia, 1880; *John Austin Stevens*, "Life of Albert Gallatin," pp. 50-57, 69-99. Boston, 1888; and *J. B. McMaster*, "History of the People of the United States," vol. ii, pp. 41-44, 189-196. Philadelphia, 1885.

²²⁶ *American Daily Advertiser*, September 12, 1794.

²²⁷ *Matthew McConnell*, grandson of *Robert McConnell* and son of *Matthew McConnell, Sr.* (born c. 1707; died in 1797) and *Mary Wilson*, was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, in 1748. He was an officer of the Revolutionary army, having the following record:—Originally, he was a corporal in Captain John Alexander's company of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment. On June 25, 1775, when 27 years old, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain James Chambers' company, Colonel William Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion. On January 1, 1776, he was Second Lieutenant in the First Continental Infantry. On March 7, 1776, he was promoted to First Lieutenant, and on November 3, 1776, was transferred to the Second Canadian Regiment, Colonel Moses Hazen. He was promoted to Captain on April 8, 1777. On October 4, 1779, he was present in the house of James Wilson at the time of the celebrated riot there. On March 1, 1780, he signed the petition to prevent slavers being fitted out at the port of Philadelphia. On February 12, 1781, having had his leg broken in the battle of Brandywine, he was transferred to the Invalid Regiment, Colonel Lewis Nicola, in which, as Captain, he served until June, 1783. After serving as Inspector of the Barracks, he was, in July, 1781, appointed acting town major by Colonel Nicola, which office he held until December 12, 1784. He took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania on February 22, 1781. On November 2, 1780, when 32 years old, he was married, in the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, to *Ruth* (born in Philadelphia County in 1758, died in Huntingdon, Pa., February 19, 1832) daughter of *John Hall* of Oxford township, Philadelphia County, and *Sarah Parry*, his wife. In 1784-85 he was a private in the Fifth Company, Second Philadelphia Battalion, Colonel James Read. In 1784, he was a drygoods merchant on the south side of High (Market) Street five doors below Second Street. The same year he removed to Second Street between Market and Chestnut on the east side seven doors below Black Horse Alley [which extended east of Second Street]. On March 21, 1785, he endorsed the candidacy of General William Irvine for the office of Land Agent. In 1788 he published an essay on the public debt. He was one of the auditors of the estate of his friend Robert

Morris. In 1790 he became an original member of the Hibernian Society. From May 1789 to 1794 he was a merchant and stockbroker residing at No. 66 Chestnut Street. On January 9, 1794, he was elected a Director of the Bank of the United States. On June 30, 1794, when 46 years of age, he became the first Captain of the "Volunteer Greens," or Third Troop of Light Horse of Philadelphia, and with that body took part in the suppression of the Whisky Insurrection. He was succeeded in command by Captain John Morrell, in 1786. That year he offered for sale his mill creek farm on the Haverford Road in Blockley township. In 1798, he was one of the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature to build the permanent bridge across the Schuylkill River at High [Market] Street. In November, 1799, he opened his office as a stockbroker at No. 141 Chestnut Street, a few doors above Fourth Street. In 1800, when 52 years old, he became the first President of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, then having its office in the old Merchants' Coffee House. He was at one time commissioned Justice of the Peace by Governor Mifflin and subsequently by Governor McKean. He was an original and active member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, and was on the first Standing Committee, July 9, 1784, for the formation of the Society. He was its Assistant Treasurer from 1789-92, Treasurer from 1792-95, Secretary in 1802-03, and Assistant Secretary from 1806-12. He was a man of considerable wealth. He died in Philadelphia on November 11, 1816, when 68 years of age, and was buried with military honors. His children were:—*Robert* (born July 13, 1781; became a midshipman in the U. S. Navy; died on board the U. S. sloop-of-war, *Ganges*, of yellow fever at Havana, Cuba, August 23, 1800, when in his 19th year); *Matthew* (born in Philadelphia, July 10, 1786; in 1814 a corporal in the First City Troop; died at Martha's Furnace, Center County, Pa., March 18, 1846); *Juliana* (born at Beverage's Farm, Philadelphia County, September 10, 1793; married October 12, 1824, to *John George Miles* of Huntingdon, Pa.; died at Huntingdon, December 2, 1868); and *Dr. Benjamin Rush McConnell* (born in Philadelphia August 11, 1797; graduated from Princeton College, and in 1819 from the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania; succeeded his father as a member of the Cincinnati; died in 1864; his son, *Matthew McConnell*, succeeded him as a member of the Cincinnati).—Information obtained in part from his great granddaughter, Mrs. William Wallace Chisholm of Huntingdon, Pa.

²²⁸ Captain *Barnabas McShane's* tavern, the famous old "*Sign of the Harp and Crown*" of which he became the proprietor in May, 1787, was situated at No. 43 North Third Street on the east side just below Arch Street, at the corner of Elbow Lane. Before the Revolution the inn was known as the "*Harp and Crown*" tavern, but during the war the name was changed to the "*Harp and Eagle*." *William Carson* (born in Antrim, Ireland, March 25, 1728; married *Mary Hamilton*, March 21, 1770) was the proprietor for many years before and during the Revolution. *Heiskell* gave it the name of *City Hotel* when he tore down the old structure and erected a handsome building on the site. On November 27,

1813, a public dinner was given here in honor of Captain Bainbridge. On June 24, 1833, John Randolph, of Roanoke, died here, and the same month President Andrew Jackson was quartered here while on his visit to the city.—*Scharf and Westcott*, vol. II, page 85.

Barnabas McShane took the oath of allegiance to the State on July 19, 1779; that year he was a taxpayer in the south part of Dock Ward; in August, 1780, he was a private in the Fourth Company, 5th Battalion, Col. John Shee; on April 3, 1781, he was commissioned Captain in the Fourth Company, 1st Battalion Philadelphia militia, Col. James Read. In 1787, he is recorded as a private in the Seventh Company, Second Battalion, Colonel Read, and in 1788, as a private in the Eighth Company of this Battalion. He failed in business in 1789, but continued in charge of the inn. In 1789, he was recorded as a private in the Fourth Company, First Philadelphia Battalion, Colonel James Read. In 1790, he was executor for the estate of Samuel McClure; the same year he became an original member of the Hibernian Society; and in 1794, was executor for the estate of Dr. John Carson. He died on December 13, 1803, leaving an estate valued at \$10,000. Letters of administration were granted to *Francis McShane*, and the sureties were *Ezekiel* and *John McShane*, merchants. His wife was *Sarah McShane*.

²²⁹ *American Daily Advertiser*, September 12, 1794.

²³⁰ A *bathorse*, or a *bawhorse*, in the British army, was a horse for carrying baggage belonging to an officer or to the baggage train.—*Century Dictionary*.

²³¹ *Josiah Harmar* was born in Philadelphia on November 10, 1753, of wealthy parents, and was educated chiefly in the Quaker School of Robert Proud (born in Yorkshire, England, May 10, 1728; died in Philadelphia, July 7, 1813). His mother was *Elizabeth Harmar* (died in 1780). Entering the Continental Army as a Captain in the First Battalion of the First Pennsylvania Regiment on October 27, 1775, he was promoted to Major of the Third Pennsylvania Regiment on October 1, 1776; transferred to the Second Regiment on January 1, 1777; promoted Lieut. Colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment on June 6, 1777, and served actively until the end of the war. He was with Washington's army in the campaign of 1778-80, being appointed Lieut. Colonel Commandant of the Seventh Pennsylvania Regiment on August 9, 1780, and was with General Greene's Division in the South in 1781-82. He was transferred to the Third Pennsylvania Regiment on January 17, 1781, and to the First Pennsylvania Regiment on January 1, 1783. He was brevetted Colonel on September 30, 1783, and served to November 3 of the same year. On October 19, 1784, he married *Sarah Jenkins* (born March 14, 1761), sister of *Mary Jenkins* (who married Major *Samuel Nicholas*), and the same year bore to France the ratification of the Definitive Treaty. On January 20, 1785, he was Indian Agent for the Northwest Territory, and a party to the Fort McIntosh Treaty. On August 12, 1784, he was appointed Lieut. Colonel of the First United States Regiment of Infantry and subsequently became Commander of the Army, serving as such from September 27, 1789, to March 14, 1791.

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In 1790, he commanded an expedition against the Miami Indians. On July 31, 1787, he was brevetted Brigadier General by resolution of Congress. He resigned his commission on January 17, 1792; and on Thursday, April 11, 1793, was appointed Adjutant General of the Pennsylvania Militia, which office he held during the Whisky Insurrection, and until Wednesday, February 27, 1799, when he resigned and was succeeded by *Peter Baynton*. He was an active member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, serving as its Secretary from 1783 to 1785 and again in 1793. He died in Philadelphia at his home near Gray's Ferry, on August 20, 1813, when 60 years of age, and was buried in St. James' Churchyard, Kingsessing. His son, *Josiah Harmar* (born 1802) died on December 31, 1848, in his 47th year.—*Heitman's Register*.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

WHAT THE DECLARATION OF FRATERNALISM HAS ACCOMPLISHED. By Edward Newton Haag.

In response to the suggestion of the Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that I state, briefly, some of the things set forth and demanded in the Declaration of Fraternalism, adopted at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on August 27, 1918, which have eventuated, it seems to me that the Society will be fulfilling the functions of its founders if it will, while it may yet be done, collect and collate the data of historical nature relative to this great meeting of the people and their representatives at the Shrine of American Freedom.

These numbered many millions. Indeed, I believe that fully one-third of all the people of this country were allied directly or indirectly with the patriotic and fraternal societies, and people in general, who gathered at Independence Hall on that occasion and gave birth to the Declaration of Fraternalism, which sent its message to the uttermost parts of the earth, in the hour of world strife, which threatened civilization.

This pronouncement by the people of this country not only sets forth their deep-seated and well-matured views relative to the only terms on which they were willing that peace should be established with the enemy, but also how to take such constructive measures as, in their opinion, would be best calculated to bring peace, opportunity and happiness alike to coming generations, regardless of creed, color or nationality.

In other words, they were determined that what for generations had been merely academic theories and discussions on these vital world matters should be formulated in a demand with sufficient power and authority back of it to attain the desired result, regardless of the insidious, selfish forces which had ever hitherto been enabled to defeat and delay the desires and just rights of the great percentage of the people.

The Declaration of Fraternalism sums up—or it was aimed that it should—the hopes of the long-suffering people who had borne the burdens and suffered the heart-breaks occasioned by the ever-recurring conflicts at arms, growing more terrible and expensive all the while until civilization itself was threatened by a world war.

As such, after the most careful deliberation, and not until the highest possible authority had been consulted on every phase of the momentous document, having been repeatedly unanimously approved by a number of associations with National and International scope, it was finally, as stated, approved at Independence Hall, August 27, 1918.

Meetings were held simultaneously in many of the States, under the auspices of the Governors and great public meetings, which had been previously arranged, to which the message was sent by telegraph.

Immediately after the reading of the Declaration of Fraternalism to the vast multitude, which not only completely filled Independence Square, but also many surrounding squares, and its unanimous adoption, the old Liberty Bell was tapped with a mallet by Mrs. E. T. Stotesbury, one stroke for each State, and a signal was flashed to the States as they were named.

To a very large degree, therefore, it was a National expression on these vital matters, as indeed it was intended to be by those who brought

about the meeting at Independence Hall and the preparation and adoption of the Declaration of Fraternalism, which on January 20, 1920, was officially inserted in the Congressional Record upon the unanimous vote of the United States Senate, on motion of Hon. Morris Sheppard.

The matter of chief moment in the final analysis, it would seem, is what practical results have been attained, or are likely to be, in transmuting what many perhaps thought were impossible or visionary dreams into realities or practical measures which place the necessary power at the command of those who seek to usher in the Age of Fraternalism in accordance with the teachings of the Golden Rule.

"The defeat and destruction of Hohenzollernism" was accomplished within a few short weeks after its demand in this historical document.

A League of Nations, successfully functioning for more than two years, with over fifty nations allied therein, is a fact, although this Nation is not as yet associated therewith in most vital respects.

As a part of the League of Nations, there is, as the Declaration demanded, "an International Council of Conciliation," which has achieved momentous results in the settling of disputes between various nations and communities of peoples.

The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, Holland, as Justice John Bassett Moore recently wrote me, is holding sessions and successfully functioning. To use his exact words, under date of June 26, 1922: "The first regular session of the Court is now in progress, and we are holding daily sittings in order to hear the representatives of the Governments and international organizations interested in the questions before us."

While "a declaration of world peace" has not as yet been signed in Independence Hall, the marvelously successful Disarmament Conference called by President Harding at Washington, the terms of which have been accepted by the Nations participating and are now being so faithfully and honestly carried out, was surely directly in line with what those who prepared and adopted the Declaration of Fraternalism had in mind.

Even in the hour of warfare, the Declaration stated: "In this hour, when so many of our brave sons and daughters are helping to perpetuate those blessings and bring them to the fraternalists of all the world, we pledge ourselves anew to the sacred and immortal principles of life, liberty and fraternalism which our noble and self-sacrificing forefathers promulgated in Independence Hall, recognizing that they embody the teachings of the founder of fraternalism as applied to home and country and all they hold dear and worth while; that they exemplify our attitude toward the peoples of all the earth who would enjoy these Heaven-inspired blessings."

Just recently, our former bitter enemy, Germany, gave the greatest possible proof that she believes in the good faith and "square-dealing" qualities of the United States when she signed an agreement for the appointment of a commission to settle the claims of the United States against Germany and requested the United States government to name an umpire for the commission. This, indeed, is an unusual procedure in international law and is indicative of Germany's good will and implicit faith that she will receive fair treatment. Associate Justice, Wm. R. Day, of the United States Supreme Court, was named by President Harding for the position of umpire. There will also be an American Commissioner.

The spirit of the Declaration of Fraternalism was also carried out to an almost miraculous extent by Herbert Hoover, Chairman of the American Measures for Russian Relief Committee and his noble co-workers throughout afflicted lands in their great labors of beneficence during which more than \$65,000,000 were expended for feeding and

caring for fully 10,000,000 of starving men, women and children. In Russia alone 788,878 tons of food were distributed for this purpose.

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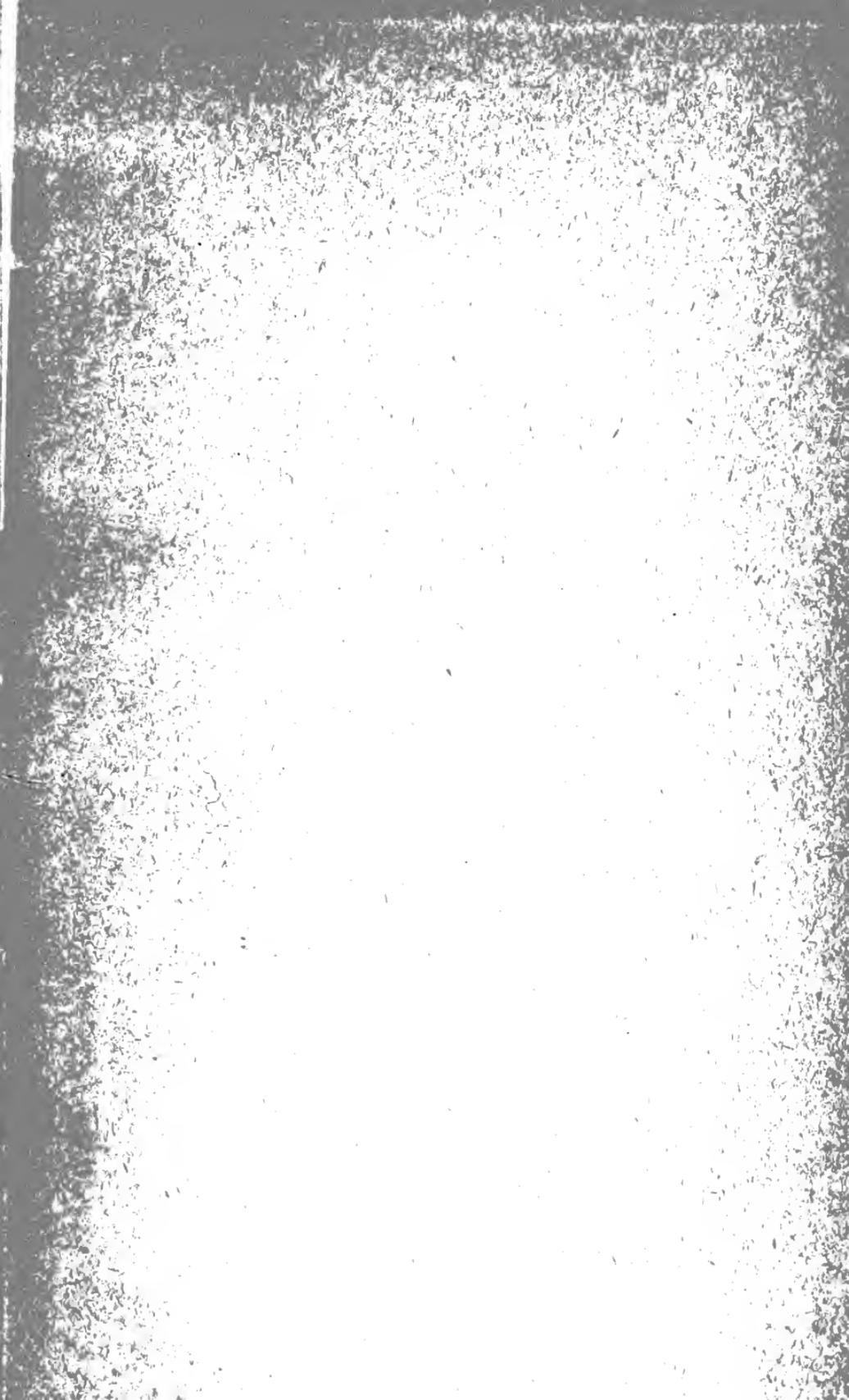
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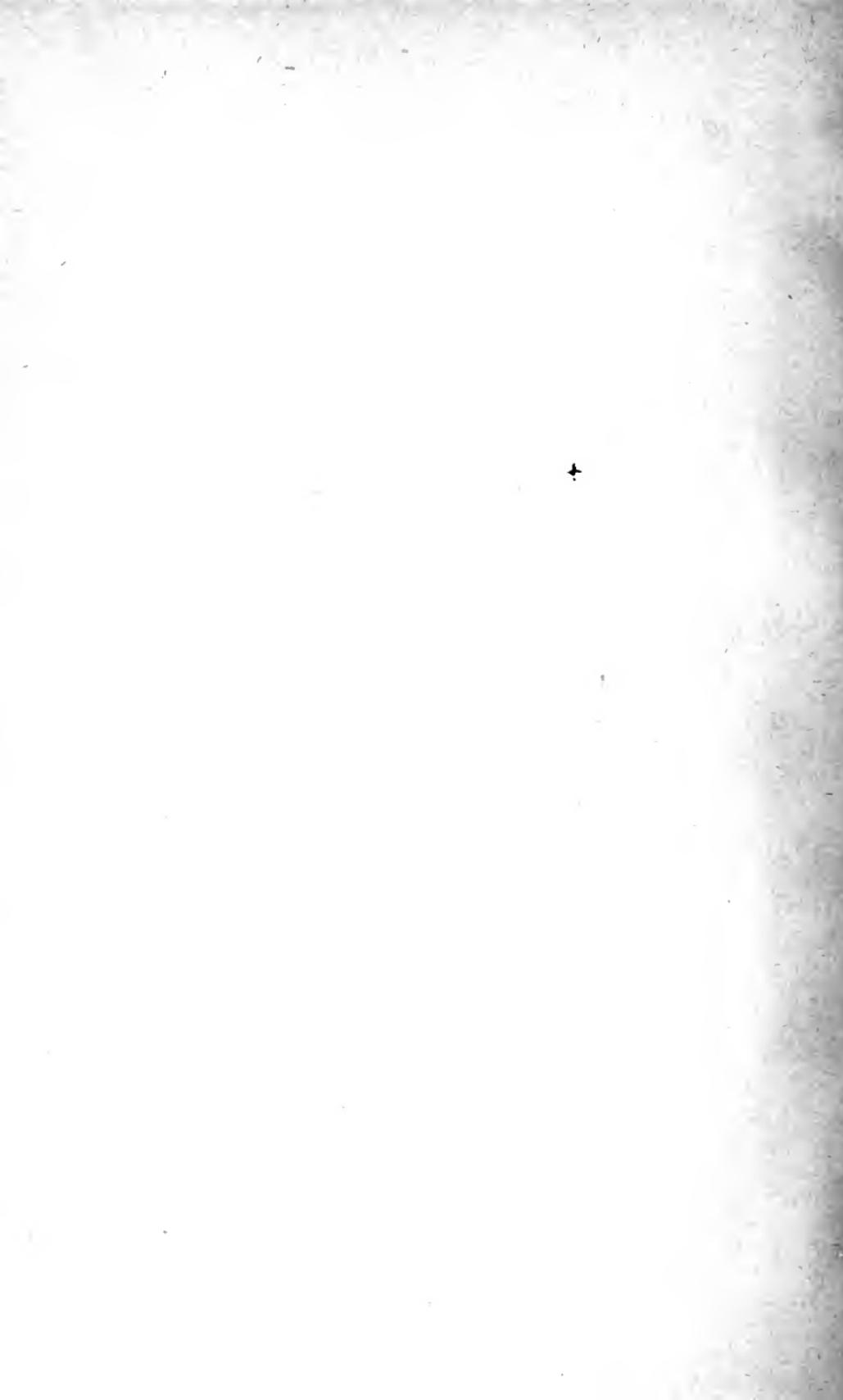
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