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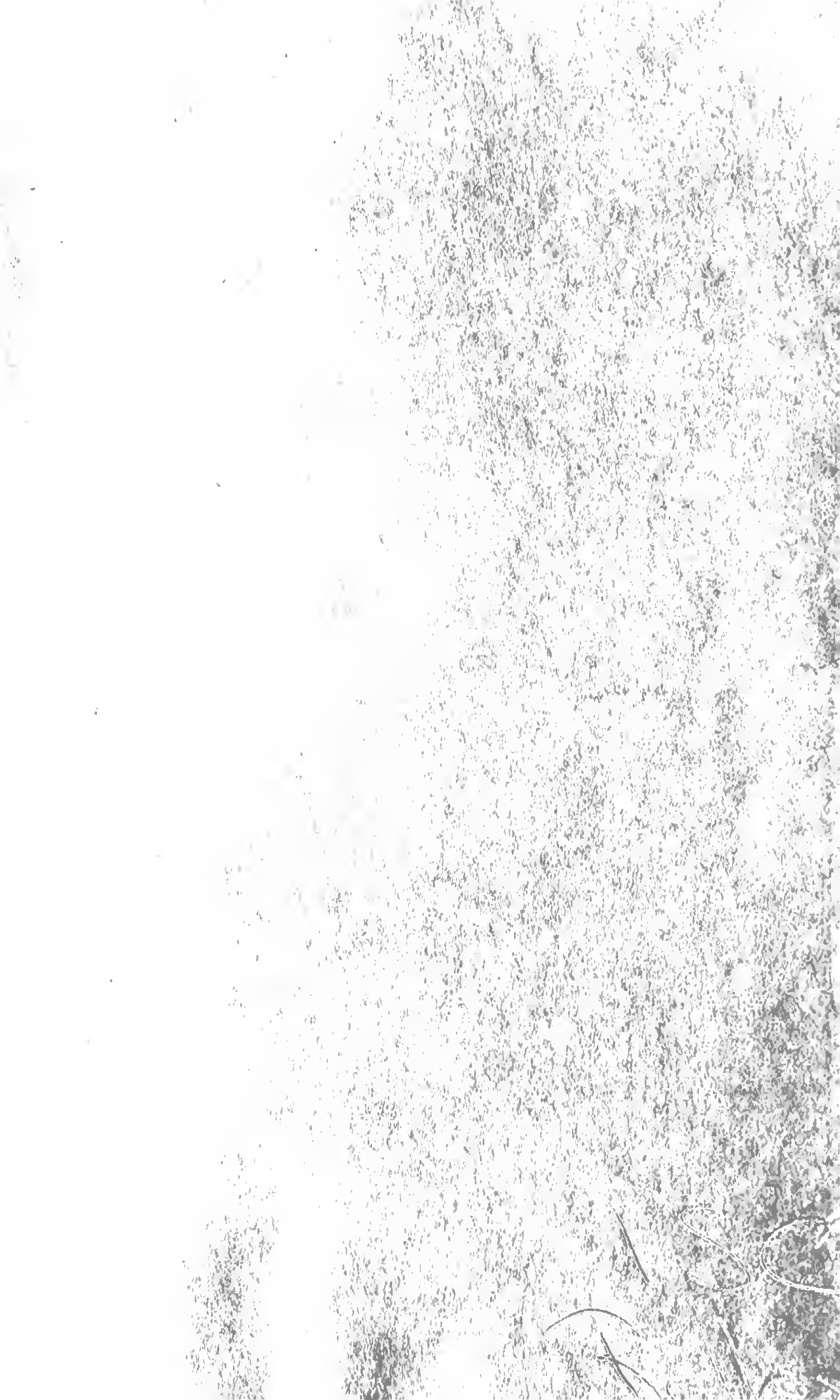

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PENNSYLVANIA

PROVINCE AND STATE

A HISTORY

FROM 1609 TO 1790

BY

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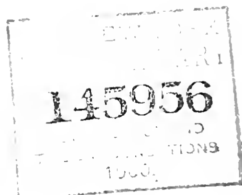
JOHN WANAMAKER

PHILADELPHIA AND NEW YORK

1899



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HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

CHAPTER X.

CONDUCT OF THE INDIANS DURING THE REVOLUTION.

As the French formed an alliance with the Indians during the war of 1755, so now did the British form an alliance with those whom twenty years before they sought to destroy. If the white settlers had brutalized and degraded them with rum, cheated them in trade, robbed them of their lands, and coarsely showed their mastery on every occasion, more than once did they pay a heavy penalty for their selfishness, shortsightedness and rascality. The American colonists feared the union of the Indians with the British, for they knew the nature of Indian warfare. An Indian was not a brave, open fighter, but a cowardly, mean one. Though hiding himself for days and weeks, and almost perishing with cold or hunger, to secure the chance of shooting his foe undiscovered, he was averse to forming into ranks and engaging in battle. Possessing a strong spirit of revenge, every white man knew that the Indian would prove relentless and untiring in compassing his destruction. It was now too late to win his good-will, for his spirit of revenge was at white heat. His hour to lay low his despoiler had come.

Yet during the first year of the war, the Indians were

not especially active. On the frontier some disturbances were experienced, but they were not very serious. By 1779, however, the situation had become exceedingly grave. The work of the British agents began to tell, and the Indians were strongly inclined to plunge into the conflict. They began to concentrate their forces in the Valley of the Wyoming, where existed a flourishing settlement, parted by many miles from the other portions of the Province. The settlers were from Connecticut. That colony had laid claim, by virtue of its original grant, to a considerable portion of Pennsylvania, and in 1753 a deed conveying a large tract to the Susquehanna Company had been executed at Albany by eighteen Indian chiefs, representing the Six Nations. The Susquehanna Company numbered eight hundred original proprietors. At that time the Governor of Pennsylvania had not acquired any title to the territory from the Indians. One of the two chiefs of the Mohawks, Peter Hendrick, an eloquent sachem and warrior of great note, who was in the proprietary interest, refused to sign the deed, and afterwards sought to have it set aside. The proprietary was more active than ever to procure a transfer of the land covered by this conveyance, and in 1768 this result was accomplished. By this treaty the proprietary acquired from the Six Nations the land they had previously sold to the Susquehanna Company.

The first white people to invade this beautiful valley were Count Zinzendorf and a minister named Mack and his wife, who went to Wyoming where the Shawanese lived, for the purpose of Christianizing them. Alarmed by the arrival of the strangers, who pitched their tents on the banks of the river below the town, a council of

chiefs assembled, at which Zinzendorf's proposition was considered. To these unlettered children of the wilderness, his mission seemed too improbable. Had he, in truth, braved the dangers of the ocean for the sole purpose of instructing them concerning the way of becoming happy after death, and without expecting any compensation for his trouble? Knowing of the desire of the white people to purchase Indian lands, they concluded that Zinzendorf's real object was to procure these for his own use, or to search for hidden treasures, or to examine the country with the hope of future conquest. They therefore resolved to assassinate him. Zinzendorf was alone in his tent, seated on a bundle of dry weeds, which formed his bed, engaged in writing. A curtain, formed of a blanket, guarded the entrance to his tent. It was night, and as the air of September was cool, he built a small fire. Outside, all was quiet except the gentle, ceaseless murmur of the river at the rapids. Stealthily the Indians approached the door of the tent. Removing the curtain, they saw the venerable man too deeply engaged in his thoughts either to notice their approach, or the crawling of a huge rattlesnake that had been aroused by the heat of the fire and was slowly drawing nearer to it. Beholding this sight the Indians shrunk from taking his life, and quitting the place, hastily returned to the town, and informed their companions that the Great Spirit protected the white man, for they had found him with no door to his tent, and had seen a large rattlesnake crawling harmlessly near his feet. Soon after, Conrad Weiser appeared, well known among the Indians, and Zinzendorf's life was safe. Permission was then given to him to begin his peaceful ministrations.

The white people who followed these gentle missionaries were of a different type. Far happier would both Indians and settlers have been, had the same pacific relations continued. The presence of the newcomers from Connecticut was hardly less welcome to the Indians than to the authorities of Pennsylvania.

The place where these missionaries carried on their work was called Wyalusing. David Zeisberger was the leader. Under his wise direction industry was established; lands were cleared and fenced; grain was planted and reaped; cattle and horses were raised; schools were opened for the education of Indian children. A bell, probably the first ever heard in Pennsylvania north of the Kittatinny Mountains, called the Indians to worship. Its tone, borne far distant by the breeze, must have come to the strange Indian roaming in the forest like a spirit's voice, though in truth it was the death-knell to his race. For three years the settlement flourished, and then the long-gathering storm burst. The Iroquois invaded the valley, and though Zinzendorf and the other Moravians were spared, the settlers and Indians were attacked, the Indian huts were burned, and Teedyuscung, the proud chief of the Delawares, miserably perished. The settlers who were not killed fled to the mountains. Destitute of food and clothing, they traversed the wilderness and finally reached their former homes. Such was the end of the first attempt to settle the valley by people from Connecticut.

In 1769 a second colony set forth. This time more progress was made in retaining possession. The same year a war broke out, not with the Indians, but with a force of Pennsylvanians who were determined that the

Connecticut settlers should not remain in the Province. Their fort was captured, the leader, Colonel Durkee and others were taken prisoners and sent to jail, and a second time the Yankees were expelled.

For a short period only did they keep out of the valley. Governor Penn applied to General Gage for aid. The British commander regarded the controversy as one between the settlers concerning property, in which it would be highly improper for the king's troops to interfere. Failing to secure his aid, Governor Penn issued a proclamation forbidding any person from making a settlement there unless by authority of the proprietaries or their lessees. A force was raised and placed under the command of Captain Ogden, with orders to repair to the valley and dispossess the Yankees. They marched under the auspices of John Van Campen, a magistrate, whose zeal had led him to take an active part in the controversy. One may wonder why an adequate force was not raised to expel the Connecticut people, and utterly destroy their hope of retaining the valley, for the Province could have easily crushed all the power of the Susquehanna Company. Doubtless the weak movements of the governor were the result of his unpopularity. The larger part of the valley had been surveyed and appropriated by the proprietaries, consequently the people sympathized strongly with the Wyoming settlers.

Captain Ogden, with his company, started by way of the Lehigh Water Gap and Fort Allen. Like an old warrior, he marched with celerity and secrecy. On the 21st of September, he encamped at the head-waters of Solomon's Creek. The next morning the valley was before his gaze. All was quiet; the settlers were in

their fields. Dividing his force of one hundred and forty men into detachments of ten, he directed them to descend secretly and seize those who were at work. The plan was perfectly executed; many were captured, the remainder fled to Fort Durkee. During the night, another portion, who were selected to carry tidings of their disaster to the friendly settlement and solicit their aid, were taken prisoners. After a short but severe struggle the fort was captured, the leaders were sent to Philadelphia, the others were escorted to jail at Easton. For the third time the settlers were rudely driven out of the valley.

Yet the end had not come. Though suffering oft through her unconscious beauty, they were again drawn back by the valley; they could not keep away. Two years had passed and Peter Kachlein was Sheriff of Northampton county. Once more Pennsylvania sought to gain possession of the valley. Captain Amos Ogden was again chosen leader of a military expedition. Among those who accompanied him was his brother Nathan. So active were the efforts on the part of the proprietary that, within a month from the expulsion of the Pennamites and in the depth of winter, a force of more than one hundred men was above Fort Durkee. Like a prudent officer, Ogden first sought to provide shelter and defence for his men. A fort, called Fort Wyoming, was begun sixty rods above Fort Durkee, and, within three or four days, was fit for habitation. Sheriff Kachlein then proceeded to Fort Durkee declaring his name and character, and demanding the surrender of all persons within, in the name of Pennsylvania. Captain Stewart stood on the battlements prepared to answer the summons. He replied that he had

taken possession in the name and behalf of the colony of Connecticut, in whose jurisdiction they were, and in that name and by that authority he would defend it.

Sheriff Kachlein withdrew, and work was continued on the new defence. Having completed his preparations, on the 20th of January Captain Ogden marched forth to capture Fort Durkee. Stewart and his men were ready. More daring leaders never met. A peremptory demand for surrender was as peremptorily refused. Ogden opened fire, which was promptly returned. At the first volley several of Ogden's men fell, and among them, his brother Nathan, mortally wounded. The fight did not last long. The besieging party withdrew. During the night Captain Stewart, taking with him twenty or thirty trusted followers, abandoned Fort Durkee, leaving, perhaps, as many more persons to the vengeance of the enemy. In the morning his retreat was known to Captain Ogden, who took possession of the fort and sent the garrison to jail at Easton.

Captain Ogden now endeavored to render Fort Wyoming impregnable, so that the Yankees could not effectually assail it. Vain were his plan and hope, for early in April Captain Zebulon Butler, with Captain Stewart as an assistant, accompanied by one hundred and fifty armed men, laid vigorous siege to Fort Wyoming. Butler's descent had been made so secretly that Captain Ogden had not the slightest notice of his approach; and the fort was so completely invested that no messenger could be sent to the proprietary. The fort was completely cut off and the only cannon, a four-pounder, which had been carefully hid by the Yankees, was put in position; but skillful gunners were lacking,

and it was not effective. Another was invented. A large pepperage log was fashioned, bored and hooped from breech to muzzle with stout bands of iron, painted black with a red mouth, and mounted on a wagon. It looked formidable; in truth, it was quite as harmless as the bogus guns of the great fortress at Pekin. The first discharge excited admiration and hope. The second time the gun was charged more heavily, the cannon split, and one of the iron bands was thrown across the river. So closely invested was the fort, that not a man ventured for food, fuel or water without a volley from the enemy. Soon the garrison felt the pressure of actual want. During the darkness of the night sufficient water was brought from the river to last through the day, and Ogden determined to hold out to the last. But his stock of provisions was not large and surrender seemed inevitable. Something must be done. After midnight on the 12th of July, the Yankee sentinels saw a suspicious object floating on the river. They fired a volley, but it produced no apparent effect, the thing still floated gently with the current. The firing was discontinued and the wonder increased. Captain Ogden had tied his clothes in a bundle, and fastened his hat to the top. To this he tied one end of a string, and the other to his arm. Noiselessly going into the water, he swam on his back so deeply that only his lips were out of water. The movement required extraordinary skill and self-possession. He floated down, drawing after him the bundle. As he had expected, this drew the fire of his foes. When beyond danger he dressed himself in his drenched clothing, perforated with bullets, and on the third day was in the city, having traveled one hundred and twenty miles through an inhospitable wilderness.

Men and provisions were hurried forward to the scene of action. Sentinels were stationed in proper places to watch the movements of Captain Dick, who, with pack-horses laden with ammunition and provisions, was coming to the rescue. An ambush was laid for the newcomers. Knowing that the provisions were the most important, if the escort could be driven within the fort, where they would assist in eating up the scanty remnant left, and if the new supplies could be cut off, the end would be gained without bloodshed. When Dick with his party had nearly reached the fort, a volley had the desired effect. Dick and Ogden, with about twenty men, rushed for the fort, while their pack-horses with the provisions, that were in the rear, were captured. This was a sad, yet ludicrous ending of the attempt to secure new supplies. Some money was raised from the treasury, to enlist new recruits; in the meantime the siege was pushed with greater vigor than ever. Once more blood began to flow; Ogden was wounded. Finally, on the 14th of August, the fort surrendered. Thus the Susquehanna Company was again in possession of the valley, and the people proceeded with celerity to increase their settlements and consolidate their power. The war had lasted nearly three years.

In 1775, when the clouds of the Revolution began to form, and all energies ought to have united to repel the common foe, another effort was made to conquer the valley. Hitherto, all efforts by the Province had been of a civil character, as the sheriffs were the chief officers, supported by the military. This time an effort was made by Colonel Plunket with a much larger force. He had seven hundred armed men, with the high sheriff of Northumberland as the civil leader.

Several boats from Wyoming, trading with the settlements below, were seized on passing Fort Augusta, the modern Sunbury, and their cargoes confiscated. Early in December, Plunket started on his expedition. On the 20th, he arrived at the mouth of Nescopeck Creek. Congress had attempted to quiet the dispute, but their legislation was of no avail. Plunkett was determined to conquer. On the 23d his force arrived at the lower end of the valley, and Colonel Butler had mustered three hundred men and boys for its defence. As there were not guns enough to arm all, several were armed with scythes fastened on handles projecting straight as possible, a formidable weapon in the hands of a soldier close to his enemy. These weapons were called "the end of time." Colonel Butler dispatched Major Garrett, his second in command, to visit Plunket with a flag of truce and to ascertain the meaning of his movements. He answered that he came as an attendant on Sheriff Cooke, who was authorized to arrest several persons at Wyoming for violating the laws of Pennsylvania. Garrett reported that the enemy outnumbered the Yankees more than two to one. "The conflict will be a sharp one, boys," said Butler; "I, for one, am ready to die if need be for my country." A breastwork had been formed, consisting of a rampart of logs, to defend the valley. Plunket determined to attack in front, and while doing so a detachment, which was sent up the mountain, was to descend and turn the right flank of Butler's force. Forseeing this danger, Butler had guarded against it, and the flanking army was repelled. Finding Butler's position too strong to be carried by storm, on Christmas day Plunket withdrew. Thus ended the last attempt to conquer the valley by force.

On the opening of the Revolution, the settlers were ready to contend against Great Britain. Early in the conflict efforts had been made to gain the good will of the Indians, for their hostility was greatly dreaded. Their treachery and revenge were measureless, owing to their long list of genuine grievances. Commissioners were sent to them, meetings were held, many words spoken, but the savage heart was steeled by sixty years' of shameless disregard of his rights, his weaknesses and his wishes. The council at Onondaga made bold professions of peace; but these were to lull the frontiers into security. The Indians skulked through the woods, and hid themselves in unexpected places, to enjoy the delicious treat of shooting a man without warning. Their vengeance was so deep and deadly that no treaty and no profession was worth anything. All their fine words were simply decoys for continuing their old game of warfare. They hung around the frontiers, and whenever a man or small party wandered away for a short distance, too often he fell a victim to his relentless foe. At last, the State felt that the time had come to act. The Indians grew bolder, and seemed determined on more severe action against the frontier settlements. The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment, commanded by Colonel Brodhead, was sent to Fort Pitt, and the Fourth was sent up the Susquehanna to Fort Augusta to reinforce those who were trying to protect themselves. The Indians became more active; they drove the men under cover of the fort, killing three and wounding several more. They burned many houses, killed cattle and drove off the horses. Another party of Indians killed seven of the militia who were stationed near Muncy Hill and took two or three prisoners. The

same day the Indians fired at thirteen others who went to hunt their horses four or five miles from Fort Muncy, and all were taken or killed except one man. In this manner was the frontier harassed by the savage enemy. President Reed besought Washington for aid ; in reply he was informed that the continental force was too weak to permit the sending of any troops to the frontier, and that the Province ought to take care of itself. A long correspondence followed; the Indians grew bolder; finally they determined to invade the Valley of Wyoming. This was in 1778. At that time the valley had recovered from its conflicts with the authorities of Pennsylvania. Both had appealed to Congress, and both expected that in due time Congress would settle the question. In the meantime two companies of soldiers had been organized for home defence. No sooner was this done, than they were "ordered to join General Washington with all possible expedition." General Washington's army was extremely weak; but the frontier was left in a helpless condition. Those who planned the invasion into the Wyoming Valley well understood the situation. The year opened in peace; the valley was cold, and covered with snow. Smoke curled upward from a hundred cottages. The barns surrounded by stacks of wheat were proof of abundance. Cattle and sheep shared in the plenty of those fertile plains. The watch-dog barked fiercely as the sled, drawn by a span of horses with jingling bells and a load of merry girls and young men, passed swiftly along. The wives and widows of those who had gone to war or fallen in the strife were not forgotten. Coffee was not much known in those days, but the exhilarating tea graced the table on which were smoking buckwheat

cakes, luscious honeycomb, venison steak, well-preserved shad, boiled chickens, well-fatted roasted pigs, and delicious turkeys. Some of the soldiers had returned from the attack at Millstone in New Jersey, and entertained the villagers with vivid accounts of their victory. Burgoyne, too, had surrendered during the summer; and while this was a cause for great rejoicing, it was subdued by fears that the Indians, released from service in the northeast, would turn their dreaded arms on the southern and western frontiers.

Early in the spring Congress learned of a meditated attack on Wyoming; rumor succeeded rumor that the British and Indians were preparing an expedition to destroy the settlement. As the position was defenceless and the enemy was exasperated, nothing was more probable. Wyoming was an important barrier between the savages and the German settlements below the mountains, and if that were destroyed, the enemy could easily make incursions into Northampton and Berks, strike a blow, and then retreat into the impenetrable mountain forests. Prudence therefore warned the settlers to prepare for the defence of their homes. The two companies in Washington's army earnestly pleaded to return. Notwithstanding the danger, they were not released. In March, Congress resolved that a company of foot soldiers be raised in the town of Westmoreland for the defence of the town and the settlement of the frontiers, to serve one year from the time of their enlisting. As the men were to be drawn from that vicinity, the defence was not strengthened by a single man. Besides, so many had enlisted, and were in the army, how could others be spared from the fields?

In May, parties cutting off all communication with

the upper country hovered around the settlements twenty miles distant or more. Preparations were made for the invasion, but no families were attacked, and no houses were burned. Shots were exchanged rarely, as the enemy rather kept aloof than courted battle. Then two Indians, former residents of Wyoming, came down with their squaws on a visit, and professed warm friendship. The settlers, suspecting they were spies, carefully watched them. An old companion of one of them, with more than Indian cunning, gave his visitor sufficient drink to unloosen his tongue, whereupon he avowed that the Indians were preparing to destroy the settlement.

The people in the outer settlements fled to the forts, and the wives of the soldiers sent messengers, calling on them by every tender tie to come home. Still Congress and Connecticut, with more than the obstinacy of Pharaoh, would not let the companies go. On hearing this last message from their loved ones, the men became desperate; every commissioned officer except two resigned, and more than twenty-five of the men, with or without leave, left the ranks and hastened to the valley.

The enemy concentrated at Newtown and Tioga. The forts were filled with women and children. There was only one cannon, a four pounder, which was in Wilkes-Barre Fort. The indispensable labors of the field were performed by armed men. It was certain that the attack would be made, but the time was unknown. The enemy could descend the river when it was slightly swollen, at the speed of five miles an hour, and therefore could be in the valley within a day after leaving their camp. As there always was a rise of water in

June, the settlers supposed that during "the June fresh" they would embark.

The Senecas were the chief nation engaged in the expedition, with detachments from the Mohawks and other tribes. While they were concentrating at Tioga, a delegation of Seneca chiefs, daring to presume on the kindness and inefficiency of Congress, went to Philadelphia to amuse the members and put them off their guard by negotiating a new treaty. By such deceitful conduct they hoped to lull Congress into the belief that there was no danger, and therefore no need of sending troops to the frontier, nor did they leave the city until the fatal blow had been struck.

The enemy numbered four hundred British provincials, consisting of Colonel John Butler's Rangers and a detachment of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens; the rest were Tories from Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, with six or seven hundred Indians. Descending the Susquehanna from Tioga, they landed below the mouth of Bowman's Creek, twenty miles above the valley. Securing their boats, they marched across the peninsula formed by the river, and arrived on the Western Mountain during the evening near the end of June. Colonel Zebulon Butler assumed the command of the settlers. His little army consisted of four companies, none of them having more than fifty men. Two forts had already surrendered, and unless something were done, each man would fly to the protection of his own family. Nothing was to be gained by waiting for the coming of reinforcements. As the settlers approached the enemy, they perceived that the fort at Wintermoot's, located in a notch in the mountain, was in flames. Here were two plains; the upper and lower,

divided by a bank fifteen or twenty feet high. After forming his plan of attack on the upper plain, Colonel Butler made a brief address to the soldiers: "Men, yonder is the enemy. We have come out to fight, not only for liberty, but for life itself, and what is dearer, to preserve our homes from conflagration, and our women and children from the tomahawk. Stand firm the first shot, and the Indians will give way. Every man to his duty." The enemy were commanded by Colonel John Butler, who, divested of feathers and finery, appeared on the ground with a handkerchief tied around his head. A flanking party of Indian marksmen were concealed among logs and bushes under the bank. At four in the afternoon the battle began. Colonel Zebulon Butler ordered his men to fire, and at each discharge to advance a step. As the men advanced, the British line gave way; but the Indian flanking party, from their hiding places, did effective work. Within half an hour the superiority of the enemy's force was developed. The Indians had completely outflanked the left, and the wing was thrown into confusion. An order was given that one of the companies should wheel back so as to form an angle with the main line, and thus present its front, instead of flank to the enemy To perform such an evolution under a hot fire is a difficult feat, and as soon as the attempt was made, the savages rushed forward with horrid yells. Some had mistaken the order to fall back for one to retreat, and that fatal word ran along the line. Utter confusion now prevailed on the left. Colonel Zebulon Butler threw himself between the fires of the opposing ranks, and rode up and down the line in the most reckless exposure. "Don't leave me, my children," he said, "and the victory is ours;" but it

was too late. Still, the men on the left held their ground, though resistance was hopeless. The enemy were too numerous; every captain had fallen. The men had fought bravely, but were overpowered by a force three-fold their own.

After the battle followed the massacre. A portion of the Indian flanking party pushed forward in the rear of the line to cut off retreat to the fort, and then pressed the retreating army towards the river. The bank of the river by the fort was lined by anxious wives and mothers. A few swam over and escaped. Others were too closely pressed and were killed in the river. Many were lured to the shore by the promise of quarter, and then butchered. One hundred and sixty were killed, one hundred and forty escaped. Captain Bidlack was thrown alive on burning logs, held down with pitchforks, and tortured until he expired. Prisoners taken with the solemn promise of quarter were gathered together and placed in circles. Sixteen or eighteen were arranged around one large stone, since known as the Bloody Rock. Surrounded by a body of Indians, Queen Esther assumed the office of executioner, and with the tomahawk she passed around the circle, dashing out the brains, or sinking the tomahawk into the head of the prisoner. A number had fallen, and her rage increased. Seeing that there was no hope, four of them, with a sudden spring, shook off the Indians who held them, and fled for the thicket. Rifles cracked, Indians yelled, and tomahawks flew, but they escaped. The bodies of fourteen were found around the rock where they had fallen, scalped and mangled, and nine more were found in a circle not far off.

The next day, on the 3d of July, Captain Franklin arrived at Forty Fort with a company of thirty-five, which gave steadiness to the broken remnant. It was determined to concentrate all at the fort, the largest in the valley, and defend themselves to the last extremity. A messenger soon returned and reported that this was impracticable, for fugitives were flying in every direction to the wilderness. Consternation and horror reigned. The only hope of safety seemed to be in flight. The way toward Wind Gap and Stroudsburg was crowded. Soon they began to suffer from fatigue and hunger. Many perished on the way, and the story of the retreat of these fugitives is one of the saddest in all history.

Early in the morning after the battle, Colonel John Butler sent a detachment across the river to Pittston, and Captain Blanchard surrendered on terms of fair capitulation. In the afternoon Forty Fort was surrendered. As there was a quantity of whiskey in the fort, Colonel John Butler desired that it might be destroyed, for he feared the consequences if the Indians should become intoxicated. It was emptied into the river.

The gates of the fort were thrown open, and what arms could be found, including those of Franklin's men who had retreated, were piled up in the centre. At the appointed time the victors approached with colors flying and music playing. A column of white men four abreast were on the left; on the right were the savages in four files. The whites were headed by Colonel Butler, and the Indians by Queen Esther. Immediately on entering the fort the Tories seized the arms. An order from Colonel Butler to replace them was fol-

lowed by an address to the Indians, "See a present the Yankees have made you," and they took possession of them.

In a few hours after the surrender of the fort, the Indians began to plunder. Colonel Butler gave peremptory orders to the chief to stop; after another ineffectual effort Colonel Butler said, "I can do nothing with them." Every hour they grew bolder and more insolent. Finding his commands disregarded, and his authority set at naught, Colonel Butler withdrew from the plains. Perhaps his retreat was hastened by fear of an attack, but the stronger probability is that he sought to restrain the savages as much as possible from their bloody work by leaving the valley.

This bold partisan leader was in strange company, for he had descended from the family of the Duke of Ormond. With a rough visage, fat and below the middle stature, yet active, he was an agreeable rather than a forbidding man. Nervous, he spoke quickly, repeating his words when he was excited. Of all the leaders, white or Indian, from whom the Americans suffered in revolutionary or pre-revolutionary times, "the great Duke of Ormond's" descendant was the most atrocious. And yet he could have demanded severer terms. The settlement was wholly at his mercy. He withdrew his own men without taking any plunder. Nor could he have checked the savages. His great and unpardonable crime was in arming and taking command of blood-thirsty and unprincipled savages, who he knew, in the event of success, could not be restrained. Yet if his conduct has been so bitterly condemned by every historian, what must be said of the strange forgetfulness of Congress and of the Governor of

Pennsylvania, in leaving the valley a prey to such an invader?

Notwithstanding the awfulness of the scene, the departure of the Indians from the valley was as ludicrous as it was melancholy. Mounted astride on horses, squaws brought up the rear, with belts of scalps stretched on small hoops around their waists for girdles, and each wearing four, five, six or more dresses of chintz or silk, one over the other; having on their heads three, four or five bonnets, one within the other, with the wrong side in front. In this style and fashion they departed from the scene of their awful work.

One of the persons taken captive was a little girl, whose brothers survived the dreadful day. They often wondered concerning her fate. Every now and then tidings floated eastward of a captive girl who had been carried into the far regions of the West, and was still alive. Year after year they were continually looking and hoping. At last, in their old age, she was discovered to be with Indians in the far-off Illinois country. They went and inquired for her. Her finger had been injured during childhood, and when at seventy-five years of age she was asked to show her hands to them, they knew from the singular injury that they had found their long-lost sister. They invited her to return, but knowing only an Indian's life, and having always been kindly treated, she desired to spend her last days with her captors.

At last, it was determined to take active and efficient measures to protect the frontiers. Colonel Hartley, with the New Eleventh Regiment, as the body was called, was directed to go to Sunbury, and from that point endeavor to protect, as far as possible, the people from Indian slaughter and plunder.

The frontier was very long, from Wyoming to Allegheny, for a small body of two hundred men to defend. Never was a regiment more actively engaged. In his report to Congress he says: "We waded or swam the River Lycoming upwards of twenty times. The difficulties in crossing the Alps, or going up the Kennebec, could not have been greater than those our men experienced for the time." In lonely woods and groves were found the haunts and lurking-places of the savage murderers who had desolated the frontier. Colonel Hartley "saw the huts where they had dressed and dried the scalps of the helpless women and children who had fallen into their hands." On several occasions the Indians were attacked; some were killed, others were taken prisoners; Tioga was burned, and also Queen Esther's palace. If he had had five hundred regular troops, and one hundred and fifty more light ones, with a piece or two of artillery, he could have destroyed Chemung, which was the "receptacle of all villanous Indians and Tories from the different tribes and states. From this place they made their excursions against the frontier of New York and Pennsylvania, and committed those horrid murders and desecrations with which the people had become so familiar."

The Eighth Pennsylvania Regiment had been organized to defend the western frontier, and was to garrison the posts of Presque Isle, Le Boeuf and Kittanning. Seven companies were raised in Westmoreland, and one in Bedford. No sooner was the Regiment raised than it was ordered to join General Washington. On the 5th of March, 1777, the Regiment was ordered to Fort Pitt, and by direction of General McIntosh, Colonel Brodhead, the commander, made a detour up the West Branch of

the Susquehanna to attack the savages who were ravaging Wyoming and the West Branch Valley. He entered Penn's Valley, one of the loveliest in the State, where two of his soldiers who had participated in the campaign against Burgoyne were killed by the Indians in sight of Potter's Fort. Soon afterwards, relieved by Colonel Hartley's Regiment, he went to Fort Pitt. At a later period the Regiment did valiant service in attacking and defeating the Indians in that section of the State. The soldiers went down the Ohio to the mouth of the Beaver, and there built Fort McIntosh, and the following year Fort Lawrence at the mouth of the Muskingum.

Meantime, in the East it was determined to chastise the Indians. To that end a large force was collected under the command of General Sullivan, which was to march into the heart of the Indian country, and, if possible, attack them and destroy their villages. For centuries they had lived at the head-waters of the Susquehanna, the Delaware and the Mohawk, on the delightful borders of the smaller lakes. The great head, where the council-fire was held, was at Onondaga. By the end of July the force was organized and ready to march. One hundred and twenty boats had been equipped for the expedition. The army consisted of three brigades. The first, commanded by General Poor, consisted of New England troops; the second was a New Jersey brigade, under the command of General Maxwell; and the third was General Hand's. In this brigade were the Pennsylvania regiments of Colonel Richard Butler, Colonel Hartley, Colonel Hubley and the German Battalion. Besides these regiments was Colonel Procter's Artillery, a detachment from Morgan's Rifle Corps,

commanded by Major Parr, which included a number of expert riflemen from Wyoming; Captain Spalding's Westmoreland Independent Company, Captain Schott's Company of Riflemen, and a company of Wyoming militia, the whole force numbering thirty-five hundred men. The army assembled at Wyoming and marched up the east side of the river. On the first night the army encamped at the junction of the Susquehanna and Lackawanna; on the 9th at Queen Esther's Plains or Sheshequin, and on the 11th the soldiers reached Tioga Point, after wading the Susquehanna to their armpits, carrying their cartridge-boxes aloft on their bayonets. Here they encamped.

General James Clinton, who had wintered on the Mohawk, advanced to Otsego Lake, the head of the Susquehanna, and built two hundred batteaux, and damming up the outlet, prepared an artificial rise on which he was borne downward one hundred miles. On the 22d of August his troops were welcomed by a salute of artillery from those of General Sullivan. Among them were the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment and a detachment from Morgan's Rifles that had been sent to Schoharie to chastise the Indians soon after the battle of Monmouth.

At Tioga Point a strong stockade was erected, where all the stores not absolutely needed were placed. Two or three cannon were mounted, arrangements were made for the sick, and then the army passed beyond the river mountains, and reached an open country. The only stand made by the Indians was at Newtown, eighteen miles from Tioga Point, on the Tioga or Chemung River. Colonel John Butler, his son, the two Johnsons, besides others, commanded the British

Tories. Brant was at the head of the Indian warriors of the Six Nations. On the north side of the river there was a bend, forming almost a right angle; here the enemy had a breastwork nearly half a mile long, and was prepared for the decisive battle. Their right and rear were guarded by the stream; only their left was exposed, and to protect this, bodies of sharp-shooters were stationed on the neighboring hills. To mask their works, pine shrubs had been cut and stuck up in front as though they were growing. Major Parr having discovered the Indian line of defence, General Sullivan gave orders to General Poor to scale the hills on his right, and then to fall on the left flank and rear of the enemy. Procter with his artillery took up a position to render his work effective, while Parr, with his rifle corps, was soon engaged. The enemy stood their ground with determined resolution until the decisive movements of Poor cleared the hills and uncovered their flank, when they immediately fled. The true Indian character appeared. Cunning and patient, impetuous and terrible in attack, overbearing and cruel in victory, so when they are defeated and broken-spirited they are cowards, and no power can rally them. No serious attempt was afterwards made to check the advance of the army.

There was no delay. The army was in the Indian country, and hundred of fields teeming with corn, beans and other vegetables were laid waste. Great orchards abounded, and near the town, between the Seneca and Cayuga Lakes, were fifteen hundred peach-trees heavily laden with fruit. All were cut down. Deeply were the Indians made to drink of the cup they had so often forced to the lips of the frontier settlers.

Though the soldiers were active, the number of Indian towns and quantity of produce to be destroyed were so great that they were fully employed a month in accomplishing their work. Nearly 160,000 bushels of corn were destroyed, besides towns and villages. The farthest point of advance was Genesee Castle, at the large flats on the river bearing that name.

Having destroyed all the huts and crops, the army withdrew from the country. Meanwhile Colonel Brodhead had laid waste the country along the Allegheny, inhabited by Mingo, Muncy and Seneca Indians. With six or seven hundred men he advanced two hundred miles up the river, destroying villages and cornfields. Unable to resist his army, after one skirmish they abandoned their villages, and sought safety in the woods.

Sullivan returned with his troops to Standing Stone Bottom. On the 5th of October the whole army, including the New York Brigade, except those in charge of the pack-horses, embarked on board the boats, and floated down the Susquehanna, cheered by songs and music. It was hoped that the Indians would go further westward. Though they ceased to terrorize over the inhabitants of the frontier, yet their annoyances continued until the end.

After the closing of the war, the contest between the dwellers in the Wyoming Valley and the authorities of Pennsylvania was wisely submitted to arbitration. The Supreme Executive Council prayed Congress to appoint commissioners "to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question, agreeably to the 9th article of the Confederation." Five men were appointed to meet at Trenton in November, 1782, and

they were in session forty-one judicial days. On the 30th of December they pronounced the following judgment: "We are unanimously of opinion that the State of Connecticut has no right to the lands in controversy. We are also unanimously of opinion that the jurisdiction and preëmption of all the territory lying within the charter boundary of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the State of Connecticut, do of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania." Thus ended the long controversy for the lovely Valley of the Wyoming.

Of the frontier it may be truly said that it was a seven years' battle-ground with the Indians during the Revolution. The remains of burnt houses, abandoned fields overgrown with weeds, fences broken down, men, women and children slain, silence and desolation in many a place of once joyful industry—these were the depressing mementos of Indian warfare. Though the records of the incessant encounters with the Indians are scanty, enough exist to show that, besides the military organizations already described, many companies of rangers were formed to protect families living in forts and toilers in the fields.

Nor did the Pennsylvania soldiers circumscribe their Indian fighting to the State. An expedition was organized in Virginia to destroy the Indian villages on the Sandusky River. President Reed listened with favor to the enterprise, though its ultimate object was to extend the western boundary of Virginia. General Clarke, a Virginian, was chosen commander of the expedition, though many of the soldiers who accompanied him lived on the disputed borderland of Virginia and Pennsylvania. About one hundred volunteers from Westmoreland, under the command of Colonel Lochry, also

enlisted. They started for Fort Henry (now Wheeling), where they expected to join the forces of General Clarke; but he had arrived first and, after waiting several days, continued westward. Lochry followed, but the Indians, discovering the smallness of his force, attacked him, killed forty-two and took sixty-four prisoners. Clarke, weakened by desertions, by Lochry's overthrow, and by the non-arrival of reinforcements from Kentucky, abandoned the enterprise.

The spirit of invasion, once aroused, could not be easily quelled. In an evil hour it was determined to destroy the Moravian towns on the Muskingum River. The real or pretended reason for destroying them was the shelter they afforded to hostile Indians. Most of the soldiers who took part in this unhallowed work were from Washington county, with Colonel David Williamson for a commander. Not content with destroying them, the next year the Sandusky enterprise was renewed under the leadership of Colonel William Crawford of Westmoreland County. With him were four hundred and eighty men, enlisted from western Pennsylvania, chiefly from Washington County. On Sandusky Plains he met his foe, was defeated and compelled to retreat. On the second day, Colonel Crawford, Dr. Knight and seven others were captured. Knight escaped, but Crawford's fate was dreadful, for he was roasted at a stake. Rarely has Nemesis so swiftly and terribly avenged a great wrong, as she did the destruction of Gnadenhütten.[1]

[1] "For a full account of these expeditions, see Crumrine's Washington County, Ch. VII. and VIII; Albert's County of Westmoreland, Ch. XXV; Butterfield's Expedition against Sandusky; Rosenthal's Journal of a Volunteer Expedition to Sandusky; Pa. Archives, Vol. 14, 2d Series, p. 681.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AND THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SECTION I.

The Presidencies of Wharton, Bryan and Reed. 1777–1781.

THE war of the Revolution was simply one step, the most palpable and daring, in a revolution begun long before and still in hopeful progress. A venerable order, resting on personal authority, had passed away, and once more the representative institutions of Greece and Rome, for many centuries sunk out of sight, appeared above the subsiding waves. Their form was indeed greatly changed, but their essential principle was the same. Again could the people choose their own rulers. Thus acting, as possessors of supreme political power, they chose Thomas Wharton, Jr., on February 14, 1777, the first President of the Supreme Executive Council. On the 5th of March he was inaugurated with imposing ceremonies, by the style of "His Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Jr., Esq., President of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief in and over the same." From an early hour the people began to assemble at the court-house. On all the highways in the surrounding country might be seen farmers driving toward the city to behold the novel

scene. Converging to the same place, with what good-natured impatience did they wait for some sign of the great event they had come to witness. The first president, would he also be the last? This question was doubtless addressed by more than one bystander to another. At length, the hour for the simple, yet impressive ceremony arrived. The first to appear was the high sheriff, at whose bidding the confusing hum ceased. The president and speaker of the Assembly then came forward. The next actor was the clerk of the House, who declared the election of the President and Vice-President by the General Assembly and Supreme Executive Council. The announcement was followed with a heavy roar from thirteen cannon and the departure of the people for the city tavern, where an entertainment was provided by order of the Assembly. To this the members of the Congress, then in the city, and the general officers of the continental army were invited. Seventeen toasts were drunk, and there was more cannon-firing and bell-ringing. In this manner was inaugurated the first chief magistrate under the new constitution.

Wharton had long shown his interest in the revolutionary movement. He had served as a member of the committee of correspondence, and of the committee of safety; also in the provincial convention of deputies that framed the constitution. When the council of safety superseded the committee of safety, by the order of the provincial convention, Wharton was chosen president of the council. Untiring in the public service, by his many well-performed labors he had proved his fitness to direct the destinies of the infant State. The way before him was difficult, and a less hopeful spirit

would have shrunk from the heavy task. Politically, he was a Moderate Constitutionalist. Though participating in the making of the constitution, he was not classed as a radical; to his opponents, therefore, he was more acceptable than a man of stronger type. In a letter to St. Clair soon after the adoption of the constitution, he said: "There are many faults which I hope one day to see removed; but it is true that if the government should at this time be overset, it would be attended with the worst consequences, not only to this State, but to the whole continent in the opposition we are making to Great Britain. If a better frame of government could be adopted, such a one as would please a much greater majority than the present one, I should be very happy in seeing it brought about." This letter reveals his character, his willingness to serve the State, to preserve harmony among all, and to strengthen the cause he loved so well.

Perhaps a stronger war spirit prevailed during Wharton's administration than at a later period, yet the difficulties were great, caused by the hopeless division of parties. Naturally, those who had been retired were unwilling to support their political enemies. Even though desiring their country's independence, their dislike for their victors was too great for them to render more than a half-hearted service. Though Pennsylvania was the richest in means for carrying on the war of all the states, it was benumbed by political discord. The long existing spirit of personal antagonism was not hushed, even in the presence of the enemy. In truth, to quarrel among themselves seemed to be their natural mood. Thus divided, the prospect of succeeding grew darker, but Wharton's hope did not fail and he sought to infuse in others his own sanguine spirit.

One of the most important departments of the new government to set up was the judicial; yet this was not done until four months after the adoption of the constitution. No courts had been held for more than a year, and many persons were living in prison awaiting their trial. In January, 1777, the Assembly declared that the various courts should be "held and kept" at the same times and places as before. All the officers of the old government were set aside except the trustees of the loan-office, and others were appointed by the President and council. All actions that had been pending were continued, and bonds given by the provincial officers were declared to be valid. The provincial laws were still in full force and also "the common law and such of the statute laws of England" as did not pertain to royal allegiance and proprietary authority, treason or the direction of any legal process. A new seal was ordered for the supreme court "having the arms of the State engraven thereon, with other devices," prepared by the direction of the supreme court justices. Joseph Reed, whose fame as a lawyer had been briefly eclipsed by his military career, was appointed chief justice. He felt, however, "an insuperable difficulty to enter into an engagement of the most solemn nature, leading to the support and confirmation of an entire system of government which" he could not wholly approve. So Thomas McKean was appointed, with William A. Atlee and John Evans, Jr., as associates. For more than thirty years McKean was a commanding figure in public affairs. He remained the chief judicial officer until chosen as the chief executive. The legal system was completed by appointing Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, Attorney-General.

As treason rankly flourished in the State, a law was enacted for punishing traitors. All persons residing in the State, or voluntarily entering it, were required to pay allegiance. Treason was then defined. Any resident within the State who should take a commission from the king of Great Britain, or levy war against the State, or furnish arms or ammunition, or carry on a traitorous correspondence, or form a conspiracy for betraying the State, or should convey intelligence to its enemies, was a traitor. If adjudged guilty of the crime, he was to suffer death, and his estate was to be forfeited. The evidence of two witnesses was required to convict a person of this offence. This law, enacted in 1777, was followed the next year by another for the attainder of several traitors. If they did not surrender themselves before the 20th of April, they were declared to be convicted, and attainted of high treason, and their property was to be forfeited to the State. Among them were John Allen, formerly a member of the committee of inspection and observation for the City and Liberties of Philadelphia; William Allen, a lieutenant-colonel of one of the regiments; Jacob Duché, late Chaplain of Congress, and Joseph Galloway, one of the most prominent men of his time, and who, at an early day, had shown his loyalty to Great Britain.

The oath of allegiance required the taker to renounce his allegiance to George III., and to affirm his allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania as a free and independent State. As there was danger of spreading the seeds of discord and disaffection through travelers whose principles were not known, and through refugees who were flying from the resentment of their fellow-citizens in other states, every person who travelled

outside his own county or city without a certificate that he had subscribed the oath, might be suspected as a spy, and holding principles inimical to the United States. The law provided for taking him before a justice, who was to tender him the oath or affirmation; and if he refused to take it, he was to be committed to the common gaol, and remain there without bail or mainprise until he complied. Thus liberty of movement was greatly narrowed in those perilous days. Such a restriction had been common enough in other countries and periods. Indeed, during the earlier colonial days, there was a restriction on going from one colony to another. From time to time the bonds of allegiance were strengthened as experience showed the necessity of toning up more strongly, if possible, the spirit of the people.

Within a year the Assembly dealt still more severely with those who refused to take the oath or affirmation. They were denied redress in the courts of law. They could not act as a guardian, executor or administrator, nor receive any legacy or deed of gift, nor make a will. They were compelled to pay double taxes. Notwithstanding the severity of these disabilities, they were only the prelude to a more sweeping disability which forbade many classes of persons, trustees, professors, teachers, ministers, lawyers, doctors, and druggists from practicing their offices and employments. The State had started out on a stormy sea, and if Jonahs on board were not willing to confess their Toryism or disaffection and repent, the conductors of the ship were determined they should have such a miserable existence as to lead them either to repentance or to exile.

While it is easy for us to indulge in calm reflections

on this extraordinary legislation, how did the individuals for whom it was intended feel? Only a few months before, they and their law-making enemies were serving the same government and holding the same political principles. What had they since done to draw on themselves such a destructive legislative fire? Instead of joining the revolutionists in their daring venture, they were simply loyal still. Doubtless many a legislator reluctantly voted for these harsh measures, for he could not help knowing that Allen, Galloway and the rest of their kind were faithfully abiding by their old principles, and were as honest in following them as were those who had plunged into the thick darkness of the revolution. More than this, every one knew that a severe penalty would be visited on the revolutionists if not succeeding. Thus the loyalists were between two fated seas—if they adhered to their principles they would be accounted traitors by the new government; if they bent before the storm, they would be as surely punished for their recreancy by the old. On the other hand, the revolutionists realized their peril. To suffer their opponents to live among them was to pull down the house they were with so much difficulty trying to raise. With them it was a choice between destroying the hopes, principles and freedom of their opponents, who were living in their midst, or of suffering a fatal eclipse to their own daring plans, with the loss of their property and perhaps of their lives. With such an alternative, they were nerved to enact this series of terrific laws,—the most Draconian in the history of American legislation.

Besides a new oath of allegiance, changes were needful in electing members of the Assembly. The first

law enacted by the State endowed the speaker of the Assembly with authority to send for absent members. If two-thirds of the members for each county did not meet within the time prescribed, those who did meet were authorized to hold elections to fill the places of the absentees. The next year the Assembly forbade every sheriff, coroner, inspector or judge of any election before the closing of the poll from unfolding or opening "the whole or part of the scroll of paper containing the names of the persons voted for and delivered in by any of the electors, or to look over or read the names thereon written." Nor could any person having land in two districts or counties vote in more than one of them, notwithstanding "any law or custom to the contrary." Inspectors of election were to be chosen on Saturday preceding the annual election, who were to choose judges to attend and assist the inspector in preventing "fraud and deceit" at the election. The judges were to open elections between ten o'clock in the morning and two o'clock in the afternoon, and were authorized to administer to every person presenting his ticket, whose right to vote was suspected, an oath.[1]

Every elector, also, when presenting his ticket, was required to present a certificate showing that he had taken the oath of allegiance. As a very large number, perhaps nearly half, who had the right to vote by observing this requirement, were unwilling to follow it until

[1] "That he is twenty-one years of age, and a freeman of the county of ————, that he has resided in this State for the space of one whole year, and paid public taxes during the time (or he is the son of a freeholder in the State who payeth taxes), and that he has not voted already, nor will vote at this election in any other district of the said county, or in any of the other counties of this State."

the close of the revolutionary struggle, they disfranchised themselves. Had they qualified and exercised their rightful power, the State would have been guided by those holding views similar to their own. Through their inaction only did their opponents for several years have their way.

When the election was over the judges counted the votes, and within twelve days made a return to the President or Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council, and "to the house of representatives at their next meeting." The judges and inspectors were fined for neglect of duty, though prosecutions were limited to three months from the time of offending.

While making these regulations to preserve and strengthen the power of the State, the Assembly, in 1778, endowed the Continental Congress with authority to sue in the court of common pleas for any debt in the name of the United States. They were created a body politic and corporate within the State for that purpose. Whenever this authority was exercised the court was to appoint three to five auditors to liquidate the account, and report the amount due to the court, which could proceed as in other cases.

To wage war, money was needed; and the first plan for supplying the treasury was to issue bills of credit. With these the people were familiar, for paper-money had been used in the Province for years. The first continental issue was in 1775, and though the Continental Congress was a weak, trembling body, the bills were taken by the people. Some loans were negotiated at home and abroad, but the aggregate amount was not large. Not daring to make demands on the states, Congress recommended payment, and fixed for the states the

quotas, which they were expected to raise by taxation. Had they done so, Congress would have had ample means for carrying on the war; unhappily, the states complied only in a languid manner. This gave rise to a fresh series of difficulties; for as soon as some of the states learned that their neighbors were not complying with the recommendation, they too relaxed their payments. In the end, the system of taxation, which in principle was correct, and ought to have been rigidly enforced, was almost disregarded.

Weak as was the financial plan of Congress, from its lack of power and the unwillingness of the states to grant more, the lack of a financial system in every State was less excusable. The states had authority which many of them could have put forth without danger of a counter-revolution. One of the reasons for not maturing an adequate policy was the belief that the war would be brief and that large funds would not be needed. Another reason for not adopting a clear and strong policy, especially in Pennsylvania, was fear; for those who were half-hearted, or opposed to the contest on religious or political grounds, were very numerous and influential. The war party, therefore, from necessity, adopted no plan requiring heavy contributions.

Following in the wake of Congress, the State resorted to paper-money as the principal means for maintaining war. Pennsylvania had been more successful than any other Province in issuing this kind of money, and had the people been united in revolutionary action, they could have hopefully resorted to this expedient. Instead of union there was division, and those in control knowing this started on the paper-money experiment with great caution, but grew bolder with every venture and the never-ceasing pressure of necessity.

The first Pennsylvania war issue was for a small amount. In June,[1] 1775, there was an application to the Assembly for an issue of bills of credit to pay the associators and other war expenses. The Assembly, questioning its powers, refused to authorize their issue. The committee of safety, less fearful of consequences, emitted, on the 20th of July, the sum of £35,000. The bills were known as resolve-money. In September[2] another small issue of £22,000 was authorized, and in November[3] a much larger one of £80,000, and the following April[4] £85,000 more.

In March,[5] 1777, the Assembly emitted £200,000 for the support of the army. This was the first issue by "the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania." The bills were a legal tender. Congress requested the states to call in their notes issued prior to the 19th of April, 1775, as they had fallen into the hands of persons unfriendly to the new government. One object for doing this was to diminish the amount in circulation, and give the bills issued by Congress more room. On the 23d of March, 1776, the Legislature complied with the request. Such notes were not a legal tender after the 1st of June, but until then they were received at the treasury in payment of taxes, and in exchange for newer notes. A longer time, until the first of August, was given to non-residents. By subsequent legislation the issue of October 25th, 1775, for the amount of £22,000, was included within the law. Previously, the Pennsylvania Assembly had declared the issue of Congress to be a legal tender, and had imposed penalties on those who refused to receive, or who counterfeited them.

One of the earliest consequences of continuing their

[1] 23d. [2] 30th. [3] 18th. [4] 6th. [5] 20th.

issue, was a direct clash with the money issued by the Continental Congress. Both issues were like driftwood caught and held by opposing tides. The credit of the State money was the highest, yet no one could fail to see the increasing danger of sinking the value of both kinds by issuing more.

As the Friends were unwilling to take paper-money, some of them were proclaimed enemies to their country and shut out from trade with the people. They avowed that they had conscientious scruples against taking the money, because it was issued for the support of the war. On the other hand they could not deny that they had freely taken bills of credit formerly issued by the Province for the same purpose. Some of the Tories also refused to take the bills; even John Dickinson was among the distrusted number. In 1777 he wrote to his brother Philemon, "Receive no more continental money on your bonds or mortgages; the British troops having conquered the Jerseys and your being in camp are sufficient reasons: be sure you remember this; it will be better for you."

Indeed, at no time was the credit of paper-money, either State or continental, strong. Light of wing, its flight was low and short. At the close of 1776, Reed wrote to Washington, "Something must be attempted to revive our expiring credit, give our cause some degree of reputation and prevent a total depreciation of the continental money, which is coming on very fast." This was at the close of the first disastrous campaign, after Washington had lost the battles of Long Island and Fort Washington.

The evil effects of issuing this money were great. First of all, creditors suffered unjustly by the deprecia-

tion. Many who had been living on the income from their mortgages and the like, were ruined. Many a bitter tale was told of the sufferings endured by widows, wards and others who were obliged to receive worthless paper-money in payment of money obligations due to them. One of them thus wrote to the editor of the Packet: "If something is not done to prevent trustees and guardians from taking advantage of the times, in defrauding helpless widows and orphans, great numbers who have lived in opulence before the death of their husbands and parents, and had what was thought a competency left them after their death, will be reduced to a state of indigence." She then tells the story of her own misfortunes. Her father had died six years previously, leaving her "a pretty fortune in ready cash, which he placed in the hands of a neighbor, whom he trusted would administer strict justice towards" her. When she became of age, he insisted on paying her in the depreciated money of the day, although the real estate he had purchased with the money received was worth "ten times the price it cost." Yet not every debtor paid his debts in paper-money. Charles Biddle says: "There were a great many who would not do this, but paid their debts honestly in specie." It is a relief to the dark picture of the times to look on men whose moral sight was not blinded by legal jugglery.

Another consequence was the opening of the flood-gates of speculation. Persons were tempted to buy and sell because the prices of things changed so rapidly. Hitherto the colonies had known but little of speculation, now it became rampant. The speculator was everywhere. Noah Webster wrote, "The first visible effect of an augmentation of the medium and the con-

sequent fluctuation of value was a host of jockeys who followed a species of itinerant commerce." They lived on the ignorance and honesty of the people. He estimated the number at not less than twenty thousand who left their honest callings and applied themselves to the "knavish traffic."

Another consequence, and still more serious, was the disaffection of the soldiers. The disappointment was a double one; their payment was long delayed, and then in almost worthless money. Such treatment was a full-blown swindle. They keenly felt the imposition, became disheartened, and mutinied.

Another evil consequence was the drying up of business. The people dared not attempt to buy and sell with such a fluctuating money. Profits turned to ashes. Counterfeiting, too, became common. Much ingenuity had been displayed in preparing the designs, yet the bills were easily counterfeited. The British were active in counterfeiting them, hoping to destroy their value and thereby weaken the war resources of the country. When, through the operation of this and other causes, the money finally sank out of sight, everybody was better off than before. Depreciation had been a continual tax. After the disappearing of the currency all rejoiced, and the national indebtedness had shrunk to small figures.

From the varying confidence of the people in paper-money, sprang many undertakings and changes in business. A person living in Baltimore, who believed in the redemption of the Pennsylvania money, wrote to a Philadelphian, and after saying that he had been told that the money could be purchased in Philadelphia at a large discount, and that any kind of goods could be sold

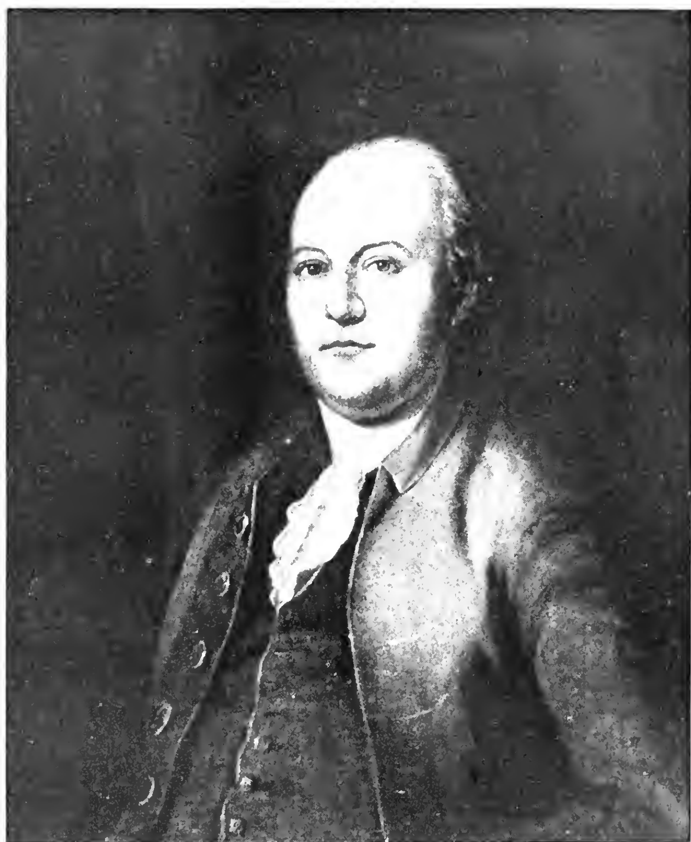
at a much higher price for it than for specie, or the common exchange in the old continental money, requested him to sell everything he had for that kind of money, "rather giving a little time for payment to good hands than to avoid making the sale while the credit of the money remains low." The Philadelphia merchants also suffered from the greater confidence of their Baltimore competitors. By readily taking the paper-money of Pennsylvania, "all the trade of York and Cumberland counties" was drawn to Baltimore.[1] So the trade of the one city was depressed and the other quickened by the presence of a circulating medium whose popularity did not depend on its own enduring qualities, recognized by all, but on the varying belief of the people concerning its ultimate destiny.

Such were some of the consequences of attempting to circulate an irredeemable paper-money. Distrusted like a sharper from the start, it was reluctantly taken and nursed for a considerable period. It brought no smile to the receiver, but cast one backward at him on its departure.

Soon after the signing of the French treaty, Wharton died at Lancaster, having devoted to the last all his energies to the service of the State. He was buried with civil and military honors in the Evangelical Trinity Church of Lancaster. A true patriot, he had served the cause of the Revolution with unflagging zeal. The State had no servant more devoted and efficient, and his death deepened the shadow over all.

During his administration most of the sessions of the Assembly had been held at Lancaster. That body had perforce been migratory, a wandering ark, in which the

[1] *Gazette*, Nov. 8, 1780.



Thos Wharton junr

liberties of the people were not too safely housed. The Assembly began its work at Philadelphia, but adjourned to Lancaster just before the coming of the British.[1] After their departure the Assembly returned to the city.[2] A wanderer truly on the lonely and uncertain road of the Revolution; not so much from lack of intelligent and resolute membership, as from a divided, half-hearted, irresolute constituency. The more we learn of those times, the more luminous grows the fact that independence was the wish and devoted act of the smaller number in almost every State, and not of the many.

After the death of Wharton, Bryan, the Vice-President, presided over the council until the election of Reed in October, 1778. He was an immigrant from Ireland, a real politician, and had taken a prominent part in forming the constitution of 1776. Bryan was an ardent opponent of slavery, and strongly urged the freeing of the slaves. In a message to the Assembly he said: "No period seems more happy for the attempt than the present, as the number of such unhappy characters, ever few in Pennsylvania, has been much reduced by the practices and plunder of our late invaders." During Reed's presidency, he strongly urged their manumission. Bryan was then a member of the Legislature. He introduced a bill setting forth in touching terms the influences of slavery and providing that no child born in the State, of slave parents, should remain in that condition after the age of twenty-eight years. All slaves were to be immediately registered, otherwise they were to be deemed free. Slaves could be tried like other persons, and if capitally punished, the master was

[1] September 18, 1777. [2] June 25, 1778.

to be paid from the public treasury. On the second reading of the bill it passed by a vote of forty to eighteen, and on the 1st of March, 1780, by thirty-four to eighteen. Thus, as soon as some of the roots of this great evil were cut, it began to wither, and in a few years had perished. At every period the plant had seemed an alien, unsuited to the soil.

Bryan's successor was Joseph Reed, one of the most brilliant leaders of the Revolution. Besides his eminent legal talents, he had displayed his patriotism and courage on the field of war, and was highly esteemed by Washington. In October, 1778, the friends of the constitution elected a majority of the members of the Assembly and Council, and in December Reed was elected president of the latter body by a unanimous vote. In writing to General Greene a month before this event, concerning the political sentiments of parties he said, "There is a considerable majority of real Whigs in the house, a number of new converts to the independence of America, and a few real inveterate but concealed Tories. The council, who are also the representatives of the people, are Whigs to a man; the only disadvantage the Whigs have is the want of speakers." Elated by success, he was depressed by misfortune; and his correspondence, voluminous and admirable in form, is indelibly stamped with his variable moods. He remained at the head of the State during three trying years, the midnight of the Revolution. More radical than Wharton, his administration was an unceasing storm. His strong opinions, untempered by tact, stirred the animosities of opposing parties. Had a president been as loyal to the cause with a stronger disposition to win the favor of the disappointed Whigs, perhaps he

might have conciliated them and won their support. Yet the doubt will ever remain whether half-hearted Whigs, disloyalists and others opposed by principle to war, could have been converted and aroused to revolutionary action by any leader, however tactful or magnetic.

After proclaiming him president, in the usual manner, the Council, Assembly and other invited guests dined at the city tavern. The bill for the entertainment was paid by the State and is something more than a curiosity. The parenthetical words among the items (for this is an exact copy of the original) are like strong rays of light thrown on the two hundred and seventy participants.

To General Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania,

TO GIFFORD DOLLY, DR.

1st Dec. 1778.

	L.	S.	D.
To provide for a dinner for 270 gents	500	0	0
522 bottles of Madeira wine at 45 s.	1229	0	0
116 large bowls punch at 60 s.	348	0	0
9 large bowls toddy at 30 s.	13	10	0
6 large bowls sangaree at 60 s.	18	0	0
24 bottles port wine at 30 s.	36	0	0
2 tubs of grog for artillery soldiers	36	0	0
1 gallon spirits for bell-ringers	6	0	0
96 wine glasses (broke) at 7 s. 6 d.	36	0	0
29 jelly glasses (broke) at 7 s. 6 d.	10	17	6
9 glass dessert plates (broke) at 15 s.	6	15	0
11 China plates (broke) at 20 s.	11	0	0
2 China dishes (broke) at 67 s. 6 d.	10	2	6
5 decanters (broke) at 30 s.	7	10	0
1 large inkstand (broke)	6	0	0
14 pounds spermicetta candles at 30 s.	21	0	0
	£2295	15	0

This wine and toddy dinner, considering the poverty of the State treasury, the long over-due bills, the hungry,

unpaid soldiery, is significant proof of the kind of ardent, consuming patriotism that animated the partakers. Possibly their nerves had been severely strained by the many trying scenes of the Revolution and needed relaxation; if so, their success in relaxing them, judging from their record as glass-and-china breakers, must have satisfied even the most despondent of their number. No one in this calmer day will believe that they knew anything about the horrors of the Revolution while seated or unseated around that table; but doubtless these were both seen and felt with tenfold intensity the next morning.

As the campaign for the year was over, General Washington visited Philadelphia. His wife, on whom was bestowed every attention, was already there. In honor of her presence a city-ball was given at the City Tavern, which was attended by the Minister of France and President Reed. "As the only public evidence of grace in that infatuated tribe," said the Packet, "not a Tory advocate, nor quondam Whig, interfered on this joyous occasion." General Washington did not reach the city until evening, five days afterward, too late for any display in honor of his arrival.

Leaving this scene, let us turn to Reed's course toward Arnold. Realizing Arnold's unfitness to govern Philadelphia, Reed tried to open the eyes of Congress, and to require of him a reckoning. As Congress was unwilling to do anything, Reed could only complain, for Arnold was beyond his reach. Had he possessed authority to deal with him, the proceedings would have been short. Months passed before Congress awoke to the necessity of recognizing his fearful abuse of authority. In the end that body atoned to Reed for

neglect in not heeding his words, and Arnold was court-martialed and found guilty.

While attempting to remove Arnold from Philadelphia, Reed was not less active in reorganizing the militia system. Like many other things, this work ought to have been done in the early days of the Revolution, but was neglected amid the chaos of the time. The resources of the State were very considerable if they could be called forth. Lists were now to be prepared by officers appointed for that purpose of all white men between the ages of eighteen and fifty-three who were fit for military duty. In Philadelphia there was to be a battalion of artillery, and a corps of light horse was to be formed in the counties. An almoner was to be appointed for each district to take care of the families of poor militiamen when they were in service. Muster days were fixed and fines were prescribed for non-attendance. The fines of commissioned officers were equal to the price of three days' labor; of non-commissioned officers and privates, one-half as much.[1]

When in service, privates were to be paid a sum equal to one day's labor; when refusing to serve, they were daily liable to pay as much as they would receive if serving, besides a tax of fifteen shillings on a hundred pounds of property; substitutes, however, could be sent. The fines collected from this source were considerable and would have been much greater had the law b vigorously enforced. Pensions were promise wounded in battle, and such support to the fan men killed as the courts deemed proper.

While the Council and Assembly were thus

[1] The average price of common labor was to be ascer fixed by the representatives of the Assembly.

render the military service more effective, the southern boundary of the State was completed. Twenty-three miles had been left unsurveyed by Mason and Dixon in 1767. From the beginning Lord Baltimore had disputed with Penn the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania. Baltimore claimed all the land extending eastward from latitude 40°, lying between the Chesapeake and Delaware bays. A portion of this, now comprising the State of Delaware, was claimed by Penn, and had been purchased by him from the Duke of York. When his cousin Markham was sent over to the Province, he was instructed to settle the boundary line with Lord Baltimore between Pennsylvania and Maryland. The king had granted to Lord Baltimore a province lying under the fortieth degree of latitude, extending from the Delaware Bay westward. In the king's grant to Penn, the southern boundary was to begin at the fortieth degree of north latitude from a circle drawn twelve miles distant from New Castle. Markham met Lord Baltimore at Upland. On ascertaining the location of the fortieth parallel, both parties were surprised, for it was considerably north of Upland, in truth, ran through the present city of Philadelphia. It was impossible, therefore, for a boundary line to comply with the description of either grant, for Lord Baltimore's northern line was to adjoin Delaware Bay at the fortieth parallel, while nn's southern line was to intersect a circle of twelve les radius, drawn around New Castle. Lord Balti-laimed ownership to the fortieth degree, regard-nothin Delaware Bay as a fixed point in his boundary. ham had no authority to grant any concession, was done until 1732. One of the consequences at persons along the border between the two

provinces were in doubt concerning their allegiance, while others, taking advantage of the uncertain boundary line, committed the grossest outrages. In 1730 Colonel Thomas Cresap went to Blue Rock Ferry, west of the Susquehanna, and for many years was the leader of forays into Pennsylvania, and the right arm of Lord Baltimore and of Governor Ogle. He was a licensed ferryman and surveyor and captain of the militia. He built a fort and drew around himself a band of border ruffians. To counteract their encroachments, the proprietaries gave a license to settle in York County, even before purchasing the land from the Indians. Many of the German Palatines settled here, and Cresap induced them to attorn, or declare their allegiance to Lord Baltimore. Some complied, but on the discovery of Cresap's trick, resumed their first allegiance. This angered Cresap; he came with an armed force, drove them off, and gave the land to others. They were denominated Pennites, or "Quaking cowards," and retaliated by calling their assailants "hominy gentry." All kinds of outrages were perpetrated. The deadly rifle was leveled on man and beast. Finally Cresap was arrested on the charge of murder, but subsequently liberated.

This deadly strife finally led in 1732 to fixing a line between the two provinces. It was agreed between the respective proprietaries that a semicircle should be drawn at twelve English statute miles around New Castle, following the grant in the deed of the Duke of York to William Penn. Then the east and west line was to be drawn at Cape Henlopen, and run westward to the exact middle of the peninsula. From that point a line was to be run northward to the western side of

the periphery of the semicircle above described, to the latitude fifteen miles south of the southern boundary of Philadelphia. From that point the line was to extend westward to the western limit of Pennsylvania.

Many difficulties arose, raised chiefly by the Maryland proprietary, against determining these lines. He was loth to concede any portion of the peninsula to Pennsylvania. Finally the dispute reached the English Court of Chancery while Hardwicke was Lord Chancellor. Years passed in litigation. In the meantime the temporary line had been respected, and border feuds ceased. The court fixed the east and west line at fifteen and a quarter miles south of the latitude of Philadelphia, east of the Susquehanna, and fourteen and three-quarter miles south of the same latitude, west of the river. The king's order that these lines should be run and marked, was carried out.

Finally on the 4th of July, 1760, a new compact or agreement was made, essentially a revival of the compromise of 1732, and a confirmation of that agreement.[1] By it a joint commission was created to determine and mark the line. The work was now begun. Commissioners on the part of each province met at New Castle

[1] Among its new provisions were stipulations that the Penns should confirm the titles of Lord Baltimore's grantees to lands east of the Susquehanna, south of the agreed line, 13 miles south of the latitude of the southern limit of Philadelphia, but that west of the river such confirmation should extend only to lands within a quarter of a mile north of that line. On the other hand Lord Baltimore was to confirm Penn's grant west of the Susquehanna and south of the line indefinitely, but west of that river only to the extent of a quarter of a mile south of the agreed line. The reader must remember that the temporary line had an offset of half a mile northward at the Susquehanna.

in November, 1750. Under Lord Hardwicke's decree, the peninsula line from Henlopen to the Chesapeake had been run. Three years were diligently devoted to finding the western line of Delaware. The proprietaries grew weary of this slow progress, and finally they employed Mason and Dixon to complete the line. They were astronomers of rising celebrity in London. Furnished with proper instructions and instruments, they sailed for Philadelphia, and immediately began their work. A small army accompanied them to cut down trees and clear a way through the wilderness. There were chain-bearers, rod-men, axe-men, commissaries, cooks, baggage-carriers, and numerous servants and laborers. In 1764 they were at the corner of the three dominions of Delaware, Maryland and Pennsylvania, and in June they began to run the western line. By the 27th of October they had come to the North Mountain, ninety-five miles from the Susquehanna, the end of the temporary line of 1732. Early in 1766 they resumed their work. By the 4th of June they were on the top of Little Allegheny mountain. They had now carried the line one hundred and sixty miles from the beginning. The Indians were growing restive and threatening. Though the army was without banners, the nightly gazing at stars through gun-like instruments, and the daily felling of trees across their hunting paths, raised in their untutored minds suspicions. They forbade any further advance. The Six Nations, whose council fires blazed on the Onondaga and Mohawk, in western New York, were the lords of the soil. The line could not be extended without gaining their consent. At a cost of more than £500 the governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland procured, under

the agency of Sir William Johnson, a grand convocation of the tribes of that confederacy. The application was successful, and early in June, 1767, an escort of fourteen warriors, with an interpreter and a chief, deputed by the Iroquois council, met the surveyors at the summit of the Great Allegheny to escort them into the Valley of the Ohio.

The survey of the line was now pushed with vigor. Soon the western limit of Maryland was reached, "The meridian of the first fountain of the Potomac." They passed on, resolved to reach the western limit of Penn's five degrees of longitude from the Delaware, in obedience to their instructions. On the 24th of August they crossed Braddock's road. The escort became restless. The Mohawk chief and his nephew returned. The Shawanese and Delawares, tenants of the hunting ground, began to show marked signs of discontent. On the 27th of September the surveyors were on the Monongahela, two hundred and thirty-three miles from the Delaware. Twenty-six of the laborers had deserted, and only fifteen axe-men were left. Undaunted, the surveyors coolly sent back to Fort Cumberland for aid, and continued their work. At length they reached the Warrior branch of the old Catawba. Here was a path at the second crossing of Dunkard Creek, west of Mount Morris, in Greene County. The Indian escort declared that they had been instructed by their chiefs in council not to permit the line to be run west of that war-path. The command was peremptory, and Mason and Dixon were obliged to return with their work unfinished. They were within twenty-four miles of the goal.[1]

[1] For a fuller account and exact length of the line, etc., see Veech's History of Mason and Dixon's Line and Graham's Report.

After a delay of fifteen years the work of completing the line was resumed. For this purpose a commission was appointed by the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Pennsylvania commissioners were George Bryan, David Rittenhouse and John Ewing. They met at Baltimore in the summer of 1779. Bryan wrote to President Reed that the Virginia commissioners offered to divide exactly the 40th degree, which he was desirous of accepting. Rittenhouse was not averse to Bryan's idea. He suggested that perhaps "we would be as well off" with Mason and Dixon's line continued. This agreement was finally reached and ratified by the Assembly the following year.

Section II.

Reed's Presidency Continued. 1778–1781.

It was much easier to negotiate with Maryland and define the boundary line than to sustain the value of paper-money and to regulate prices. There are some things that the State cannot do, and the creation of value is one of them. It can change the name, quantity and quality of things, but their value silently defies its power. It can call a half-eagle gold piece an eagle, but its worth is no greater than it was before. The action of the people has always been omnipotent in creating, lessening and increasing the values of things, and this omnipotence will endure as long as the people themselves. The government cannot act otherwise than as a person, association or corporation in affecting values, except that its demand or supply, in other words its uses, may be greater than those of any person or other body. Nevertheless, the State had attempted to regulate the value of money and merchandise. All the

colonies had had experience in regulating by law the prices of various goods and services. In those days the people had more faith in the power of the law than they have now ; perhaps they had more reverence for it. In December, '77, an act was passed fixing the prices of many things. Wheat was to be sold at ten shillings per bushel ; flour at twenty-seven shillings per hundred. The prices of butter, oats, leather, bar-iron and sole leather were fixed ; cloth and servants' wages were to be one half higher than in '74 ; all goods brought from other states were not to be sold at an advance of more than twenty-five per cent. on the sellers' cost, besides the expense of carriage. The prices of inn-keepers were regulated, and the court of quarter sessions had authority to revise the rates. Whoever exceeded them was liable to prosecution.

No man knew better than Reed the futility of this expedient, yet he never shrank from executing the law. As salt was very scarce, the Executive Council tried to supply the people, at reasonable prices. Through the exertions of that body, all the owners of salt in Philadelphia agreed in August (1779) to distribute it among the people in the city and country. The city sheriff, to whom it was given up, employed watchmen to guard the precious article and to prevent tumult in the distribution. The Assembly resolved that payment for all the salt in the city, not needed for immediate use, should be made at the ratio of a hundred pounds of flour for a bushel and a half of salt, a barrel of flour of two hundred pounds for five bushels. Its exchange on these terms was to be made by the agents of the State. The seizure of all salt on hand or to arrive was not long afterward ordered at the rate of £30 per bushel. Com-

missioners were appointed "to make inquiry into the quantity of salt in the city and liberties, above the allowance of a common family, admitting possessors to retain one peck for every poll in each family above seven years of age, the residue to be considered as public property, and paid for accordingly." They had also power to take any salt that might be brought into the State. Soon afterward they took one thousand bushels, the cargo of the Mermaid. The captain was given £30 per bushel, as the law prescribed. To encourage him to bring more, he was permitted to take away flour, beef, bread, notwithstanding the embargo. The captain then attempted to deceive the commissioners by delivering only half his cargo, an unlucky venture, for he was discovered, his permission was revoked, and his vessel, with the salt still on board, was seized. To increase the supply the State established salt works near Tom's River. Large sums were expended, but the results were so disappointing that the works were finally sold for £15,000.

Those employed to prevent engrossing and forestalling were not successful in their repulsive labors. In November, a committee appointed by Congress reported that the dangerous practice of engrossing had increased so rapidly that every friend to his country could not but wish to see some remedy for an evil which threatened the existence of the several states, and also of the individual. The committee suggested that the Legislature should fix prices and enact laws to compel dealers to part with their goods at the prices thus fixed. In a subsequent letter the committee declared that persons in office under the Continental Congress had used the moneys entrusted to them in engrossing

articles. A committee of the Assembly also inquired into the conduct of those who were engrossing flour and other necessaries.

At a later period the scarcity of food was general, and a strong feeling set in against those who were forestalling and engrossing. The Supreme Executive Council issued a proclamation against such practices, charging civil officers to make search for persons suspected of such offences and ordering their vigorous prosecution. The foundation of the trouble was the depreciation of the money, which rendered contracts uncertain and led to such relief as the people could themselves adopt. Persons who held goods were unwilling to dispose of them for a currency of an uncertain value. Indeed the only certainty it possessed was, its early complete disappearance.

The regulation of prices was a hard thing for some tradesmen. The weavers, curriers and tanners were the first to complain. They held a meeting and assailed the schedule of prices fixed by the committee as unfair and without a proper consideration of its effects. They represented that the advances did not bear evenly on all, some receiving much more benefit than others. For example, a shoemaker received £3 10 shillings profit on a pair of shoes beyond the actual cost of material. As the journeyman's wages absorbed the latter, the employer had nothing; yet the shoemaker, though receiving this advance, was compelled to pay more than double for almost every article of food or clothing, and consequently was worse off than before. To this complaint the newspapers replied that four-fifths of the workmen were disaffected to the American cause, and had skulked into town under the wings of

the British army while in possession of the city. The complaints of the tradesmen received a powerful support from a long and able memorial presented by the merchants of Philadelphia. They were loyal men, and clearly showed that the limitation of prices was in principle unjust, because it invaded the laws of property by compelling a person to accept less in exchange for his goods than he could otherwise get, and therefore acted as a tax only on one portion of the community. The merchants concluded their memorial by stating what ought to be done to protect the currency—the removal of every regulation on commerce, and the purchase of wheat-flour and other things at places nearer the army. The rates for money borrowed by the State they contended ought to be fixed, thereby giving a sufficient inducement to lenders to accommodate the public without other emissions of paper-money. One of the most important recommendations related to taxation. They declared that the true method was to levy taxes of one, two or three pence on the pound monthly, on the actual values of estates, estimated by the price of such articles native or foreign as might be taken for the standard. These measures they declared would immediately arrest the depreciation, restore money to its former value without distressing the people, and lead every man to lower the price of his commodities, without setting arbitrary rules for his neighbors, or inducing them to lower theirs simply by refraining from the purchase of such things as were too dear. "If regulations were necessary," said the committee, "let them be laid on the necessaries of life, not on its luxuries. It can never be justifiable to pledge one man to part with his property to gratify the appetite of another. What good

reason can be given for laying a ruinous tax on the industrious merchants that drunkenness, the most mischievous and poisonous vice, might be rendered cheap; yet such is the effect of a limitation on the price of rum."

Not every one however was of the same mind. A writer in the Packet thus wrote: "The regulation of prices is absolutely necessary. We have all been wrong in our notions of getting rich. It is true we have got enough money. I have more money than ever I had, but I am poorer than ever I was. I had money enough sometime ago to buy a hogshead of sugar. I sold it again and got a great deal more money for it than it cost me, yet what I sold it for when I sent it to market would buy but a tierce. I sold that tierce for a great deal of profit, yet the whole of what I sold it for would afterward buy but a barrel. I have now more money than ever I had, yet I am not so rich as when I had less." The papers teemed with articles against the extortioners and forestallers, monopolizers and engrossers, and they were urged to sell at ordinary prices and not to hold their goods. All of these pleas fell on hardened ears.

The State having faïled to regulate prices, some of the citizens agreed to take colonial paper-currency issued before the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned by the king, in lieu of gold and silver. This arrangement did not succeed, as prices in colonial paper were double those in hard money. So the foul stream of depreciation continued to flow and corrupt everybody in its course. Persons refused to sell their goods, trade dried up at the roots, creditors were ruined, and every day the evils grew worse. Every one en-

deavored to part with it as soon as possible without regard to its legal value. It was a live coal in the hands of the holder; it burned every possessor. The destruction of business, and the general distress could not be cured by statute; with as much reason might a person hope to be cured by swallowing a prescription. Everything possible had been done to preserve the prices established by law; every measure had failed.

Finally repudiation began to be rumored and whispered, and Washington even did not look with disfavor on this method of banishing the currency. In one of his letters to Reed, he said: "The sponge which you say some gentlemen have talked of using, unless there can be a discrimination and proper saving clauses provided, would be unjust and impolitic in the extreme. Perhaps I do not understand what they mean by using the sponge. If it be to sink the money in the hands of the holders of it and at their loss it cannot in my opinion be justified upon any principle of common policy, common sense or common honesty. But how far a man, for instance, who has possessed himself of twenty paper dollars by means of one, or the value of one, in specie has a just claim upon the public for more than one of the latter in redemption, and in that ratio according to the period of depreciation, I leave to those who are better acquainted with the subject and have more leisure than I have to discuss. To me a measure of this kind appears substantial justice to the public and to each individual." The end was indeed not far off, though no one supposed it was so near. On the 20th of March, 1870, Congress authorized the states to revise the laws making the continental bills a tender and to amend them as might be deemed proper. The next day the

Pennsylvania Assembly proposed to suspend the operation of the law making continental currency equal to gold and silver in the payment of debts. This was lost by a vote of twenty-seven to twenty-seven, the speaker giving the casting vote against the measure. Two days afterward it was proposed in the Assembly that no tender of continental bills should be available for the discharge of debts arising on contracts and mortgages made before January 1st, 1777, unless at specified rates. The measure was defeated. On the 8th of March, 1780, an act was passed establishing the rates that were to be paid public officers for different services, which were to be determined by the price of a bushel of wheat weighing sixty pounds. By the same standard the values of fines, penalties and forfeitures under former laws were to be determined. The pay of the members of the Assembly was regulated in the same manner.

The suspension of the tender laws could not be long delayed. On the 24th of May, 1780, the preparation of such a bill was ordered; this passed two weeks later. It suspended the tender law for three months. On the 22d of September the suspension was continued until the next session, and on December 22d, indefinitely.

These measures brought only temporary relief; the needs of the State were urgent; supplies for the troops could not be disregarded. Taxes flowed into the treasury slowly; the unwillingness of the disaffected to pay them caused serious delays. On the 29th of May, therefore, the Assembly authorized the borrowing of £200,000, pledging the faith of the State for its repayment after ten years. James Searle, a delegate to Congress, was appointed agent to negotiate the loan. He went to France and Holland where he labored in vain for two years to borrow money.

In 1780 the depreciation of the paper-money had become so great that the Assembly founded a scale of depreciation in settling with the soldiers. This was in December. The following April the Assembly declared that "whereas the good people of the State labor under many inconveniences for want of some rule whereby to settle and adjust the payment of debts and contests entered into and made between January 1st, 1777, and March 1st, 1781, it seems just and reasonable that some rule should be by law established for liquidating and adjusting the same so as to do justice as well to the debtors as creditors." So the Assembly established a "scale of depreciation," by which the amount of all debts and contracts was to be reduced to their true value in specie at the time of making them. The value of paper compared with silver and gold was thus fixed at the times mentioned.

With all this bitter experience the people had not yet had quite enough of paper money. So on the 25th of March (1781) the State emitted £100,000 more "for supplying the good people of Pennsylvania with a medium of commerce and exchange of commodities of a stable and solid nature," and also "to find efficacious and certain means of procuring and providing an immediate supply of provisions and other articles for the support of the army." The Assembly put underneath these notes some lands lying within the city, and Province Island belonging to the State, hence this issue was called island-money. On the 6th of April (1781) £500,000 more were issued. One fifth of the amount was to be redeemed annually. The amount at first recommended by the committee of ways and means to the Assembly was £200,000, but was increased to

£500,000. Robert Morris and seventeen others protested against this legislation. If any person refused to receive the bills in payment of any debt, bargain or contract he was debarred from bringing a suit for recoving the same. By another provision if any person refused to take the bills in payment of anything sold at a less price than would be paid in specie, he could be tried and fined, one half of the forfeiture going to the prosecutor and the other half to the use of the poor. To this measure there was great opposition and an unanswerable protest was published to the act.

A proclamation was made by the Supreme Executive Council on the 11th of May, reciting the law, authorizing the issue of these bills of credit, stating that one-third of the money had been issued and taken by the State troops, that goods had been sold for them to the public commissioners, and that great excitement would attend any depreciation. The Council recommended all citizens to take the paper and promised that no more would be issued until the meeting of the Assembly. The principal businesss men of the city met and resolved that they would take the new and old paper-money at the rates prevailing on the 1st of May; thus leaving every one free to do as he pleased. The friends of the government also held a meeting and resolved with great unanimity to support the recommendation of the Council. Its promise that no more issues of the paper-money should be authorized was kept, and, when the Assembly met, many reasons were strongly urged for taking effective action to provide for its redemption. The lots in the city formerly belonging to the proprietary, and Province Island, which had been confiscated, were ordered to be sold and the proceeds applied to redeem

the bills. The provision for ascertaining fines, penalties and salaries by the wheat standard of valuation was repealed, and gold and silver coins were made the standard. Thus fed even by a slight shower, the drooping plant of paper-money began to revive, so responsive is it to every succor. Indeed, the island-money rose to par, and a large profit was made in buying the bills at a discount and holding them until they were paid. As it could be bought soon after it was issued, at the rate of eight for one specie dollar, the speculation was a most fortunate one.

If the war was to continue, funds must come from some source; and ultimately, if not in the beginning, by taxing the people. They must have realized at the outset of the contest that they could not win independence without paying for it. They did not suppose the war would last long, yet even a short war costs something. Had independence been won within a year, paper-money at some value would have remained current. The most hopeful were not irrational in supposing that paper-money would float for such a brief period. Independence secured, a system of taxation could have been easily adopted and enforced. But this was not easy while the hearts of many were weak and others were cold and disaffected, yet if no money could come from other sources, supplies must be drawn unwillingly by force; and this was the most unpopular, the most wasteful, and least defensible method of all. In 1780, the time had come for adopting more severe methods. Says Reed: "There are certain periods of our revolutionary history which have monopolized all the sympathies of posterity. If the campaigns of '76 and '78 were times to try men's souls, the

winters of 1780 and 1781 were times to try their tempers and power of endurance. The energies of the nation were exhausted, the enthusiasm of rebellion had subsided, the currency had reached its lowest point of depreciation, the army was unpaid, unfed and unclothed, and according to ordinary and reasonable calculation every chance of rescue and success was gone."

Washington wrote to President Reed near the close of 1780: "The situation of the army with respect to supplies is beyond description, alarming. It has been five or six weeks past on half-allowance, and we have not more than three days' bread at a third allowance on hand nor anywhere within reach. When this is exhausted we must depend on the precarious gleanings of the neighboring country. Our magazines are absolutely empty everywhere and our commissaries entirely destitute of money or credit to replenish them. We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war." Greene, who then commanded in the South, wrote in a similarly despondent tone. Only one other resource was left, to take whatever could be found, and accordingly seizures, for which certificates were issued, began. Orders were issued for wagons and other means of transportation; in short, for whatever the army desired. President Reed was invested with authority to declare martial law. Though executing his authority fairly and impartially, from all quarters came bitter complaints.

At last the women of Philadelphia came to the relief of the soldiers and supplied them with clothing and other things. Money also was given, not paper, but gold. There were nearly eleven hundred city contributors and nearly six hundred more in the liberties or surrounding portions. All ranks of society

united, from the colored woman with her seven shillings and six pence to the Marchioness de Lafayette, who contributed one hundred guineas in specie, and the Countess de Luzerne, who gave six hundred dollars in continental paper, worth one hundred and fifty in specie. Nor was voluntary relief confined solely to them. Large quantities of flour and other necessaries for the army were sent by persons living in the interior counties.

Meagre as were the means for waging war, they were too often squandered without punishment or reproof. If the resources of the country that could be commanded were small, surely they ought to have been used in the most prudent manner. Precisely the opposite course was too often pursued. Doubtless the wastefulness and inefficiency seen everywhere led many to withhold their means, which would have been forthcoming had more economy in the use of supplies prevailed. President Reed's letters are full of these exposures. In one of them addressed to General Washington in May 1779, he says: "We had yesterday a return of forage drawn," by Pulaski's regiment at Lancaster, "by which it appears that in the time they have been there they have drawn 7,050 bushels of grain and 230 tons of hay; no state or country can support such expense. These circumstances have a very unhappy effect, and the continuance of staff-officers whose management is so notorious, discourages the people in their exertions for real and actual service."

In the way of another illustration of inefficient administration, £46,000 were sent by an officer named Bingham to some soldiers to whom it was due. He kept it, acknowledged the fact and was court martialed. The inquiry, though readily granted by General St.

Clair, was reluctantly attended, abruptly dissolved, nor was any report made. Again was the court convened, and the officer's rascality was proved; "but," adds President Reed, "we do not know what is become of it, the officers being dispersed without any satisfaction given to us." Many a page might be filled with a description of incompetent, wasteful and corrupt use of the public resources in those trying days.

Early in 1781 paper-money drew its last breath. President Reed vividly described its death and the immediate consequences to Mr. Searle, who was trying to negotiate a loan for the State in Europe. "The paper-money has at length found its *ne plus ultra;* a total loss of confidence and credit, arising from a variety of causes, gave it an honorable, and, what you will perhaps think more extraordinary, a peaceful exit about three months ago." Immediately, gold and silver appeared.

President Reed was right in saying that the history of the world afforded "no instance of such a transition." All commodities of every kind were exchanged for gold and silver, paper-money itself in turn becoming merchandise. The change was effected by the people themselves gradually, by depreciating paper-money until the exchange rose to two hundred and fifty and three hundred for one. In form, the transition was wrought by a declaration of the Supreme Executive Council that it should be received in public payment at a ratio of one hundred and seventy-five for one. At once, as by the art of a magician, all dealings in paper ceased. Necessity forced out gold and silver, a fortunate trade sprung up with Havana for flour, all trade restrictions were taken off, and Mexican dollars rapidly

flowed into the country. In a few days specie became the universal medium. Every one was surprised at the change. The enemies of independence, both without and within, who had prophesied disorder and tumult whenever paper-money should die, hung their heads in despair.

Through great suffering, the people had found their way back to the safe shore of honest money, but the indebtedness of the State was growing and taking on a very uncertain, vague form. In 1778 three auditors were appointed, William Moore, who succeeded Reed as president, Joseph Dean and David Rittenhouse, to liquidate and settle the accounts of the committee and council of safety. There were many defaulters, and in 1780 a more elaborate statute was passed, in which it was declared that many persons to whom advances of money had been made, "regardless of the public welfare as well as of their own credit and character," still neglected and refused to settle their accounts. One of the screws applied to them was to squeeze out any credit due to them if they did not appear within three months after receiving a notice from the auditors of their liability. Their indebtedness to the State was to continue, but its indebtedness to them would perish.

While the State was thus struggling to adjust its accounts and to compel debtors to pay, it was trying to meet, as best it could, the hard-earned claims of the patient, ill-treated soldiery. In 1778 Congress had declared that officers and privates should receive half-pay for seven years after the close of the war; the State two years later continued the reward for life, and also to their widows as long as they remained in widowhood. Lands granted to officers and soldiers were to be free

from taxation, and rations were to be issued at prices specified in the law. Before the close of the year auditors were appointed by the Executive Council, who were directed by the Legislature to settle "the depreciation of the pay accounts of all the officers and private men of the Pennsylvania Line," and to give certificates for the sum due in specie. To prevent any one from counterfeiting them, they could not be transferred; and the State promised to receive them in payment for unlocated lands. In 1783 the Assembly appropriated two tracts of land for which these certificates were to be taken. One of them lay between the Allegheny River and the western boundary of the State, and the other on the Ohio on both sides of Beaver Creek. They were called donation lands, and officers and privates were to apply for them within two years from the end of the war.[1]

The income of the State prior to the Revolution never annually exceeded £40,000, including the excise and interest on provincial loans. One of the gravest difficulties in collecting the taxes was the lack of competent tax-gatherers. The compensation was inadequate to draw men into such an unpleasant service. Another difficulty grew out of the acceptance of produce in payment. The controversies over its value were endless. The only valuation satisfactory to the tax-payer was the highest, and for whatever grain he chose to deliver, whether that kind was wanted by the State or not. Another difficulty were the certificates given by the quarter-master and commissary in the country for grain, cattle, wagons and other things taken for the use of the

[1] See a Report of the Department of Internal Affairs for 1893 for a description of these lands, and Vol. 3, Pa. Archives, 3d series, p. 575.

army. The receivers regarded these forced contributions as equivalent to taxes. The amount which had been issued at the time that Reed, Bayard and Rittenhouse made their report, in March, 1781, on the causes why the people did not pay their taxes, was estimated at not less than $14,000,000.[1] The frequent change of excise officers was another reason given for not regarding the law. "Removals by new assemblies," remarked the commissioners, "introducing new officers who by the time they are acquainted with their duty and disposed to do it, are changed and give place to successors equally uninformed, and who, knowing how uncertain their appointments are, rather study to please their neighbors than serve the public by an attentive discharge of their duty."

Some prosecutions of delinquents were attempted, though not often. In November, 1780, some persons in Tulpehocken and Bethel townships, in Berks County, who had entered into an association to withhold the payment of their taxes and resist the collectors were indicted. They pleaded guilty, and with many proofs of repentance and sorrow begged the mercy of the court. Each was fined £300, which, with the costs, was about five times the amount of his tax. As most of them had borne arms in the struggle for independence, and had been misled "by the secret machinations

[1] A "copy" of this report is in the possession of the New York Historical Society. The original is not at Harrisburg, though the reason for its absence is not unknown. The amount of certificates held by the people in the following counties was given by the commissioners:

Bucks	300,000	York	105,000
Northampton	900,000	Cumberland	2,925,000
Berks	1,200,000	Chester	600,000
Lancaster	3,000,000		

of some designing persons," the court was lenient in its judgment on the offenders.

At nearly the same time Congress called on the states to contribute, in prescribed proportions, toward the support of the government. For this purpose another dose of paper-money was recommended with a slight variation. The notes were to bear interest and be redeemable in six years; and the payment of the principal was guaranteed by the United States. Pennsylvania emitted $250,000 which bore the name of "the dollar money." In May an act had been passed to receive the old continental money at the rate of one dollar in specie for forty of the continental ones.

The true method of getting money for carrying on the State government was by taxation and loans. The Assembly ordered the collection of more than $35,000,000 of taxes between the years 1776 and 1781, but only a small portion was ever collected. Besides the taxes thus levied and paid for State purposes, Congress in 1777 recommended the states to raise for the general service by taxation $5,000,000. The quota for Pennsylvania was $620,000. This amount was authorized by a law passed in March, 1778. This was to be levied on all real and personal estate, and the amount was apportioned among the several counties. Every "single freeman" older than twenty-one was required to pay an additional tax of three pounds. At a later period more elaborate regulations were passed for taxing single men. The tax was made a variable one from three to fifteen pounds, and security might be demanded of them for its payment. This tax, with some variations, remained on the statute-book several years. In October, '79, a monthly continental tax was imposed that was to con-

tinue for eight months, to raise $15,000,000. By subsequent legislation Congress called on the States to continue this support to the general cause until April, 1781. To redeem the new bills of credit issued by Congress in 1780[1] and advised by the states, Pennsylvania passed a law in 1780 for raising $93,640 annually for six years to redeem the bills for which the State was responsible. The State continued to authorize the raising of its quotas, though it failed like the other states in fully honoring the continental requisitions. The first tax payable in specie was levied in June,[2] 1784. The amount to be raised was £200,000. Taxpayers were required to pay in gold or silver money "at the rate of three pounds for one-half johnnes of Portugal, weighing nine pennyweights, and seven shillings and six pence for one Spanish milled dollar, weighing seventeen pennyweights and six grains, and so in proportion for all other gold and silver money."

Had a system of taxation been adopted and enforced, a considerable sum doubtless could have been collected, enough at least to have established a genuine credit serving as a basis for loans by individuals in the State and abroad. Unfortunately, the system of taxation broke down at the very beginning, affecting not only the value of the paper-money, but also the credit of the State. More strenuous measures ought to have been taken to preserve and enforce this power. The Supreme Executive Council in January, 1780, declared that they had been zealous in enacting tax laws and had "executed them with energy and expedition." "For this end," says the Council, "we have especially called upon all officers throughout the State, elected to

[1] March 18th. [2] 21st.

this most necessary duty, requiring their utmost exertion, and we trust every good man and lover of his country will yield a cheerful compliance and assistance." The behavior of many persons in the State and County of Philadelphia was evasive. The Friends, as well as others, declined to give any information concerning their property, though liable to fourfold taxes if it were concealed. The commissioners were puzzled. The Friends had houses, land, cattle, which they did not conceal, but refused to declare what was their own. Nicholas Waln, a Quaker lawyer, declared in a written opinion that concealment was the return of only a part, and that the law did not apply to those who made no return whatever. Attorney-General Sergeant gave a more rational opinion, declaring that a person who gave no return at all was liable to fourfold taxes as a punishment, and that the Legislature never intended to punish a partial concealment and suffer a total concealment to go unpunished.

In one of President Reed's letters to Washington, he says: "Our difficulties lie with the rich and not with the poor. . . . . In my opinion we have miscalculated the abilities of the country, and entirely the disposition of the people to bear taxes in the necessary extent. The country not immediately the seat of either army is richer than when the war began, but the long disuse of taxes and their natural unpalatableness have embarrassed the business exceedingly, and Tories, grumbling Whigs and party have all thrown in their aid to increase the discontent." In 1780, Reed wrote to Mr. Henry of Lancaster: "I beg to know, my good friend, why your county cannot pay her share of taxes proportionably with other counties? Has she suffered by the enemy?

Did she not, at the last regulation of property, appear so considerable as to have almost double the number of representatives of most of the other counties? The truth is there is not a week that some people from your county are purchasing gold and silver in the city and hoarding up as too sacred to be touched for taxes."

Perhaps more power would not have been unresistingly borne, for the bitterness between parties did not diminish with the progress of the war. The elections were annually held, but many could not vote because they refused to take the oath of allegiance. Their tongues were loose, however, and they were neither soft nor slow. The election of members for the county of Philadelphia to the Assembly in October, '81, was contested on the ground of military interference. It was asserted that when the militia were serving at Newtown, in Bucks County, a private meeting was held by the officers of the Philadelphia battalions, who agreed to support the ticket, and to compel the privates to vote in the same manner. The soldiers were marched to the polls in battalions, received the tickets that had been prepared for them, and could not leave their places to consult with their fellow-citizens. Those who refused to vote were threatened with a flogging. Those who voted in compliance with the wishes of their officers received a furlough. General Lacey was denounced as the chief conspirator. He denied these charges, and said that forty officers requested him to send the troops in a body to the election, that he could not discharge them to go to the election, and consequently they were kept under command. Another reason for doing so was to prevent misconduct or plundering. Nothing was said to them about voting, and he was not accountable

for what they did at the polls. The affair fired the Assembly into a white heat. General Lacey desired to be represented by counsel, but his request was negatived on the very close vote of twenty-nine to twenty-seven. The Philadelphia delegates voted against the privilege. This led the minority to protest against the indecency of their conduct, and the Philadelphia delegates were excluded from further participation in the proceedings. Many witnesses were examined. It was asserted that Colonel Bitting told his men, when they were marching on their way to the election, that they must vote a designated ticket and that all who did not were Tories. At Germantown, and some other places, militia officers acted as inspectors of election. A ticket was voted for one set of candidates called "the camp ticket." One citizen was prevented from speaking to his son and sons-in-law who were serving as soldiers. The ticket of a soldier was torn up by Colonel Bitting because he was opposed to the name of the candidate. The hearing was prolonged, and in April, the following year, the Assembly resolved by a vote of thirty-two to eighteen that the charges were not sustained.

At the same time the election of John Bayard was contested on the ground of fraud. The Executive Council took part in the controversy, and finally the assistance of the supreme court was besought to solve some of the difficulties. These events deeply stirred the people. Many an exciting election had been held, quarrels had been frequent, but without any deep design to intimidate voters or allure them by direct rewards. These, however, were unusual times; party excitement ran high, and the war party realized the danger to the cause of the Revolution if their ascendency in the Assembly was lost.

Having served three years as a member of the Council, Reed could serve no longer. Though not wholly approving the constitution, he had been unwearied in the public service. During the three years of his presidency he was, says his biographer, "in every sense the master spirit of his party and the State government." The Executive Council was more than an executive body. Many important legislative measures sprang from this source. All the messages to the Assembly, addresses to the people, and official correspondence with Washington were the work of President Reed. From the beginning of his first to the end of his last term of office, the attacks of his political enemies were incessant. His action in declaring and enforcing martial law aroused the bitter enmity of many. If, in many ways, he failed to execute the laws and keep alive a strong revolutionary spirit, no other man could have done more. Vainly he essayed to improve the public service; his efforts yielded little more than ruin to his health; and he died in 1785, four years after the close of his stormy political career, only forty-four years old, a martyr to overwork in the cause he loved and served with so much zeal.

Such a strong and impetuous nature could not help arousing a host of enemies. Nor has death, which smites down the jealousy of every competitor in the wild race for place and glory, and often obliterates so many of the harsh deeds of life, done as much for Reed as for many an one less deserving. As his enemies were singularly active in attacking him during his lifetime, so have others been hardly less persistent in continuing their attacks. Thus opinion concerning Reed's character, though more than a century has passed since

nis death, is still divided. With every wish to do justice to him and his contemporaries, the most faithful student of history is still troubled in measuring his motives, the depth of his patriotism, and the efficiency of his administration.

Section III.

The Presidencies of Moore and Dickinson.

1781–1785.

His successor, William Moore, belonging to the same political party, felt the full force of the opposition aroused by Reed's drastic methods to secure supplies for the army. Yet as the taxes did not yield revenue enough, the same harsh policy was continued. Moore had been Vice-President of the Council, had long served as an auditor for liquidating the accounts of the government, and when the Pennsylvania Line revolted near the end of 1780, started a subscription loan of £20,000 in specie to meet the exigency. Only £1,400 were subscribed, yet Moore's burning zeal for the cause was again shown, as it had been on many occasions.

Were the taxes a heavier burden than could be borne? A writer of that day asserted that artful men had endeavored to spread such an opinion, and weak men were induced to believe it. The taxes were unequal, but "as to the amount," says the same writer, "it is but trifling compared with the taxes we have actually paid." Some persons did indeed pretend that a tax of specific articles of produce was preferable to a tax payable in money, because the farmers could always find wheat and beef to pay it. Experience had clearly proved the groundlessness of the assertion. It was made in ignorance, or perhaps was the imagination of British emissaries.

During Moore's administration the Executive Council and the Assembly battled for the exercise of authority. The scenes so familiar in proprietary days between the executive and Assembly were renewed. The Council complained that the Assembly's policy tended to destroy the authority of the Council. The burning point of controversy was over the payment of the salaries of the judges of the supreme court. Their compensation was fixed before their appointment, yet the Assembly reduced it and by so doing violated the contract between the State and the judges. Drafts were drawn on the treasury without the action of the Council and contrary to the constitution, which declared that the Council had the right "to draw upon the treasury for such sums as should be appropriated by the House." The Assembly authorized the commissioners of the River Delaware to draw on the treasury. Regarding this act as unprecedented, the Council remonstrated with the Assembly. That body resolved that it did not know "of any system, steadily pursued" that tended "to annihilate the powers and usefulness of the executive part of the government" and that the charges "were improper, groundless and injurious." The vote, however, on its passage, was almost evenly divided.

In August the Assembly was specially convened to raise funds for maintaining the government. A more pleasing subject was the terms of a treaty between the United States and Great Britain. The Assembly, in 1778, had resolved that the man or men who should presume to make a separate or partial convention with the King of Great Britain, or his commissioners, ought to be considered as enemies by the United States, that,

as a preliminary, the fleets and armies of the British crown ought to be withdrawn from America, or the independence of the states be acknowledged. The condition of affairs had since changed, and the probability of peace required that some action should be taken. The Council, therefore, in May, 1782, re-affirmed the spirit of the resolution of '78, and added that any proposition that might be made by Great Britian tending to violate the treaty existing between the United States and France, ought to be treated "with every mark of indignity and contempt." At the same time the Council declared that if Great Britain continued to persist much longer in her course, she would destroy "all title to the esteem, faith and confidence of the United States, and render treaties of amity and commerce between the Americans and English absolutely and altogether impracticable." This action of the Council was considered by the Assembly at the special session. A resolution was introduced against peace with England without the consent of France, against reunion with Great Britain on any terms, and against a revival of the rights of the proprietary family. The last proposition had been rejected by an Assembly committee. The news of its action reached the public ear and quickly kindled a blaze of opposition. With such a display of sentiment the Assembly speedily passed the resolution.

Though every thinking person now believed that the cause of the Revolution would probably succeed, the public spirit was as surely decaying. One of the thoughtful observers of a somewhat earlier time remarked that "the busy multitude are engaged in accumulating what they fondly call riches, by forestalling, extortioning and imposing upon each other.

Can it be denied that the community at large act as though they had agreed to plunder the State between them, each exerting himself to get the greatest share of the booty? Here government sits as indifferent spectators, while quartermasters and commissioners, the unjust trader, the farmer and mechanic, are contending for the prey, and they who get the greatest booty are daily wallowing in dissipation, venality and luxury, at a time wherein thousands are groaning under the weight of intolerable distress."

That the State was suffering from some dangerous disorder also appeared from the unequal division of property. Thousands of the most honest and respectable citizens of America who had acquired their wealth by hard industry or through inheritance now saw many "whose fathers they would have disdained to have set with the dogs of their flock, raised to immense wealth." Does not "shoddydom" always flourish in war-time? So the "haughty, supercilious and luxurious spendthrift" emerged into view, shocking the quiet, well-bred citizen by his coarse and careless ways.

Another symptom of the general decay was "the undermining of that confidence which the community ought to place in the august assembly of their representatives." But another observer in Moore's time presents a less despairing view: "Many people," he says, "were allowed to take part in the war by the prospect of a maintenance which it afforded them. Many at this time appeared as Whigs, who were actuated by no other motive than avarice, or desire of bettering their fortunes. Hundreds who were poor, or in debt, have retired or been driven from the service of the public with ample fortunes acquired by imposing

upon the credulity of their fellow-citizens, by extraordinary pretensions to zeal in the public cause. At present, the distant and moderate rewards for public services afford a strong presumption that those men who serve their country either in a civil or military capacity, are actuated by the purest patriotism."

One indication of the downward trend of public spirit was the bestowal, to some extent, of the public offices on the highest competitor. During Moore's administration there were several candidates for the office of collector of excise for the County of Philadelphia, and it was rumored that one of them would give one-third of the income if appointed. The legal income was barely more than £75. But there were emoluments, especially the granting of permits for liquors entered. There were also seizures. The income of the office, therefore, depended mainly on the activity and adroitness of the collector. "Some men," said a writer who evidently understood the situation, "might possibly lay up money out of this collectorship besides providing for a family, whilst others would starve in it and collect very little for the State."

"The idea of selling places in a free State" afforded, so the writer thought, "but a wretched presage of public virtue. It was inconsistent with stern republican principles that offices should be so openly asked for." The writer contended that the best check on wrong doing was to appoint men of integrity, who would secure the public far better than bonds, oaths or the severest laws to punish extortion or peculation. "As for public prosecutions," he asserted that there had been "sufficient samples of their insufficiency to punish frauds in public trust."

Most of the officers at that time were paid by fees established thirty years before.[1] The advance in the price of everything since that period had greatly reduced their purchasing power. A salary of £100 per annum in 1750 would not purchase half as much in 1782. The wages of members of the Assembly had been trebled from five shillings to fifteen. Yet sheriffs and others who depended on fees were recompensed as before. The permanent offices in the State were now mostly filled by Whigs who had accepted them in the dark days when many, who were now eager to fill them, "stood aloof, and took care not to render their peace with our tyrant enemy too difficult."

While Moore was President, important action was taken to settle the public accounts. The office of comptroller-general was established, and his duties were set forth. It was continued for eight years without many changes. In the meantime the authority of the comptroller was extended to the issuing of certificates for balances due to officers, privates and citizens, and an appeal to the supreme court was allowed from his settlements. He was also clothed both with executive and judicial authority to settle accounts and collect money due to the State. For the first time an annual abstract of accounts was to be prepared for the use of the Council and Assembly. He was to judge of prices and charges whenever they had been ascertained and fixed by persons duly authorized to fix them, and to

[1] At a later period the fee system led to gross violations of the law. The prothonotaries especially were severely accused. In Westmoreland County a writer asserted that the best public officers were "very exorbitant and unwarrantable." John Irwin in Packet, Jan. 29, 1789.

require all debtors to pay except the collectors of public taxes and county treasurers, "and to keep fair, distinct and clear accounts of all the revenues and expenditures of the Commonwealth of every kind and nature." John Nicholson was appointed "comptroller-general for the time being," and in 1785 the comptroller's term of office was fixed at seven years. After long delay the State began to untangle the knotty skein of its accounts. Several attempts had been previously made, but without effect. The legislators of those days wrote failure in advance between the lines of much of their work, yet did not cease to make laws, though with less hope than ever of their effective execution.

At last, as a consequence of the seizure measures, the anti-war party, in the October election of 1782, triumphed, and John Dickinson was chosen by the Assembly President of the Executive Council. Another member of the Supreme Executive Council elected at the same time was Charles Biddle who was then living in Reading. He had two powerful German competitors. The Germans, so Biddle said, were generally a very honest, industrious people; and if treated with kindness and aided in any way, were very grateful. If they found any of their neighbors proud and haughty, they would do anything to injure them. Among the Germans who aided Biddle was Henry Wertz, who had served as a sailor during one of Biddle's voyages. When he was about to sail in the Charming Nancy, Wertz came to the wharf and inquired if there were oranges where he was going. Biddle told him, "Yes, plenty." "Will you take me?" "Yes, jump on board." So he went, but Captain Biddle soon learned that Wertz had left his father's wagon and horses in town

and gone off without his knowledge. Surely a bad beginning for the boy, and still worse for the horses. On election day Wertz went to the court-house, where the election was held, declared that he knew Captain Biddle, that he had "been to sea mid him, and fought mid him many times." Biddle says that during the voyage when "this honest fellow" was with him "we had not a gun on board." Notwithstanding the popularity of his rivals, Biddle had more votes than both of them.

Dickinson's opponent was General Potter, an ardent and very efficient officer since the beginning of the war.[1] Dickinson received forty-one votes, Potter twenty-two. James Ewing was elected vice-president, receiving thirty-nine votes and General Potter thirty-four. The contest had been exceedingly bitter. Never had such fierce and frequent attacks been made by either party on the other. Many names and reputations were drawn into the contest. Still worse, these fires, now raging so fiercely, did not die down with the triumph of the Whigs. Dickinson was attacked by "Valerius." The principal accusations against him were his opposition to the Declaration of Independence, to the constitution of the State, to his withdrawal from

[1] A writer in the Packet remarked: "Pity it is that the progress should be marked by the political declension of the patriot general (MIFFLIN) and the elevation of the fugitive colonel (DICKINSON), but such is the instability of human nature, such the ups and down of human life, such the folly and ingratitude of man that we frequently find him abandoning the faithful comrade of misfortune, who in the hour of adversity braved danger and dared death, for the frivolous friend of good-fortune who under similar circumstances withheld from the common cause even his wishes and prayers." October 31, 1782.

the American cause and linking himself with Tories, to the desertion of his battalion in 1776 and his attempt to discredit the paper-money. To these accusations Dickinson replied. His opposition to the Declaration of Independence sprung from the belief that "the issue was uncertain and the time premature. The Declaration was calculated to injure the confederacy with foreign powers." He also admitted his opposition to the constitution, but "he had a right to do so, because he thought it an imperfect instrument." Yet he had accepted office under it, which was deemed an inconsistency. He did not think so, "because it was now the law of the land, and it was his duty as a good citizen to submit to it and support it as long as it was in force." His military service required a fuller explanation. He was commander of the associators at Amboy in 1776, the senior colonel of the First Philadelphia Battalion, and remained there until the soldiers were discharged. He regarded himself as having been degraded by the election of Roberdeau and Ewing as brigadiers. Yet he continued in the service. The election of Roberdeau and Ewing having been confirmed, he resigned his commission as colonel and resolved to serve as a volunteer. For this he contended that he ought not to be censured any more than other officers who had withdrawn from service in consequence of disputes concerning rank. The last charge of attempting to impair the credit of paper-money, founded on a letter to his brother, was denied. Dickinson hardly acquitted himself fully of these charges, though he did mitigate their force. The last, however, still stands against him. "Pale-faced Joe," is supposed to have delivered the cruel blow. He had many scores to pay

off, the dogs had long been barking and biting at his heels, and the time had finally come when, relieved of the cares of his office, he could turn on his malignant pursuers.

The most savage onslaught was between himself and General Cadwalader. The latter accused Reed of despairing, toward the close of 1776, of the American cause, and of showing a strong inclination to go over to the enemy. Reed's countercharge against Cadwalader was of coquetting with the Tories after the battle of Monmouth. The conflict first began under pseudonymous articles in the newspapers, and ended with elaborate pamphlets to which the writers signed their names. Both pamphlets were highly charged with venom, nor was it an uncommon thing for writers in those days to pour their personal charges into newspapers and pamphlets hot from their over-heated imagination. So there is nothing especially noteworthy about the manner in which Reed and Cadwalader locked horns, except their eminent standing among men. Neither pamphlet was a clap of thunder from a clear sky startling the people by its unexpectedness, but simply another clap from a sky that had long been darkened by the fierce war of political factions and by personal speech-and-pen encounters.

Indeed, Dickinson's anonymous opponent was simply pursuing the method of personal warfare of the time. Perhaps it was more prevalent and bitter in Pennsylvania than in other states; such was the opinion of an observer who asserted in the Packet that there was not a town upon the continent, hardly one in the world, in which anonymous warfare was conducted with such virulence as in Philadelphia. "A difference of

opinion upon the most speculative subject creates personal animosity, and it would seem that in the imagination of some men to traduce a character and to confute an argument are the same thing: thus, if one writer states a proposition in politics, he may be answered by calling him an apostate; if another details the principles of commerce, he may be confuted by a charge of Toryism; a treatise upon language may be stripped of its merit by terming its author an incendiary; and nothing more is requisite to controvert a theological essay, than to assert that the priest is a drunkard."

A much happier theme for daily talk than these disgraceful quarrels was the announcement of the treaty of peace. Though long expected, many hindrances had blocked the path of the negotiators. At last, that dear word, peace, could be pronounced. Moving in darkness, as even the most far-sighted still move, the beginning of a wonderful day had come. If the great shore of life is everywhere strewn with wrecks, thrown up by human miscalculation, many a ship has made a brilliant voyage by daring, through ignorance, to take risks known and avoided by the wise. The American Revolution was one of these daring ventures that never would have been undertaken had the leaders possessed a rational comprehension of the dangers; and still less inclined would the people have been, had they possessed equal knowledge, to follow them. Henceforth, we were to mark the Day of Independence as the beginning of our political institutions, as the Greeks of old marked the battle of Marathon.

Independence! what did that mean? A victory truly, the immediate effects of which revolutionist and opponent were alike to share—this all could under-

stand. Released from allegiance to Great Britain, henceforth they were to be their own masters. Would their material, political and moral development be advanced by the change? Their success might well inspire them with the hope of overcoming every future obstacle. Did they at once peer into the coming centuries and begin to plan a great republic? Nothing of the kind. Blindly they had plunged into the Revolution; blindly and pressed by necessity they must long remain in the wilderness of political experiment. If the victors of that day supposed they had gained the shining mountain-top, how great would be their disappointment were they still alive and able to see all the dark and depressing valleys through which the people have since wandered. Six years afterward, amid political chaos, a nation was to arise, and in a century grow strong and great, not through prearranged human wisdom, but through the working of a power which, from the beginning of history, is seen in the retrospect, if not in the present, using men and nations for ends far greater than their own.

On the return of peace the first step was to exchange prisoners. During the war many had been taken by both armies. Early in the contest the British minister had instructed General Howe to effect an exchange of prisoners without using the king's name in any negotiation for that purpose. By this arrangement an officer was exchanged for another of equal rank, a soldier for a soldier, a sailor for a sailor. Many stories were told concerning the severity of treatment received by American prisoners. A considerable number of Pennsylvanians were taken during the fighting on Long Island; a much larger number on the surrender of Fort

Washington. One of the prisoners taken after the capture of the fort was Captain Graydon, who wrote a graphic account of his military life. Immediately on his surrender, he was put with other prisoners under the care of a sergeant who remarked: "Young men, ye should never fight against your king." Soon a British officer, apparently of high rank, rode up, exclaiming, "What! taking prisoners?" Graydon's back was toward him when he spoke, but immediately turning he took off his hat, saying, "Sir, I put myself under your protection." "No man," says Graydon, "was ever more effectually rebuked. His manner was instantly softened; he met my salutation with an inclination of his body, and after a civil question or two, as if to make amends for his sanguinary mandate, he rode off towards the fort."

Graydon had a cartouch box marked in gilded letters G. R. This on the body of a rebel so enraged one of the soldiers that, in his attempt to unbuckle it, he nearly jerked off Graydon's legs. Soon a Hessian approached. "The wretch came near enough to elbow us; and half unsheathing his sword, with a countenance that bespoke a most vehement desire to use it upon us, he grinned out in broken English, 'Eh, you rebel, you dam rebel.'" Rebel, with the epithet damned before it, was the mildest term applied to the prisoners. "We were twenty times told, sometimes with a taunting affectation of concern, that we should, every man of us, be hanged."

The prisoners taken by the Americans were treated very differently. The first large catch were the Hessians at Trenton. Many were sent into Berks County, where huts were built for them in which they

lived until the end of the war. Thirty-four of them were hired from the government by an ironmaster in Berks County to cut a channel for water through a bed of limestone, for which he paid the government £1,020. Some of them were quartered in a Moravian church near Lebanon. Others were sent into Virginia. The prisoners taken on the surrender of Burgoyne were sent to Lancaster. They were kindly treated, had enough to eat and were kept in healthy quarters.

The Americans did not fare so well. At times their sufferings were dreadful. In November, 1782, the Pennsylvanians on board the Jersey prison-ship at New York made known their terrible condition to the Executive Council. They were in want of clothing, blankets and food. Flour and potatoes were sent to them by a flag of truce, and Ezekiel Robins was appointed agent at New York to distribute the supplies. He wrote to the Council: "The prison-ships are perfect slaughter houses. Since the commencement of this year near three hundred men are on the dead list. They bury sometimes from six to eight a day. It is impossible for any, unless a spectator, to form an idea of their distressed and horrid situation." From time to time some were released, but the full story of their treatment by their captors would form one of the darkest chapters in the history of the revolutionary war. One of the first acts after making peace was to open the prison doors. Indeed, the soldiers belonging to Burgoyne's army were on their way home before the issuing of the proclamation of peace. They had already reached Philadelphia and were staying in the Walnut Street jail. General Clark came to the city and arranged for their release, and immediately they started on their final march to New York.

With peace assured, the hopes of those who had suffered from the test oath revived over the prospect of its modification or repeal. In 1784 a resolution was offered declaring that the happy time had come to heal the divisions among the people, and that harmony could not exist so long as any portion of them were deprived of rights enjoyed by others, and that the test laws ought to be revised and adapted to the new conditions. This resolution was debated, but failed. Then another was offered for removing the disabilities of those who had reached eighteen since the passing of the test laws. Next the non-jurors followed with a petition for securing the rights of citizenship. Not only did these fail, but the screws were turned down still more tightly on all who had not taken the oath of allegiance. They were declared incapable of holding office until they subscribed to the oath of December, 1778.

The Assembly went too far. The time had truly come for lessening the rigors of war-time instead of extending them. The party in control well knew that such an extension of the suffrage would weaken its power. Naturally enough it wished to maintain its ascendency. The sweets of power are never more highly prized than by those who first exercise them. It required no little self-abnegation to raise up the fallen, well knowing that, as soon as they were squarely on their feet, they would not be slow to show their strength. Finally, another effort was made to modify the test laws and on this trial the vote was equally divided. The speaker gave his vote in the affirmative and thus the bill passed. But the minority were not willing to submit. Accordingly nineteen arose amid great confusion and

left the Assembly. That body, now without a quorum, could not formally adjourn and the session suddenly ended. The seceders published an address declaring that the bill had been passed contrary to the rules and the usual formalities. Those who had refused to participate in the trials and sufferings for achieving independence, so they maintained, ought not to be permitted to participate in the benefits of the Revolution. If they were admitted to citizenship "the elections might be carried in the favor of men who execrated the alliance between the United States and his most Christian majesty, and who still cherished a hope of reunion with Great Britain."

At the next session of the Assembly (1785) General Wayne led the movement to revise the hated laws. The hero of Stony Point could not storm a political assembly. A committee to whom the matter was referred reported in harsh terms against changing the law. "Can such men expect to enjoy all the privileges and advantages arising from a glorious revolution equally with those heroes, patriots and virtuous persons who (next to God) procured them at every hazard of life and fortune, not only without their assistance, but against their efforts, or at least their inclinations? Yes! They say they expect it, and that they have a right to expect it by the constitution. It cannot be supposed that any society would, without great caution, receive persons as members whose wishes and endeavors have been to destroy it."

So severely did the test laws operate in some places that the number of freemen who could vote and hold office were not enough to administer the local government. In the township of Byberry, in Bucks County,

there were at this period only three persons legally qualified to vote and administer its affairs. The aid of persons living elsewhere was needful to keep the simple machinery of the township in operation.

The following year there was another effort to repeal the test laws, but the time for doing this was not yet. In 1787, however, the laws were modified, and two years afterward public opinion had fully ripened in favor of their repeal. Accordingly, all laws requiring any oath or affirmation of allegiance from the inhabitants of the State were repealed, and those disfranchised by former laws were restored to citizenship. Only foreigners were obliged to take an oath of allegiance on assuming the privileges of citizens. Another gulf between loyalists and Americans was closed forever.

If the Assembly was slow in acting justly towards those who were affected by the test laws, the courts of justice, since their reorganization, had held frequent sessions and had followed legal methods and customs. The common law of England, imported in the early days of the Province, had not been melted down in the furnace of the Revolution, and was still applied by the judges. Nor did any one question that the rules thus branded with an English mark, were far safer guides than could have been found by a fresh appeal to the judicial conscience. Indeed, there was less imperfection in the law than in the administration of it. The chief justice possessed an imperious temper, and though striving to maintain the dignity of his office, this was not always easy. He had not been serving long before a bitter episode sprung up between himself and General Thompson. The general had been taken prisoner during the ill-fated invasion of Canada, and, after a four

months' imprisonment, had been paroled. He then went to Pennsylvania, where for nearly three years he chafed over his inactivity. He thought that Congress had wronged him in passing over him when making exchanges and selecting others of less worth. McKean, who was also a member of Congress, was especially blamed for neglecting him. McKean complained to Congress of Thompson's harsh words, an investigation was ordered, and Thompson was declared guilty. But the general was not yet subdued. He published a card in which he accused McKean of acting "like a liar, a rascal and a coward," and declared his wish to end the quarrel in the form of a duel. The chief justice replied in temperate words, saying that he could not set the precedent of obliging a member or a magistrate to subject himself to a duel with every person against whose opinion he gives his vote or judgment. General Thompson's effort to provoke a duel was generally condemned.

McKean was next attacked for official pluralism. Besides acting as chief justice, he was a delegate from the State of Delaware in Congress and President of that body, and by virtue of this position, President of the United States. Whether the same individual ought to hold more than one office was not a new question. It was easy enough for McKean to give numerous examples of double-office holding, and these were a satisfactory defence for his own course. The question, however, still remained in the arena of discussion until the general principle was finally and firmly settled that an individual, except under very unusual conditions, could not simultaneously hold more than one public office. This settlement of the question has never been

disturbed, and is no doubt laid as permanently as any political settlement can be.

A much more serious affair blazed up over the prosecution of Colonel Proctor. When offering his vote in the October election of 1781, he was asked by the inspector to show his certificate of having taken the test oath. As he had long served in the army, he regarded the request as an insult, and, unable to restrain his temper, he assaulted the inspector. For this he was prosecuted and tried before the chief justice. Admitting the act, he declared that he had "chastised him according to his deserts." The chief justice stopped him, warmly saying: "You gentlemen of the army hold your heads too high, but I will teach you how to behave. I will bring you down; we shall be overrun else." The way to bring him down, so the chief justice thought, was to fine him £80. For doing this he was severely censured by Oswald in his Gazetteer. The chief justice sent for Oswald, who appeared in court and received a severe castigation. Neither McKean or any other judge of his time sought the flattery or feared the condemnation of the newspapers. "I was charged," so he afterward stated in the Gazetteer, "with a libel on Congress, a libel on the Council, a libel on the President, a libel on pale-faced Joe, a libel on the Court and Grand Jury, a libel on poor Bailey,[1] and after being grossly insulted in language unbecoming to the most servile hostler, was taken into custody by the sheriff and bound over to answer in the sum of £750."

For this publication Oswald was again arrested and brought before McKean and Bryan. The chief justice demanded the name of the author of an article that had

[1] Editor of Freeman's Journal.

appeared in Oswald's paper entitled "A Friend to the Army," in which McKean was charged as "a speculator in distressed soldiers' certificates." He was ordered to give bail for £1000, but when the first bill of indictment was presented to the grand jury it was returned with an "ignoramus," and the second bill was treated in like manner. The chief justice was now more angry than ever. He accused the grand jury of partisanship and of submitting to the evil wiles of Proctor. But they were quite as resolute as the chief justice, and knew their rights. For awhile the court room was rent with contending voices. Sixteen of the grand jury afterward published an appeal to the public in which they set forth in respectful words their defence.

Yet in these harsh scenes the chief justice was not usually lacking either in dignity, gravity or deliberation, or in the indispensable virtue of justice. In truth, he was both just and kindly. But he lived in stern and troubled times, when harsh words were often spoken and rude measures applied. Moreover, the test oath had disfranchised so many that there was less respect for the officials than there would have been had they truly represented all the people.

In 1785[1] a very important law was enacted regulating elections. The Republicans claimed that the polling places were so placed that members of their party were obliged to travel long distances in order to vote. But there was a far more serious difficulty with the old law. Persons living in one county could vote in another. Nor was the attendance of "the elections at Lancaster or Reading unusual for any considerable number of inhabitants of Chester or Bucks." A

[1] September 19th.

writer who defended the old system remarked that "it was only between the City and County of Philadelphia that the inhabitant connected by inseparable views and interests exercised indiscriminately the privilege of voting in either. Nor can the most zealous candidate for the reformation of elections ascertain an evil that arose from it." The writer contended that the restraint of this right was illegal, that though one voted in a particular place he was acting for the general good. The counties were not separate independent republics. The Assembly restricted voting to the precinct or township wherein electors lived, and thus another long-continued practice was overthrown.

During Dickinson's administration the desire sprung up to remove the capital from its ancient seat. The steeple of the state-house had been repaired a year or so before. The wooden part had been taken down, and on top of the brick work was erected a low hip-roof, graced with a short slender spire and weathercock. During Franklin's presidency the question was again agitated. Mr. Findley of Westmoreland introduced a resolution for removing the capital to Harrisburg. At that time Manasseh Cutler, while on his way to the Ohio, stopped there and described the town as "beautiful," and containing about a hundred houses. Many of them were brick houses recently built in the Philadelphia style. The town was plentifully supplied with taverns, having "handsome signs." About half of the people were English. When Cutler first saw them they were going to meeting. They met in private houses, as they had no churches. They were well dressed, "some gay." Findley urged in favor of its removal that a more central location ought to be adopted. The diffi-

culty of travel was of course much slower and far more expensive in those days, and therefore the argument was more forceful than it would be now. The bill provided for the appointment of commissioners to erect a state-house there on ground belonging to the State. The resolution passed without much debate by a vote of thirty-three to twenty-nine. It was reconsidered and tabled, and action thereon was not renewed until the following year.

Harrisburg indeed was new, and geographically central. Whether John Harris had any vision of this kind floating before him when he projected the town, is not certainly known. Four years previously a committee had been appointed by the Assembly to consider the improvement of the ways of communication westward. Even before the Revolution the sleepless merchants of Philadelphia had thought of the possibilities of increasing their western trade. The diversion to Baltimore had been closely watched, and a check had been proposed in the form of an artificial water-way from the Susquehanna to Philadelphia. A plan to improve the navigation of the Schuylkill to Reading, build roads from that place to the Susquehanna, and found a town on the east side of the river, was now revived. To do this would "be attended with capital advantages to the trade of Philadelphia, as every inhabitant of such town or towns would in some degree be a factor for the Philadelphia market."

While the committee was conducting its investigation, John Harris appeared on the scene. He lived at a ferry bearing his name. He offered to lay out a town of two hundred lots, four to the acre, convey a lot for a court-house and jail, and give four acres to the State for

State purposes, and add to the gift if more land should be desired. The gift was accepted, and thus the State became the owner of the land on which stands the capitol.

SECTION IV.

The Presidencies of Franklin and Mifflin.
1785–1790.

Dickinson could serve no longer, for three years were the constitutional limit, and the venerable Franklin succeeded the author of the Farmer's Letters. A great man was succeeded by a still greater, yet how far apart had they traveled! Franklin, long before, feeling the popular breeze, had trimmed his sail and been borne by it hopefully onward. Dickinson had hesitated, and, notwithstanding his high attainments and motives, had pursued a slower, less effective course. A scholar and a thinker, profoundly believing in legal methods, he was not born for revolution. Every element in his nature warred against innovation. Yet let us not forget that he was the chief officer of a battalion during the darkest days of the war, and had it failed he would have met the same doom as Franklin and the other leaders. Nor let us forget that after his ill-treatment and retirement as a military commander, he re-enlisted and participated in the battle of Brandywine.

During Franklin's administration a subject of transcendent interest was the adoption of the federal constitution. On the completion of the instrument it was reported to the Assembly by the delegates from Pennsylvania. A motion was then made to call a constitutional convention to deliberate on the adoption of the constitution. The Assembly was in favor of such

John Dickinson

action, but, to prevent it, sixteen members withdrew. The body was left without a quorum. Nothing less than a harsh expedient would prevail. The lodgings of two of the seceders were entered, and they were carried off to the House. Both were frightened, but, as soon as one of them recovered his senses sufficiently to speak, he declared his wish to withdraw. It was, however, his duty to attend, and if absent he was punishable with a five-shilling fine. This sum he tendered to the clerk, but he was not the proper officer to receive it. He then attempted to withdraw. There were loud cries from the galleries and from the House, "Stop him! stop him!" He then insisted on his right to leave, but professed his willingness to submit to the decision of the House. There was a long debate, though the stream of talk flowed only one way. The Assembly decided that both he and the other kidnapped member must remain. With the numbers thus increased, there was a quorum; the resolution in favor of calling the convention was passed, and the scene of interest was now transferred to the election of delegates to the convention. The period of controversy was short, for the election was to come off in ten days. Both parties girded themselves for the contest.

Two weeks after the election the members of the convention were required to meet. Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg was chosen president of the body. After deliberating three weeks, on the 12th of December, the constitution was adopted by a vote of forty-six to twenty-three. On the following day the members of the Supreme Executive Council, and the officers of the State and city went in procession from the state-house to the old court-house where the ratification of the con-

stitution was proclaimed. Twelve cannon were fired and bells were rung. The rejoicing closed with a dinner at Epple's Tavern, at which the members of Congress were also present. The great importance of Pennsylvania's assent to the new constitution was felt by all. To have failed would have jeopardized the instrument, or perhaps have caused its defeat, for other States, protected by the shadow of Pennsylvania, would have followed the same course. Imperative as was the need of forming a stronger bond of union, if ever a real central national life was to grow, when the time came to act every State almost shrank. Everywhere was chaos, lack of power, lack of trade, lack of a general life. With the more thoughtful these considerations were supreme. But those who saw less clearly, or feared that their individual importance would shrink under a stronger government, still held back. Pennsylvania had at last acted, but the first step to secure a constitutional convention was desperate work, nor would the election in favor of ratification have been carried had not the same hardy, resolute, hopeful spirits remained in the fight.

With the adoption of a federal constitution there was a revival of the hope of a permanent American union. In every state, however, were many matters requiring legislative and executive attention. The existing State constitution was not the only evil from which Pennsylvania was suffering. Its financial system was very defective; its creditors were complaining. The act passed in 1780 for establishing a system of accounting, under which John Nicholson was serving as comptroller-general, was broadened, conferring more authority in settling the accounts of soldiers. He was authorized to ascertain the amount due in specie, and to issue certifi-

cates bearing six per cent. interest for the amount. They were made transferrable like promissory notes. In 1785 appeals were allowed from the settlements of the comptroller-general to the supreme court, and questions of fact were to be determined by a jury as in ordinary cases. The controller was also authorized to revise his own settlements, if this was desired, within a year from the discovery of any error. They formed liens like judgments on the land of debtors. Disputes might also be referred to auditors.

The same year a more complete plan was adopted for ascertaining the indebtedness of the State, and a much larger revenue was provided for paying it. Provision was also made for paying the Penns for their land. The next step was to provide for discharging the indebtedness to the United States. A part of this debt consisted of foreign loans; another, of money loaned by individuals, and of contracts which they had executed. The states were responsible for this indebtedness. The estimated amount of interest due on Pennsylvania's portion of the debt was £123,932. This sum was to be paid annually to a continental officer. But the Assembly did not leave him free to use the money; for it was to be applied in payment of the interest due on certificates issued by Congress to the citizens of the State, or to the soldiers of Pennsylvania engaged in the continental service. Having thus provided for discharging its indebtedness to the Penns and to the general government, the Assembly provided for paying first the annual interest which should accrue on debts due to its own citizens, and then arrearages of interest whenever the reserve fund in the treasury exceeded £15,000. The following year the Assembly

provided that certificates, issued by Congress to persons in the State, might be exchanged for State certificates. These were called new-loan certificates, and were the foundation of the funded debt of the State. By another law, passed the same year, the Assembly discontinued its annual payment to Congress of £123,932, and promised to pay in lieu of it two requisitions amounting to $1,150,-775, the principal and interest in discharge of its obligations to the general government. The following year, by another law, persons living in New Jersey and Delaware who, at the time of lending to the general government, were citizens of Pennsylvania, were permitted to exchange their continental for new-loan certificates, like the persons still residing in Pennsylvania. On the adoption of the federal constitution, the Assembly discontinued the payment of interest on the new-loan certificates beyond the original period of four years, expecting that the Federal Congress would speedily adjust these obligations, as they had been incurred for the common defence.[1]

The Republicans led in the march for improving the public credit, though the Constitutionalists also took steps in the same direction. In truth, the sentiment for and against such action did not run very closely along party lines.

The funding law was not everywhere approved. Its authors were accused of speculating on the purchase and sale of certificates, and of a determination to destroy all opposition to the plan. The act immediately enhanced the value of the public obligations, and thus "created one of the greatest fields of speculation ever known in Pennsylvania."

[1] These were to be ascertained by the controller-general.

The Assembly had defenders who flew to the rescue of the reputation of that body. The charge was declared to be "false and scandalous." Nearly all the members of the House who supported the funding plan were "plain country gentlemen," without means "to game in certificates." On the contrary, many of them, by raising the prices of certificates, counteracted the moderate advantages which they might have derived from paying them into the land-office for the arrears due on their lands, or for new surveys. Public virtue prevailed over private profit. Indeed a writer maintained that "posterity, conscious of their disinterested patriotism on this occasion, will be lavish in the praise of the men who in 1778 laid anew the foundations of public credit, and who did justice, as far as circumstances permitted, to the long-neglected sufferers that in the crisis of difficulty had confidence in their country's gratitude and honor."

Yet the various forms of State indebtedness, depreciated certificates, funded and unfunded, issues of bills of credit whose value had not wholly vanished, were bought and sold. There were constant dealings in them. Among others were certificates issued by the land-office,[1] Pennsylvania state-shilling money, continental state-dollar money, continental money, loan-office certificates which were issued for money loaned and supplies furnished or seized, new-loan certificates, certificates funded and unfunded, militia pay certificates, facilities or interests issued by the Congress, Pierce's final settlements, and lastly Norris's certificates.

Speculation in them became common, and excited the ire of some people who proposed to punish the specu-

[1] These did not represent money.

lators by making their names odious through exposure. Stories were told of speculators who would lay in wait for distressed certificate holders, buy them at a low price, and afterwards exchange them for land at nearly their full value. The complaint, however, had little merit, for, as a defender remarked, "it is plain to demonstration that purchasers or speculators, if that is a more proper term, are the only persons who have preserved to us what little credit we have left. I have not a doubt that the day is fast approaching when they will be thought and called the best friends we at present have." In truth, as he clearly showed, the larger the number of persons owning the public debt, the greater was their interest in preserving the existence and honor of the State.

One of the most insidious objections to funding was that the speculators ought to receive only the price they paid, while the difference between that and the face value of the obligations ought to be paid, either to the original holder, or saved by the State. This objection was urged with great force during the discussion of the measure in the first Congress for funding the continental debt.

The taxes, after the adoption of the funding system, were lighter than some imagined they would be, and therefore the system was more favorably received. It was feared that the people west of the mountains especially would not be willing to bear their share of the burden. In truth, they paid their taxes with more punctuality than those in the older counties.[1]

[1] The people of York County who complained of heavy taxes, led the controller-general to explain why they were so large for their county. At the same time he presented a good account of the public debt.

While the Assembly was trying to restore the shattered credit of the State, the courts were performing their important, though more quiet duties. Slowly are we learning how much more important is the part played in a nation's life by the people than by the few who dazzle by their noisy policy. History is just beginning to do its greater work in trying to record the aspirations and conduct of the multitude, instead of continuing to describe exclusively the aspirations and conduct of the few who happen by chance or right to rule the larger number. The jurisprudence of every State is of the highest importance, revealing at once the advance or decline in the moral character of the people.

Among the earlier of the great acts after the war-storm had cleared away was a restoration of the milder features of the criminal law, one of the glories of the provincial jurisprudence. Chief Justice McKean was the leading spirit in abolishing its severity. The constitution had provided that the punishments in some cases should be made less sanguinary "and in general more proportionate to the crimes," and that hard labor should be adopted as a punishment for crimes that were not capital. The spirit breathing in this humane constitutional provision was imparted to the new penal law, the last great law enacted under the first constitution. If the legislators during those fourteen eventful years had from necessity put many a statute on the book that defied the ordinary principles of public economy, no one will question the far-seeing wisdom of this return to the more humane penal legislation in force in the days of the elder Penn. The adoption of hard labor as a punishment was an experiment. In executing it, Chief Justice McKean requested the street

commissioners to employ condemned criminals at hard labor on the streets. They were generally called "the wheelbarrow-men," who worked under the eye of their keepers. They were dressed in a peculiar way so that their detection was easy. Their clothing consisted of a parti-colored roundabout and trousers. The jacket of one convict might be half red and half green, another black and white or blue and yellow. The sleeves of the roundabout were of different colors and likewise the trousers. If danger was feared from a convict, one end of a chain ten or twelve feet long was fastened to his ankle and the other end to a heavy iron ball. When employed in the street he would work within the length of his chain, and after completing his task, move to another spot. Some of the prisoners would throw down their balls in a way to injure persons who were passing along the street. The experiment was watched with much interest. One of the worst difficulties was the accessibility of the criminals to their friends, who often gave them liquor. Many of them were thieves, and were able to ply their unhallowed work. Finally the experiment was abandoned.

One of the gravest objections to the system, so many thought, was the discretionary power given to the judges to punish criminals. The common law, which was a part of the people's ancient inheritance, they did not favor. A writer in the Packet wrote that as one of the judges had passed the bill, "no wonder that the chorus of the song should be—at the discretion of the court. I wish," he adds, "they would get the judge of the admiralty to set these pleasant words—it would delight their honors much, if they have any ears for music—but I am told they have none." This surely

was a breezy way of treating the judiciary, whose sincere desire to serve the public none could question. It was a time for thinking and saying sharp words; no individuals, whatever their station, were spared, for the flames of controversy, shooting up higher and more fiercely than ever during the Revolution, could not for many years die down. It had become a part of the very life of the people to watch each other, and to contend in harsh ways; and the newspaper furnished a ready vehicle for every one to hold converse with the public, from the most harmless contributor to the coarsest libeller.

It was the fate of the chief justice to suffer more perhaps in this regard than any contemporary, nor were the attacks upon him without provocation. Again his old enemy Oswald stirred up the judicial waters. As the result of an article published in his newspaper, a suit was brought against him for libel by Andrew Brown. In the course of the proceedings Oswald heaped more remarks on Brown, and finally fell into an antagonistic position with his own counsel, which led Lewis, the lawyer for Brown, to ask the court why Oswald should not be attached for contempt. The chief justice, assisted by Atlee and Rush, ordered the defendant's arrest, and he was brought before the tribunal to purge himself of contempt and to answer such questions as might be put to him. He refused to answer those that might criminate him and insisted on his right to a trial by jury. The bench was inexorable. "He shall be imprisoned," exclaimed the chief justice, "until his stomach is brought to. I will see whether he will bend to the law, or whether the law will bend to him." Oswald, however, was made of stern stuff and still

refused to bend. So he was fined, the chief justice addressing him in these tender and dignified words: "As your course has been mean and pitiful and we have inquired and found your circumstances are very small, though your crime be very great," and then proceeded with the sentence. The Supreme Executive Council, realizing the injustice of the court, at once remitted the fine without any application by Oswald or by his friends.

At the next session of the Assembly Oswald complained of these justices and demanded their impeachment. Party cries were immediately raised and behind them was found secure shelter. Oswald was indeed, violent, untamed and untamable, vexing many who came in contact with him; but when due allowance is made for his temper and his tongue, the fact still remains that the court was imperious and excessive in its punishments.

Were these eruptions the cause of the movement to reduce the compensation of the judges? Chief Justice Allen, who served just before the Revolution, had a salary of £400 a year besides fees and perquisites. At the same time he was a member of the council, held the office of registrar-general to probate wills and grant letters of administration, with power also to appoint a deputy in each county. The emoluments of his judicial office were more than £1,200 a year. The senior judge was clerk of the peace, a younger judge was speaker of the Assembly, each of them having an annual salary of £200 besides fees and perquisites, while they were not precluded from holding any other office civil or military. "The Assembly of that day offered to fix the salary of the chief justice at £1,000 provided the governor would

give him a commission during good behavior." Chief Justice McKean was given that salary, but he was forbidden to hold any other office, civil or military, or to take any fees and perquisites. The attempt to lessen the compensation of the judges by reducing either their salaries or travelling expenses was denounced as a breach of contract. It was declared to be an attempt to win favor with the people and gain seats in the next Assembly. It failed, and the cause of justice triumphed though the measure had been recommended by a committee of the Assembly. One reason for the reduction was the political dislike of the Tories, then controlling the Assembly, for the judges, especially Judge Bryan, who during the time of the most prominent political offenders, was the chief executive officer.

At this time a spirit of association arose and spread so rapidly that it attracted the attention of a writer who thought he descried danger in the movement. Many of the combinations were for political purposes. Their rise seemed to indicate a weakness in framing, or in executing the laws. Some associations undertook to regulate public professions; others to control public officers. Indeed, the only persons who were thought incapable of managing the public business were those to whom it had been entrusted. The societies for theoretical investigation and for dispensing charity were considered harmless or commendable, but was there not danger of oppression "where interested individuals may parcel out the stations, honors and consequently the emoluments of a profession? And is it not contrary to the genius of freedom that any man, at pleasure, may inquisitorially scrutinize the family arrangements of another? That mischievous confusion which

politicians deprecate, arising from a mixture of the great offices of government, must be inconceivably increased by the least attempt of the people to take into their own hands the execution of the laws, or to intrude upon the legislative province by partial combinations and private compacts."

Twelve years had passed since the adoption of the State constitution. The election was approaching of members of the Supreme Executive Council who were to choose the sixth and last president under the first constitution. There was no lack of candidates, speech-making, or printed election addresses. Some of these productions are curious reading. Remembering the heated temper of the times, one might expect to find strong statements and fierce denunciation of opponents. On the contrary, such attacks were usually reserved for other occasions. The writer of an election address tried to commend himself by the sobriety of his language and by his knowledge of the principles of government. Sometimes his rhetoric was luxuriant, as in the following election address issued during the October election in 1786. "The original stock [of liberty] that furnished the goodly plant is now decaying or decayed in all the eastern world; but the tender slip taken from the parent tree flourishes in this western hemisphere; let your vigilance serve as a cherubim with a flaming sword to protect every avenue through which it may be attacked. May more than death, may eternal infamy pursue the wretch that with sacrilegious hand, attempts to lop off one of the branches! It is planted in a luxuriant soil, you have besides watered it with your blood, and with a little care and culture it will shoot up with such redoubled strength that the hills

will be covered with the shadow of it, and its boughs be like unto the goodly cedar, and may you and your posterity repose securely under its friendly and hospitable shade."

The election of 1788 was held just after the adoption of the federal constitution: not only recent events, but fears of the future policy of the State, strongly stirred both parties. They were divided into friends and opponents of the constitution. Whenever an important issue was pending both parties besought the aid of the German. A thoughtful Teuton remarked that for twenty years whenever all was quiet and no public schemes on foot in which the votes, influence and contributions of the Germans could be of any service they were "ignorant Germans;" but as soon as their numbers could be of use in promoting the political maneuvers of man or party, the newspapers were filled with "the respectable body of Germans" "the honest and enlightened Germans," etc. "And these good souls," said he, "are much more anxious about our rights, interests and advancement than we are ourselves." The present contest between the federalists and antifederalists once more brought the Germans to the front, and the newspapers were filled "with flatteries too absurd," says our German critic, "to be digested by any but fools." He was persuaded that those pretending so deep a concern for the privileges of Germans really thought them incapable of judging for themselves, or of taking care of their own interests, being only for tools. They were told they must have a separate ticket and be represented in the federal government. But the German observer was not to be hoodwinked. "For my part," he said, "I can scarcely imagine a

case wherein the interests of the Germans can come into competition with those of the other citizens of Pennsylvania. Distinctions of this kind may be carried to any extent, and there seems to be just as much reason that the tall citizens should be jealous of the short, and that a fat ticket be in opposition to a lean one, or that each should insist upon his proportional share of representation in the great federal assembly." Wise words! How different would have been the history of the State had they always been heeded!

On the 8th of November, 1788, Mifflin succeeded Franklin as President of the Executive Council. He was one of the most attractive orators of the day; jolly and popular, especially with the boys. He had served throughout the cause of the Revolution;—Pennsylvania had not a more ardent patriot.

One of the last remnants of war legislation was a kind of poll-tax that was unpopular with many because the poor paid as much as the rich. Still worse, if a writer's complaint be true, the laborers and mechanics were obliged to turn out, on a militia day, while the wealthy escaped this duty, and also the fine for not complying. The men were obliged "to go through a farcical tour of militia duty, and to exhibit a scene sufficiently ludicrous to burlesque forever the use of arms in Pennsylvania." Considerable sums might have been collected under this law had it been effectively enforced; but its administration was partial, and it was in truth as unpopular as any on the statute-book. Under a form of government based upon equal rights for all, the favoring of classes or individuals because of wealth, standing or influence will always enrage those who suffer.

Meanwhile, with the passing of the Revolution the wave of population was fast rolling westward. The County of Westmoreland was formed west of the Susquehanna, and that of Washington in the extreme southwestern corner of the State. The workmen's axe constantly broke the stillness of the receding forest, and new hope aroused their latent energies. But busy as they were in their hard conquest of nature, a severer and longer struggle was before them to mould their political institutions, federal, State and local, to their needs. The federal constitution had been adopted by the State, but its enemies were by no means ready to yield submission. This antagonism was strong and general, and the friends of the measure could not yet confidently predict that it was safe from destruction. Opposition to the State constitution, which had long been growing, was soon to culminate in a thorough revision. The making and execution of the laws was not satisfactory; and party spirit still ran very high. Yet had not that cheerful old sage, Franklin, said not long before that, "by the collision of different sentiments sparks of wealth are struck out, and political light is obtained!" All the different factions which divided the people aimed at the public good. The people however were suffering more from other plagues than from a questionable political constitution. A blight was beginning to pass over their commercial and industrial prosperity. This condition was rendered worse in some parts of the State by the bad administration of the laws. Says a dweller in Westmoreland County: "It appears almost impossible to live in this country at present and escape the various snares of the law even if our conduct is governed by the most unerring rectitude and watchful

care. The poverty of the people which disables them from paying the numerous debts they owe to each other, and the precarious tenure by which a great deal of landed property is unfortunately held, will undoubtedly prove dangerous sources of controversy, in which it is too probable that almost every description of man will find himself unhappily involved." This is not a pleasing report, yet it is amply sustained by common experience.

Let us then turn away to a more pleasing scene. The end of the struggle against Great Britain was the beginning of the struggle to free the slave. A strong blow had been struck in 1780. The Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, formed in 1775 and composed of Friends, was doing effective work in the cause of freedom. At this time some Americans who had been seized by the Algerines, were held in bondage. A committee was appointed to collect information concerning their capture, and to devise means of relief. It reported that vessels had been fitted out at Philadelphia "provided with handcuffs and military implements, in order to stir up the princes of Africa to wage war against each other and for the encouragement and support of an unrighteous war in human flesh." The Society also asserted that the law of 1780 for the gradual abolition of slavery in the Commonwealth was evaded by persons who sent their slaves to the West India Islands and sold them. Some of the negroes who left the State were deceived by the representatives of their masters. "Violence was used to captivate others." The act was declared to be defective, because it did not prohibit the owner of slaves from separating wives from husbands, parents from children

and selling them to individuals living in distant parts or foreign countries, nor did the act prescribe any punishment for stealing slaves, or provide for the keeping of negroes who would become free when they were twenty-eight years old. A new bill, therefore, was prepared, containing more effective means for securing the freedom of the slaves. Those brought into the State by its citizens were to be immediately free as well as those who came here with the citizens of other States who intended to live in Pennsylvania.

With the passing of the Supreme Executive Council, Franklin also died full of years and honors. For more than half a century he had been one of the foremost figures in Pennsylvania politics, and since his electrical discovery his name had been familiar to the civilized world. His devotion to the cause of independence was sincere and deep, and from the outset he had been an arch-leader in the movement. He was distinguished in the political field, not so much for brilliancy of action, as for the union of rare sense, richness of resource, unwearied energy, hopefulness and courage. He always found a way through the thicket; his name was the synonym of success. Projectors of new enterprises came to believe that if they could but enlist Franklin, their success was assured. Yet unlike Penn, he had no great ideals with which to inspire succeeding generations. He was a man essentially of the present, a most useful, kindly citizen, and in warmest sympathy with every movement for the upbuilding of man. Since 1736 he had employed for the public the most effective combination of powers ever possessed by an American, nor has his like since appeared.

Of all the opponents of Penn, Franklin inflicted on him the heaviest blows. The reputation of both is now in the keeping of posterity; which will endure the longer and be painted in the fairer colors? If time is widening the world's knowledge of Franklin's ability to pluck success from every venture, it is also lighting up more brightly the loftier aims and sacrifices of Penn, and the truth and worth of his political principles. Each has a secure place in the small galaxy of actually great men: the one as the true interpreter of the half-formed wishes and ideas of his day and as the successful guide to a secure haven; the other as the philosophic statesman who, with faith in God and hope in man, laid those moral and political foundations on which alone the sound and steady growth of the people is assured.

PART II.

SPECIAL CHAPTERS.

CHAPTER XII.

IMMIGRATION.

PENNSYLVANIA was settled chiefly by the English, Scotch-Irish, Welsh and Germans, and the Lower Counties by the Dutch and Swedes. For a long time the Swedes maintained their importance, and many a family still living in the Commonwealth boasts of its descent from that source. At all times the Dutch were less numerous. Trading was the chief pursuit of the more substantial members; and as the ability of the Indians to furnish furs and skins lessened with their diminishing number, the profits of the Dutch traders declined and they disappeared. Probably many of them went to New Amsterdam, which was a more congenial home; while others in turn left there and settled along the Upper Delaware. Another portion of the Dutch who had been engaged in light trades, tailoring and the like, previously to emigrating to America, remained, though they never took kindly to the cultivation of the soil. The Swedes were of a higher order; they improved the land, built homes, school-houses and churches. Though some friction existed between them and the Dutch, especially after the Dutch conquest, and their conquerors seriously thought of dispossessing them, the Swedes overcame all fears of a rising by their peaceable conduct, and were permitted to remain.

Among the Friends who came to Pennsylvania were persons of every degree of mental and moral cultiva-

tion. They were industrious, of excellent character, and prospered exceedingly. By reason of their number and belief, they formed for many years the controlling element in the Province and Assembly. The first Welsh settlers comprised seventeen families, and spent eleven weeks on the sea. Their long voyage "was not for want of art to control winds." They were joined by others, and ere long the number increased to fifty families. They settled on a barony, which was broken by running a division between Philadelphia and Chester counties, parting the Welsh settlements of Radnor and Haverford from those of Merion. This caused no little dissatisfaction among them and a pathetic appeal was made by Griffith Owen that the descendants of the ancient Britons might be allowed to have their bounds and limits by themselves, wherein all causes, quarrels, crimes and disputes might be tried and wholly determined by officers, magistrates and juries of their own. The appeal was not heeded and the tract was thrown open for settlement to others of a different race.

The Welsh Friends were educated people. The minutes of their meetings, their memorial respecting Thomas Lloyd and other literary remains, clearly prove the existence of literary culture among them. For twenty-five years the only physicians of Philadelphia and vicinity were Welshmen. Dr. Thomas Wynne, and Edward Jones, the leading physicians of the time, were of the Celtic race.

Of the many continental people who were borne westward to Pennsylvania, the Germans were the most numerous. They started early. Penn visited many places on the Rhine and through him and other sources the Ger-

mans learned of his intentions and offers to settlers. The spirit of unrest began to hover over the Rhine and its tributaries, and though expatriation is a severe ordeal, especially to a wilderness, nevertheless they continued to come in increasing numbers. Many influences co-operated in this wonderful transformation scene, the despotism of princes, differences between the smaller states, religious persecutions, military conscriptions. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which cost France seven hundred thousand of her best citizens, brought much suffering on the French partisans of Germany. Huguenots fled in great numbers to the shelter offered by the Lutheran Palatinate Elector, whose kindness drew on him the vengeance of Madame de Maintenon, the greatest as well as the most bigoted woman of France, who gave orders through her husband that the Palatinate should be utterly destroyed. Forthwith Louis XIV. sent one hundred thousand soldiers to do the work. The devastations of General Turenne and the French finally aroused the condemnation of the world. Hardly had the war ended by the treaty of Nimeguen, before Louis laid claim to several German territories and for four years more, through his army, he continued the work of destruction. The treaty of 1684 ended the conflict, but two years afterward William III. of England formed the League of Augsburg against the French, and in 1686 Louis's army for the third time desolated with fire and sword the Palatinate and other portions of Germany. Even to this day the line of march is marked by crumbling walls, ruined battlements, blown-up towers. No wonder that under such a terrific dispensation the Germans deserted fatherland. A few landed in Massa-

chusetts Bay, some went to New York, but the great tide of emigration set toward the valleys of Pennsylvania. Until 1682 the arrival of emigrants in this country had been neither frequent nor regular. In 1683 Francis Daniel Pastorius arrived at Philadelphia with German emigrants and settled at Germantown. Arents Calcien erected the first three-story house and Penn was present at the raising-dinner. Within a few years the settlement numbered more than one thousand Germans, most of whom had come from the vicinity of Worms in Westphalia. They had not been here long before they heard of the dreadful ravages of the French who had laid waste their entire country, and burnt every hamlet, market-place and church in the Duchy of Cleves.

By the beginning of the next century the wave of emigration was rolling very high. Within the next twenty-five years over fifty thousand had come. A few miles from Coblentz on the Rhine is the beautiful town of Neuwied, with a population of ten thousand, consisting of Romanists, Lutherans, Moravian brethren, Baptists and Jews who now live in harmony, for their religious disputes are ended, never, may we hopefully believe, to be renewed. Frederick Wied founded the town in 1653 on the site of the village of Langendorf, which was entirely destroyed in the Thirty Years' War. Here, in 1705, arrived a number of Lutherans who had fled from persecution. The count welcomed and protected without distinction of religion all comers. After remaining there for some time they went down the river to Holland, and sailed for New York. Driven by a storm within the Capes of the Delaware, they changed their plan and landed at Philadelphia, and most of them settled in Morris County, New Jersey.

Other German emigrants went to England believing that the English Government would send them to New York, the Carolinas or Pennsylvania. Of Pennsylvania they knew more than of any other Province, as it had been attractively described by Pastorius, the founder of Germanopolis (Germantown), in German circulars. Among the exiles were many from Heidelberg. They fled because of their unwillingness to change their religion in accordance with the wish of the head of the government. The Elector, Frederick II., was a Lutheran, Frederick III., a Calvinist, Ludovic V., a Lutheran, while his son and successor returned to Calvinism. He was succeeded by a Roman Catholic prince who cruelly oppressed the Protestants. Whoever has seen the beautiful town of Heidelberg hidden in dense foliage and occupying a narrow bit of land between the lofty Königsstuhl and the restless Neckar, forcing its foamy way through a narrow gorge to the broader Rhine, will remember on the mountain side, clinging to the very edge of the precipice, the most magnificent ruin in central Europe. For three hundred years it grew from a castle to a palace and was the stronghold of generations of electors. Then came the French, who terribly battered, though not entirely destroyed this royal abode. Again they came, burnt the place to the ground, reduced the castle, and blew up its ancient tower. One-half of the mighty structure fell into the moat below where it still lies, an impressive monument of the cruelty of Louis XIV. Again was Heidelberg rebuilt in 1693 only to be overwhelmed by his armies. Not long after the elector induced the inhabitants to rebuild the town, promising them liberty of conscience and thirty years' exemption from taxes. After his con-

version to the Roman Catholic faith, he disregarded his promise, and began anew the work of persecution. From that time onward the waves of emigration rolled in ever-increasing volume to our shores.

One of these great waves, bearing thirteen thousand or more, reached England during the reign of Queen Anne. Some of them were sent to the Falls of the Rappahannock, thence spreading into the adjoining counties and also into North Carolina; but the larger number was sent to New York. At one time a fleet of ten ships sailed having on board between three and four thousand Germans. They intended to form a colony in New York and to engage in raising and manufacturing for exportation, tar and turpentine. Before embarking they agreed to labor for a sufficient time to discharge the cost of their transportation and settlement, and after the expiration of the period, were each to receive forty acres of land exempt for seven years from taxation. A large tract of land was acquired for them in Ulster County. Badly treated by the government inspector and director, many wandered away and sought new homes. Finally in the spring of 1712–1713, seven hundred deserted the Hudson and settled in the fertile valleys of Schoharie County. But they did not understand the principles of land-tenure, and discovering, after ten years of litigation, that the titles to much of the land were invalid, one-half of them for the third time moved southward, and, floating down the Susquehanna for three hundred miles, finally found a home under the friendly government of Pennsylvania.

These emigrants felt that they had been wronged by the authorities of New York. A writer who has eloquently described the German emigration to America

says, "That whether they were right or not it is at this late day difficult to determine, but there is no doubt that the existence of such a feeling resulted in after years to the great advantage of Pennsylvania." Peter Kalm, who travelled in America in 1748, says that the Germans were not satisfied with the treatment they received in New York and advised their relations and friends that, if they ever intended to come to America, not to go to New York where the government had shown itself so iniquitous. Kalm adds: "This abode had such influence with the Germans who afterward went in great numbers to North America that they constantly avoided New York and always went to Pennsylvania. It sometimes happened that they were forced to go on board such ships as were bound for New York, but they scarce got on shore when they hastened to Pennsylvania in spite of all the inhabitants of New York."

Another class of German emigrants requires a passing description, the Mennonites. Persecuted while living under the shadows of the Alps in the cantons of Zurich, Bern and Schaffhausen, they went in the year 1672 to Alsace on the Rhine, where they lived for a generation, and then emigrated to Pennsylvania. For several years they remained at Germantown. Having some means they bought in 1712 a large tract of land in the Pequea Valley, now forming a part of Lancaster County. Girt around by the gloomy, silent forest, whose solitude was uncheered by the murmurs of the honey bee, or the twitterings of the swallow, they felled trees, built houses and improved the land. On every side were Indians, yet they lived without fear. In belief, they were in full accord with the Friends, especially in the doctrine of non-resistance. This German-Swiss settle-

ment in the Eden of Pennsylvania, formed the nucleus or centre of a rapidly increasing Swiss, French and German population.

In 1734 some Lutherans from Salsburg, a seat of upper Austria arrived in Georgia. They, too, had been the victims of bloody persecution. With them were their pastors and school-masters. Receiving accessions from time to time, in 1745 they numbered several hundred families. They were Moravians. All went well in their new home until the opening of the Spanish war, but as their religious faith forbade them from taking up arms, almost every one started then for Pennsylvania and settled at Bethlehem.

During the first period of twenty years, from 1682 to 1702, not more than two hundred German families arrived, most of whom went to Germantown. Many of them were from Cleves, a duchy in Westphalia. During the next twenty-five years a much larger number left their native country. They settled in Bucks, Berks, Montgomery, Lancaster and York counties. Thus before the Revolution they had spread over a very considerable portion of the Province. But in Berks and Lancaster counties was the heart of the German population.

Many of the early settlers, especially the Germans, preserved the usages of their native land; their conversation was in German; their children were not educated in any other tongue. Their books, newspapers, deeds and other legal instruments were in German. The French made a German settlement in the Illinois country, and Franklin declared that they might in time come to a good understanding with ours. Indeed, in the first war with the French, the Germans showed a

disposition that seemed to bode no good, for when the English, except the Friends, were alarmed by the danger arising from the defenceless state of the country, and entered unanimously into an association and raised, armed and disciplined ten thousand men, the Germans, except a very few in proportion to their number, refused to join, declaring one to another and even printing the statement, that by remaining quiet, the French, if taking the country, would not molest them. At the same time they abused the Philadelphians and represented the probable hazard and expense of defending the Province as a greater inconvenience than any that might be expected from a change of government.

At first, therefore, the Germans were not patriotic. Simply regarding their own interests in a narrow way, so long as they were permitted to till their land one master was quite as good for them as another. Let us not judge them too harshly if they could not suddenly transplant their affections and loyalty to their new home. Loyalty and patriotism are not the growth of a day, but the outcome of a reciprocal service rendered by the individual and the state. As soon as the Germans came here they plunged into the woods, and by hard labor prepared the land for cultivation. And though living more freely now than they had ever lived before, working without hindrance, they could not readily comprehend its worth. If, therefore, they clung loosely to their new allegiance, the bond doubtless around others would have been no tighter under similar conditions. As the years passed and they acquired better homes and far richer fields than they had ever possessed before, their loyalty for their adopted country grew vigorously, and on the battlefields of the Revolution yielded a large measure of sacrifice.

Besides the English, Welsh, Dutch, Swedes and Germans were the Scotch-Irish. They were called Scotch-Irish because they were descendents of Scots who had been persuaded to reside in the North of Ireland, and had contributed much to its improvement. They were brave, hardy and hot-headed. They loathed the pope as sincerely as they venerated Calvin and Knox. They were not particularly fond of the Friends and disliked the Indians. The emigrants from these two countries Ireland and Scotland approached so closely in national character; their sentiments and principles were so congenial; their sufferings were of such a common nature—that they were identified as one people.

Three causes impelled the Irish of Ulster to desert their country: religious bigotry, commercial jealousy and the oppression of landlords. The Protestant settlers in Ireland were of the same metal as those who had sailed in the Mayflower. They fell under the same stigma, and suffered for their non-conformity. This was a stain for which nothing could atone. Though their persecution was continued, their Presbyterian loyalty did not cool. Says Froude, "Vexed with suits in the ecclesiastical courts, forbidden to educate their children in their own faith, treated as dangerous to the state, which but for them would have had no existence, and deprived of their civil rights, the most earnest of them at length abandoned the unthankful service." To live as freemen, and to profess openly the creed of the reformation, they must seek another country where the long arm of policy could not reach them.

Another cause of emigration was the repressive measures adopted by the English government towards

commerce and agriculture. In the beginning, encouragement was given, especially in the growing of flax; but the linen trade of Ireland increased so rapidly that England feared the result, repented of her policy and introduced indirect, yet effectual means to break down the Irish trade in favor of her own people across the channel. Fearing Irish competition in agriculture, checks were put on their productions to prevent English land from sinking in value. Her salt, meat and butter were laid under an embargo when England went to war, that the English fleets and armies might be victualed cheaply at the expense of Irish farmers. By such a policy the people were remanded to poverty and their opposition to the government inflamed. Those who could, resolved to seek a home wherein they might be free from such unnatural and unjust discriminations.

By the arbitrary treatment of their landlords, they were embittered and led to emigrate. When the six counties of Ireland were escheated to the crown, and a portion of the land placed in charge of Scotch colonists, agriculture was in a low state. Great changes immediately followed the introduction of a more frugal and industrious class of farmers. The landlords raised their rents all they possibly could, regardless of what the tenants had done to make their land valuable. As soon as leases expired, others were invited to lease the lands. This was an invitation to bid for the improvements. Roman Catholics were ready to bid more than their value, and to promise anything in order to recover possession of the soil. By such a policy the landlords expelled their Protestant tenantry, yet were sustained in their action by the House of Commons. No wonder

that they hastened to leave a country in which they fared so poorly. "In two years," says Froude, "which followed the Antrim evictions, thirty thousand Protestants left Ulster for a land where there was no robbery, and where those who sowed the seed could reap the harvest. The South and West were caught by the same movement, and ships could not be found to carry the crowds who were eager to go."

The tide of emigration was checked for a short time after the enactment of the toleration law in 1718, but within ten years was resumed. Archbishop Boulter sent a "melancholy account" to the English Secretary of State of the emigration movement. In 1728 more than four thousand left for the West Indies, and the archbishop says, "The whole North is in a ferment at present; the people every day engaging one another to go. The humor has spread like a contagious distemper, and the people will hardly hear anybody that tries to cure them of their madness. The worst is that it affects only Protestants, and runs chiefly in the North." The next year the archbishop wrote in a private letter that the humor of going to America still continued. At that time there were seven ships at Belfast which were to take nearly one thousand passengers.

Their first settlements were in Bucks County, chiefly in the part organized in 1729 into the County of Lancaster. Settlements were made on Octoraro Creek, at Pequea, Donegal and Paxtang. Others settled in the County of Chester, and afterwards in York County. Still later they went into the beautiful Kittatinny Valley, thus named from the mountain range forming its western boundary, and signifying endless mountains. Bounded on either side by mountain ranges and posses-

sing a fertile soil, clear running streams, a variety of forest timber, luxuriant vegetation and a healthful climate, this lovely valley furnished a most tempting asylum for these enterprising settlers. Their numbers increased rapidly and in 1750, nine-tenths of the population were natives of North Ireland or Scotland.

At first there was some difficulty in getting a good title to the land, for it was claimed by Maryland, and the Indian title had not been purchased. The proprietaries, desirous of securing it against invaders from Maryland, gave authority to the Scotch-Irish to take possession by virtue of licenses in writing. This was the beginning of their title. A similar method had been adopted with the first settlers near York. By so doing, inroads by the authority of Maryland were checked. In 1736 the proprietaries succeeded in negotiating with the Indians for these lands. After acquiring the Indian title, they ignored the rights of Maryland and opened a land-office for the sale of lands west of the Susquehanna on the usual terms. The settlers now rapidly came into the valley.

One of the foremost of the Scotch-Irish race who came to the Province was Logan. Afterwards, when he had risen to the post of provincial secretary, and the stream of Scotch-Irish to America had grown large, he was desirous of restraining future emigrants, fearing they might gain control of the Province. They were active in politics, and tried to elect, if possible, members of the Assembly who were not altogether favorable to the proprietary wishes and power. Possessing a strong spirit of independence, they were bent on exercising it as far as the law would permit, and at some of the early elections there were warm scenes, signs feared by the thoughtful of still more serious conflicts.

The Germans, by uniting, some from principle, and others from interest, with the Friends, widened the gap between them and the Scotch-Irish. Nor was this ever closed so long as the Friends were the leaders in the Assembly. Had the Scotch-Irish and Germans united, they could easily have shaped the course of legislation. Whether it would have been better, or the Assembly more peaceful, are questions not readily answered. Violently agitated as the legislative waters often were, there is no reason for supposing that the Scotch-Irish, if permitted to throw stones, would not have shown their skill. Whatever the truth may be, they were in a hopeless minority, and powerless to direct the legislative current until after the retirement of the Friends in 1756.

Another bond of union between many of the Germans and the Friends was a similarity of religious belief. They were Friends before coming to the Province. Penn, in his journeys on the Continent had met them, and had held meetings among them. Thus united in religious sentiments, it was natural that they should sustain the same political policy, especially in preserving peace.

An incident occurred in York County that widened the breach between the Scotch-Irish and the Germans. A Marylander named Cresap, with about fifty kindred spirits, made a raid on the German settlers in the Southern part of that county. They offered the Scotch-Irish, as their share of the booty, if they would assist in driving the Germans away, the improvements they had made. Unluckily for the Scotch-Irish they did assist, and failed, but were not soon forgotten.[1]

[1] See p. 49.

Not content with their beautiful valley, some of the Scotch-Irish went into Shearman's Valley. This was in 1750 before the organization of Cumberland County. Immediately all who were west of the Kittatinny or Tuscarora Mountains, were requested to retire. Although numbering only sixty-two, their presence aroused among the Indians a feeling of general discontent. The movement was impolitic and the government acted with prudence in requiring them to abandon their advanced positions. Their dwellings were burned, and they left their forest-homes and retreated over the mountains into Cumberland Valley. Doubtless most of the Scotch-Irish settlers who were cultivating and improving their farms in other parts of the Province, knew nothing of these movements, and were in no sense responsible for them. A defender of the Scotch-Irish says that even the inhabitants of Kittatinny Valley, which was the nearest settlement of civilization, were in no respect responsible for their acts or character. They were parted from them by ranges of lofty mountains, and in place of encouraging their Scotch-Irish friends or acquaintances to make settlements where they would be exposed to Indian hostility, as well as contravene the law, would have directed them to their own attractive valley, where fertile, vacant land was abundant, and where an increase in number and strength by accessions of peaceful and industrious freemen was greatly desired.

Notwithstanding their enterprise and bold character, the slower, ever-plodding Germans overtook them, and in the end gained possession of many of their fields. Preferring cleared lands to the work of clearing, the Germans were so thrifty that they gained the means to

buy lands of clearers who, in turn, were compelled to plunge into the wilderness and renew the hard, original task of clearing. In this manner the Scotch-Irish pushed farther westward, while the Germans followed and completed the transformation of the forest to land for easy tillage.

Several explanations have been given of the migrating propensity of the Scotch-Irish. Full of energy, yet their energies were more diverse. They were men of affairs and of the world. They did not stick so closely to the barnyard and the field. Besides, they had a greater liking for frontier life; its excitements and conquests. They rejoiced in clearing land and building houses, and carrying forward the work of civilization. The Germans were content to work in a different way. Nor did the Scotch-Irish take kindly to paying quit rents. Regarding these as a burden, they thought that there was a better chance of escaping from their payment by living on the frontier, or in the wilderness, than by living in the more thickly populated sections. These reasons, with their love of independence, led them to face toward the wilderness and found new homes and villages.

Penn did not regard all who came as possessing the same political relations. The Dutch and Swedes required naturalization to transform them into citizens of his new Commonwealth. By this legislation they, as well as the Finns, were endowed with every provincial right. At the same time the Assembly resolved that no others should be naturalized without the governor's consent. Though the privy council made no objection to this exercise of power, an act passed in 1700 for naturalizing all foreigners who had come into the Pro-

vince was repealed by the privy council, the attorney-general declaring that as the proprietary did not have the power to do this by his grant, it was not right "that he should give it to himself by an act of the Assembly." In 1708 the Assembly, "probably," says Dr. Stillé, "on some hint that the difficulty about naturalizing foreigners really arose from a fear lest they might be Roman Catholics, passed an act naturalizing by name the most prominent Germans who had settled at Germantown, giving as a reason therefor that these people were Protestants. In the years 1729–'30–'34 and '37 similar special acts of naturalization were passed, and the same reasons were given for enacting them." So while they were invited by Penn, Pastorius and other leaders to emigrate to the Province, they were not endowed with their political rights without hesitation. In 1721 many Palatines who had long resided here applied for naturalization. For three years the consideration of their petition was delayed, and when the privilege to them was granted it contained the proviso that individually they should obtain from a justice of the peace a certificate stating the value of their property and the nature of their religious faith. They were not satisfied with this condition, and a year afterward the Assembly sent to the governor a bill containing the offered terms. He instantly returned it, declaring that in a country where English liberty and law prevailed a scrutiny into the private conversation and faith of the citizens and particularly into their estates was unjust and a dangerous precedent. The Assembly yielded to the force of his reasons, though a considerable period passed before their jealousy sufficiently cooled to confer on these Palatines the full privileges of citizenship.

Though the action of the Assembly checked the inflow of foreigners, the result was not regarded with displeasure. Indeed, to check emigration a law was passed in 1729, imposing a duty on all aliens who should come into the Province. In 1742, two years after Parliament had authorized the naturalization of Protestants in the colonies, the Assembly passed a general act for naturalizing foreigners who had lived seven years in Pennsylvania and were willing to take the tests and subscribe to the declaration previously required. This remained in force until 1778, and excluded foreign born Roman Catholics, Jews and Socinians. In that year the estates held by aliens were validated.

At times so many foreign emigrants came that the officials were alarmed. Logan was desirous that Parliament should put forth its strong repressive hand "for fear the colony would in time be lost to the crown." In one of his letters he wrote: "The numbers from Germany at this rate will soon produce a German colony here, and perhaps such a case as Britain received from Saxony in the fifth century." This, doubtless, was one of the reasons for maintaining so rigidly the qualifications of an elector. So long as these were preserved and naturalization was restricted, notwithstanding their number—perhaps in 1750 one-half or more of the entire population—there was no danger of German political ascendency.[1]

[1] Franklin wrote to Peter Collinson, May 9, 1753: "Not being used to liberty, they know not how to make a modest use of it. They are under no restraint from ecclesiastical government; they behave, however, submissively enough at present to the civil government, which I wish they may continue to do, for I remember when they modestly declined intermeddling with our elections, but now they come in droves and carry all before them, except in one or two counties."

As early as 1682 the Provincial Council took steps to prevent the importation of vagabonds and felons, the dregs of the British population who were cast by Great Britain on her colonies without the least regard for their feelings. From this moral pestilence the people shrank with horror. The evil was then only prospective, but to guard effectively against it in 1722 a law was passed which, though not prohibitory in terms, was intended to operate in that manner. A master, merchant or other importer was required to pay a duty of five pounds on every convicted felon and to give a fifty pound bond for his good behavior for one year. To render these provisions effectual the owner or master was bound to render on oath or affirmation within twenty-four hours after the arrival of his vessel, an account to the collector of all the names of servants and passengers.[1]

The stream of colonization therefore was composed of many branches, nor was any one of them powerful enough to determine permanently the course of the current. When the Scotch-Irish appeared on the scene and their qualities were fully sounded, the Friends discovered a menace to their political ascendency. Yet Penn never designed Pennsylvania exclusively for the Friends; he graciously bade all to come and worship at the forest-altar of civil and religious liberty. His invitation is conclusive proof of his intention. But there were Friends who, believing that the Province was founded exclusively for members of their faith, did not regard with pleasure the prospect of ever possessing less authority. The first-comers, long the leaders in wealth

[1] 3 Stat. at Large, Chap. 248, p. 264. Concerning the importation of negroes, see *Ib.*, Chap. 218, p. 117 and Chap. 250, p. 275.

and influence, they preferred to live under their own dominion rather than under that of the Scotch-Irish or Germans, or any other foreign combination. Happily for them they succeeded in enlisting the Germans, and thus enforced, were able to control the destinies of the Province until 1756. Like the waves of the ocean which continue to roll long after the subsiding of the storm, their power was felt for many a year after their leadership had passed away.

CHAPTER XIII.

LAND AND LABOR.

SECTION I.

The Purchase of Land.

PENN owned 47,000,000 acres. He was the largest land owner in the world. Of this vast domain the Indians had never cultivated more than a small portion; the remainder was a vast hunting-ground. Yet the animals, the chief source of Indian subsistence, were of little value compared with the perpetual riches that might be drawn from the earth by diligent and intelligent toil.

To accomplish this result, Penn adopted a plan for drawing thrifty settlers from the old world. As he was the sole proprietor, he could dispose of his lands on any terms he pleased. No one could purchase an acre from the Indians, for this was strictly forbidden. In imposing this prohibition Penn was doubtless impelled by two reasons, the preservation of peace with the Indians and self-interest. Had the settlers been permitted to ignore him and make terms with them, the most disastrous consequences would have probably followed, the breaking of the Indian chain of friendship and the destruction of his own fortunes. The history of trading with them, so redolent of fraud, affords a solid basis for this prediction.

Possessing a perfect title to the land, so far as a royal

grant could be perfect, Penn was not less desirous of purchasing a title from the Indians. Though never questioning their title, those who complain of the bargains struck on some occasions with them might profitably inqure, what title had they to the soil? how long had they owned it? and how had they acquired it?[1] And if Penn and his followers could make a better use of it, were they not justified in taking possession? It is enough to state these questions, for the most subtile writers of our time have spun answers. Morally, title acquired by might is no title at all, nor will subsequent transfers of such a title whiten it. After the battle of Hastings, William divided English land among his followers, because he had the power; but no transfer since that day can convey a better right than those had to whom William gave the land as a reward. One can rightfully sell the work of his hands; but in attempt-

[1] "On what is the Indian title founded? Having had a foot first on the continent? Then one Indian might claim the whole, spend his winter in the Torrid Zone, his summer in one or other of the Frigid, and spring and fall in the Temperate. That would be unreasonable. Will two Indians have this right? There must be more than that. Two tribes? It would be too much to take up the whole continent with two tribes. How many must there be to give the right? Just as many as there are. If there was one less, would they have the right? Yes. Two less? Yes. How many might there be less, and the right exist? I cannot tell—nor any one else. There must be some fixed principles on which all right depends. Under the great law of nature it is a right to as much as is necessary for our subsistence. By pasturage or hunting? No: by agriculture. Because in this way of life most can subsist at the same time. But men by the municipal laws of society hold more than an equal quantity. What has this to do with the great out-wheel of natural law, which gives the earth to man in common? The municipal law binds as citizens; the law of nations as societies; but the law of nature as men." H. H. Breckenridge, in Gazette Publications, p. 102.

ing to transfer what was never thus acquired the moral difficulties are clearly seen.

During Penn's lifetime only a small quantity along the Delaware had been purchased of the Indians. It was not enough to endanger their means of subsistence. From time to time a new claimant appeared, and to satisfy him something more was given and a deed was taken from him. As many of the boundaries were indefinite, a large purchase was made in 1718 along the Delaware, covering all previous acquisitions. Several other large tracts were bought in 1736, '49, '54, '68 and '84, including all the land within the State, except the Erie triangle, which was not purchased until 1792.

All of the large sales, except the first, were made reluctantly by the Indians, but the "walking-purchase" (1737) and that of 1754 were the most iniquitous. It is difficult to ascertain the truth concerning the walking-purchase even after careful study of all the known facts. Allen, a friend of the Penns, and a Tory during the Revolution, owned land in many places, and was the greatest land speculator of his time. He purchased ten thousand acres at the Forks of the Delaware, a section of the country belonging to the Minisinks, and to which they still held the title. Had Allen been content to buy the land, and retain it until the proprietaries should have confirmed the transaction, the purchase would have been proper; but as he began to sell soon after acquiring the land, in a short time he had parted with a large portion. As the purchasers bought intending to taking possession, they expected, of course, that Allen would fulfil his agreement by making delivery.

How were the Indians to be dispossessed? A method

was adopted as ingenious as it was wicked. A claim was made that, many years before, the Indians had sold to Penn a tract of land extending as far from the Delaware as a man could walk in a day and a half at a right angle from that point to the river. Another version is that a purchase had been made extending as far as a man could go, and at the end of the third day the line was to extend at a right angle to the river. After walking a day and a half the walker stopped, and a second walk, the one in controversy, was undertaken to complete the first.

The lines of many of the early purchases were equally indefinite. In one of the deeds the land was to run backward from a creek "two days' journey with a horse, up into the country as far as the said river doth extend." In another deed the land was to extend "north-easterly, back into the woods, to make two full days' journey as far as a man can go;" in another conveyance the land was between two creeks "extending backwards as far as a man could ride in two days with a horse." These terms prove that the use of man and horse for measuring purposes was common, and certainly they could be more conveniently employed than the chain and compass.

A deed was produced for Allen's use, but it was an apocryphal instrument and has since disappeared. It seems to have served its purpose of beguiling the tawny children of the Delaware, whose literary accomplishments were slight, and knowledge of forgeries was absolutely blank.

A way was prepared in advance, and an expert was selected. At six o'clock on the morning of the appointed day the walk began. The Indians are very

rapid walkers, nevertheless on this occasion the white man was too much for them. The Indians lagged and the white people were good enough to mount them on horses, and suffer them to ride. The walker, stimulated by the prospect of a rich reward, was untiring. The party stopped fifteen minutes for lunch and the walk was continued. The Indians began to comprehend the performance, and one of them remarked in describing it: "No sit down to smoke—no shoot a squirrel; but lun, lun, lun, lun all day long." At a quarter past six all stopped for the night and slept on the field. The next morning rain fell, but at eight o'clock the walk was resumed and continued for six hours. They had gone so far that by extending a line at a right angle from their route, the enclosed section would include the land conveyed to Allen, and thus he and his grantors, the proprietaries, were relieved of their embarrassment. The walker receiving his damning reward, which was soon followed by his death, from excessive fatigue. But the end was not yet.

The Indians felt that they had been robbed, as did all the people in the Province. The occupants were unwilling to move, and then another scheme was adopted to get them out of the country. For a long period the Iroquois had held the Minisinks in bondage as women, a most humiliating condition. So they were summoned to come and remove the Delawares, who, notwithstanding their loss of spirit, still had a sense of wrong as keen as in the days of their greatness. The Iroquois appeared, and Canassatego, their spokesman, thus addressed the despairing Delawares: "How came you to take upon you to sell lands at all? We conquered you; we made women of you. For this land, you claim you

have been furnished with clothes, meat and drink, and now you want it again, like children as you are. We charge you to remove instantly; we don't give you liberty to think about it. You are women. Take the advice of a wise man, and remove instantly."

Sorrowfully was the message received, for from this judgment there was no appeal. The Minisinks decided to go to the Wyoming Valley, and, realizing that they would never return, burnt their huts to signify their final departure. Thus the original denizen of the Delaware was driven forth from his hunting-ground to occupy new possessions; yet even these he was not to retain long, for the pilgrimage had now begun which was to end only with his destruction.

The message of the Iroquois was effective, the land was cleared, and the theft complete. The Friends especially felt that the Indians had been outraged, and were determined to clear themselves of all complicity in the transaction. They insisted on a thorough investigation of their dealings with the Indians. The Penns did not favor such a proceeding, and instead of aiding in the worthy work, prepared a report without the knowledge of the Friends, in which the character of those whom they assailed was unjustly aspersed. The report was addressed to Governor Denny, but was intended especially for the English eye, to screen the conduct of the proprietaries from the grave charges made against them by the Indians, and also to soften the blow which the authors were preparing to administer. The report was prepared by Thomas Penn's instructions, and was transmitted to him for his defence before the king and the board of trade. Such is the story of this disgraceful walking-purchase, one of the most villainous transactions in the provincial history of Pennsylvania.

The purchase of 1754 was much larger than any that had previously been made. The Indians in their simplicity agreed to sell another part of the Province, but were quite ignorant of the nature of compass and chain, and when the survey was completed were surprised to learn that the purchase included so much. They complained that no hunting-grounds remained to them; and to make their humiliation still worse, the purchase had been made of the Iroquois, who claimed ownership. The wiser and more thoughtful settlers urged the conveyance of a portion to the Indians, fearing the consequences if this was not done; but their words fell unheeded. The proprietaries had a deed, and this was quite enough; the methods used were of no importance. They did not fear the vindictiveness of the Indians, for they were safe in their snug homes; if the wrong was avenged, only those on the frontiers would suffer. Of all the short-sighted acts of the government this was the least excusable, for the seizure was made just on the eve of war between the French and English, when the good will of the red men was most strongly desired. The Indians promptly became allies of the French, and eagerly engaged in the fray. Ere long blazing homes and horrible massacres perpetrated on the frontiers, were the heavy price paid for the greed of the proprietaries. At last, to quiet the Indians, a portion of the land was relinquished. Justice was too tardy; had this been done in the beginning, the neutrality or assistance of the Indians would have been secured, and the blood and fire averted that devastated the region from the southern border to the River Lehigh.

There was land enough for all, as not more than thirty or forty thousand Indians then lived in the Pro-

vince. Had the whites been less greedy in purchasing furs, the incentive of the Indians to kill animals would not have been so strong, their hunting-grounds would not have been so quickly despoiled, and smaller areas would have furnished them with abundant game. Unhappily the opposite policy was adopted, and within a century from the coming of Penn, almost every acre had been taken from the original owners.

Penn sold nearly 300,000 acres of his land to persons in England who had never seen it. They were called "the first purchasers." It was sold in parcels varying from three hundred to ten thousand acres, and the price paid was forty shillings sterling for one hundred acres, and one shilling quit-rent. The quit-rent was a perpetual annual payment. The purchasers had the right to select any land within the Province. They did not immediately choose their sites, for the Province was so vast that they probably supposed there was no need of haste; in truth some of them never claimed their lands. Those who did were protected by the Divesting Act of 1779, whereby the State took possession of all the land then belonging to the proprietaries. The purchasers were divided into three classes; the names included in two of them were filed in the land-office, but the names of the third class were not; and their claims were questioned by the proprietary officers before the Revolution.

By the conditions of the first or original grant Penn agreed that soon after the arrival of the immigrants "a large town" should be laid out at a convenient place on the Delaware; and every purchaser in addition to his purchase was to receive a section of town-land. The proportion "in the first great town or city" was to be

ten acres for every five hundred purchased "if the place will allow it." Penn selected a place for the city, covering two square miles. This was the original size of Philadelphia. The city was divided into lots of different sizes, and a large tract adjoining was surveyed and called the Liberties. The Schuylkill divided this bordering territory into two parts; and the lots beyond were of less value than those in the city. On the city plan two large lots of twenty thousand acres each were set aside for two purchasers, and other lots of ten thousand, five thousand, one thousand and five hundred acres and less, were apportioned among the smaller buyers.

By Penn's scheme persons could rent land, as well as purchase it; but nearly every settler desired to be an absolute owner. "Though very few of them," says Judge Huston, "were above the condition of tenants, if not tenants at will at home, the general wish was to become the absolute owner of some soil in the new country. Although lands were offered to those who would settle on them at a rent, it is surprising how very few entered upon lands as renters."

Penn purposed dividing the Province into townships of five thousand or ten thousand acres, and for a long period his conveyances or warrants indicated this purpose. Desirous of attracting the greatest possible number of persons, he did not favor sales of large tracts.

A few exceptions were made to this policy, one of them in favor of a society called the Free Traders, who had extensive plans for colonizing and improving the land. They were influential men of considerable means, and on them were founded strong hopes for a prosperous settlement, but the society never flourished. A large tract of forty thousand acres was sold in 1684 to

the Welsh, who were not numerous enough to occupy the whole, though they applied for it to the commissioners of property. The commissioners insisted that interest must be paid on the purchase-money for the whole, and quit-rents from the date of granting warrants. Unwilling to comply with these terms, the unsettled portion was left open to other purchasers, which caused no little grumbling among the Welsh. Their demand was unreasonable, for the commissioners could not reserve any portion for which settlers were unwilling to pay.

An attempt was made to sell another section by lottery. As the proprietary was in need of money, they tried to stimulate settlement by the sale of 100,000 acres, the purchasers to have the privilege of selecting any unsold land in the Province, except the manor lands, those already surveyed, or actually settled or improved. The price was to be £15 10 for one hundred acres, and seven thousand seven hundred and fifty tickets were to be issued. The largest prize was for twenty-eight thousand acres, the others were for eighteen thousand, fifteen thousand, twelve thousand five hundred, two for ten thousand, and two for three thousand acres. The lottery never filled, and the offers were withdrawn. Nevertheless as some tickets were sold, their holders acquired titles to lands, that were surveyed and kept apart from others. Sometimes speculators made large purchases for the purpose of selling at higher rates. Penn, though opposed to this practice, was powerless to prevent it, for it was difficult to watch people three thousand miles away.

The mode of selling may be briefly described. There was an office composed of a secretary, surveyor-general,

auditor-general and receiver-general, who held their offices at the seat of government. Deputy-surveyors were appointed by the proprietary or commissioners of property, and afterwards by the surveyor-general. These commissioners were appointed by Penn from among his intimate friends in the Province. They had authority to purchase lands and to sell them. The usual practice was for the buyer to make an application, a warrant was issued by the proprietary or by his commissioners to the receiver-general, who was to make a survey for the warrantee, on the terms described therein. The warrant was then taken to the surveyor-general, who gave a copy with an order to the deputy-surveyor of the proper county, directing him to make the survey. The application, as well as the warrant, indicated the situation of the land desired. After the deputy-surveyor had completed his measurements, he reported to the office of the surveyor-general, who issued a patent to the purchaser for his land. He was expected to pay the surveyor-general for it before the warrant was issued; but this was never done; and large losses were incurred by reason of the failure to pay for lands or even to pay the annual quit-rents. In 1740 there were two hundred and sixty thousand acres for which patents had been granted, but on which no payments had been made, while other land, held by settlement without grant, amounted to nearly four hundred thousand acres. The sums due on these, without interest, were declared to be £104,850. The proprietaries sought in every manner to effect the collection of quit-rents and purchase money, but in many cases they were unsuccessful.

Afterward another method of granting land was

adopted. This was called the application system. Desirous of increasing purchases, the proprietaries in 1765 introduced a new system. Settlers were not asked to pay in the beginning. An applicant applied to the secretary of the land-office, who instead of granting a warrant, entered the purchaser's name on the back, the date of his application, and the description and location of his land. No request could be made by any person for more than three hundred acres without a special order. At the close of each day the secretary sent to the surveyor-general copies of all the applications, regularly numbered in the order received. The surveyor-general then sent transcripts to his deputy with the dates of entry, together with an order to survey the land. The survey was completed within six months, and after the report was returned, the applicant paid the receiver-general on terms then established, five pounds for one hundred acres with interest from the date of the application, and one penny sterling per acre quit-rent. When this was done, a warrant was directed to the surveyor-general for his acceptance of the survey, which was then returned to the secretary's office and a patent was issued. This system was simple and lenient. It gave the lands to the buyers as soon as the survey was completed, before requiring payment of any part of the purchase-money, and without the ordinary expenses of the office. One reason for adopting this method was the conduct of the speculators, who, having purchased large quantities of land, were selling at a profit. Annoyed by the competition, the proprietaries made still more favorable terms to stimulate the sale of their own lands.

The purchasers did not long enjoy the system of quit-

rents. They had come to breathe the free air of the American wilderness, and resented the choking process of paying a perpetual obligation. Penn once proposed to sell their quit-rents, but his proposition was declined. Afterward, when the tenants were desirous of purchasing, he answered, "I must depend upon my rents for a supply, and therefore must not easily part with them, and many years have elapsed since I made you that offer that was not accepted." As the essence of the quit-rent system was feudalism, the reader may ask how this ardent lover of liberty came to adopt such a mode of selling his lands. One would imagine that Penn was still living in the twilight of the Middle Ages. In all of the deeds the purchasers were described as holding their lands from him "in comon socage." This venerable phrase was a survival of the Norman conquest, when lands were held in two ways. In every instance the king was regarded as the paramount lord or owner, and the lands were granted to his followers on condition that one of two kinds of service should be rendered—knight service or socage service. Those who held lands by knight service were obliged to serve the ruler forty days in a year, and to furnish pecuniary aid whenever it was needed. Furthermore, the lord could dispose of his infant ward in marriage, who, if refusing to obey, forfeited whatever might be arbitrarily assessed as the value of the match. If a tenant or holder sold his land, he was obliged to pay a fine for the privilege, and if he died without leaving an heir competent to perform service, or was convicted of treason or felony, the land escheated to the feudal lord. This tenure or service was so severe that every one preferred tenure by socage, which meant that the land was held by a fixed service,

which was not military or within the power of the lord to vary at his pleasure. In Penn's agreements with his tenants a service of some kind was expected, but their republican spirit was galled by this condition, and they tried to escape from it at an early day. His relationship to the people, in his own mind, was essentially patriarchal, and he desired its continuance because he felt sure that if they were left unrestrained their progress would be slower than under his mild and enlightened rule.

The income derived from these sales by the founder was not enough to pay his expenses, and his affairs fell into a bad way. To relieve himself Penn mortgaged his Province, and the persons to whom the conveyance was made had power to sell. Three years afterward, in 1711, the commissioners of property were given authority to grant lands and receive moneys. The incumbrance was not removed at the time of Penn's death, but the sale of lands continued. Warrants were granted and patents issued, though not in precisely the same manner as before. It has been asserted that the office was closed from the death of William Penn till the arrival of his son Thomas. This statement is hardly correct, for warrants were issued for lands on the east side of the Schuylkill during the entire period.

At a later date titles were acquired by settlement. This was the father of many difficulties, and was not at first regarded with favor. The title arose by the settler's entering on vacant lands without any office-right, and without applying to the proprietary or his officers. From feeble beginnings this method of acquisition grew to be an acknowledged right, and was recognized by the board of property, the Legislature and the courts of

justice. A distinction was made between mere settlement and a permanent improvement. If a man plunged into the wilderness, made a clearing and then abandoned it, he acquired no title; but if he remained on the land, improving it, he was regarded as a settler and after a time his rights became secure.

Delinquents were threatened with the loss of their lands, though this menace was rarely executed. Settlements were vacated in a few cases, because of the unwillingness of the occupants to pay for them. Whenever they were thus formally vacated by a warrant, the lands became the property of others to whom they were given ; in some rare cases the authorities ventured to take them away from those who had no right or title.

Many claims acquired either by settlement or by warrants were sold. These rights were considered personal property and their transfer caused no little difficulty and litigation. Until the enactment of the divesting law, the business of the land-office was never conducted with much system. The proprietary desired to encourage settlers for the purpose of selling his land and obtaining a revenue. A policy of lenient treatment was adopted, for if he dealt harshly with purchasers dissatisfaction was sure to follow. Irregularities were overlooked, and the system was remolded to fit more perfectly the ever-changing conditions of the people.

From time to time the Assembly enacted laws relating to quit-rents and other similar subjects, thinking that the acquiescence of the proprietary's deputy would suffice to enforce the acts. Nearly all of these laws were disapproved by the privy council, not on constitutional grounds, but for reasons advanced by the proprietary.

Evidently this system of proprietary ownership could not always last. Long before the Revolution, the question was often asked, what could be done toward putting an end to it. At the time the divesting act was passed the proprietaries were two grandsons of William Penn, the founder—John, the son of Richard, and also governor, and John, the son of Thomas. In February, 1778, President Reed in his message to the Assembly referred to the nature and extent of the late proprietaries' claims, and the consistency of these with the interests and happiness of the people. He declared that it was worthy of the Assembly's most serious attention to reconcile the rights of society with those of individual justice and equity. The pending rights of many individuals and the common interests of all did not admit of longer delay, though war with its calamities and confusion had for a time hidden the matter from the notice of the government. The House gave notice to John Penn, who was then living in Pennsylvania, and a time was set to hear his objections. For five days the case was argued before the Assembly. A series of questions was propounded to Chief Justice McKean by order of the House, concerning the authority of the crown to give the charter, the nature of the grant, the extent of concessions to the first purchasers, the right to reserve quit-rents, their proper appropriation and the effect of a change of government on the rights of the proprietaries. The chief justice did not shrink from answering, though he knew that his opinion would not please the assemblymen. He declared the authority of the crown to be unquestionable, that the grant to Penn and his right to the quit-rents was absolute, and he denied that the object of reserving these payments was to support the

government. He agreed with the popular party on one point only, the right of preëmption, which he considered was vested in the new government. The opinion of the Assembly's committee did not harmonize with that of the chief justice. Both reports were ordered to be printed and soon after the Assembly adjourned. At the next session the new Legislature immediately resumed consideration of the subject. The bill was improved and referred for examination to the chief justice and the attorney-general, and was finally passed by a vote of forty to seven. The minority entered a short protest, and on the same day Mr. Penn addressed the Assembly in a brief and decorous remonstrance which, at his request, was printed in the journal. The law divested the proprietaries of their lands and quit-rents, but carefully protected the manors and whatever could be distinguished as private property, granting a compensation of £130,000, which was paid with interest within eight years after the close of the war. Besides this sum the Penn family received an additional remuneration in the form of an annuity from the British government of £4,000. Thus they had the rare fortune of receiving compensation for their wrongs on both sides. The annuity is still paid to the descendants of the founder of Pennsylvania.

SECTION II.

Cultivation of the Land.

Penn, knowing the need of preserving a portion of the forest, wisely guarded in his charter against its destruction. A fifth part was to be kept in its original condition; but later generations, disregarding this wise restriction and neglecting to guard against fires, have

suffered all to disappear, save a few small patches of oak, ash and hemlock. They are now paying a heavy penalty for this in deluges of water followed by long periods of drought that plague the land. On the remaining four-fifths the settlers could labor in their own way, and the story of their conquest of the wilderness possesses a peculiar interest.

The Indians cultivated only small plots of land, for they were not farmers. Squaws performed the work in a primitive manner. Patches of land were cleared along the streams and flats by girdling and burning down the trees. Then the ground was scratched with sticks, and seeds were sown—corn, beans, squashes, pumpkins and melons. The beans sown by them, it is said, were procured from the Europeans. Peas were sown before any foreigners came into the country. Sharp stones were used as hoes. Their land was kept clear by burning, but in some places where the scrub oak grew, fire would not ordinarily kill the growth.

Within a year after the settlement of the Province, between twenty and thirty ships arrived with passengers, the numbers increasing so rapidly that the land along the Delaware was soon taken from Chester to the Falls of Trenton. The valleys were first chosen because the land in them was more productive, as it was mainly the rich deposit of many ages, and yielded large crops of corn, wheat and other products. The Friends who came first were very provident and cautious, and had provided themselves, as they believed, with enough food and clothing to suffice until new supplies were forthcoming. They also brought household furniture, utensils, implements and tools used in many trades and occupations. In the order of settle-

ment the English Quakers and others from Wales came first, followed by the Scotch-Irish and the Germans. Two or three years passed before the earth began to display its riches, and during this time the people suffered. Many of the adventurers were not young or fitted to endure hardships. Some, too, had lived well in their native country, enjoying ease and plenty, and were ill prepared for the privations of the wilderness.

Their first labor, after arriving, was to land their goods. Their lodgings were in the woods, a tree sometimes was chosen for shelter. Then caves were inhabited, and afterwards huts were occupied until the completion of better houses. Those who went farther into the wilderness lived in their wagons. All this was a novel experience. They had no knowledge of the proper method of improving the land, and everything had to be learned by experience. Proud says that the great difference between the open cultivated countries among the near kinsmen that many of the settlers had left behind, and the wild wooded desert which they had now to encounter among savages, must have created in the colonists startling ideas, and made strange impressions on their minds. Yet the soil was fertile, the air was clear, streams of water were plentiful, there was an abundance of wood for fuel and buildings, and all went to their tasks with a strong heart. In selecting sites for their houses, the settlers did not forget the importance of a water supply. The dusky sons of the wilderness were the neighbors who gazed on these strange toilers, whose methods of activity were so unlike their own.

The first comers had cleared enough land by the succeeding spring to plant Indian corn, and in a year or

two to grow wheat and other grain. Many stories are told of their trials before they could raise a sufficient supply for their wants. At times, the air was darkened by the flocks of wild pigeons, which, flying low, were knocked down, then cooked and eaten. Those not immediately needed were salted and kept for further use. The story is told of a deer that came so close to a woman as she was journeying, that she secured him by putting a strap around his horns. The animals did not know what kind of creatures had come among them, but as soon as they found out many disappeared in the recesses of the forest.

In selecting land the Germans always preferred that which contained a large quantity of meadow. They also cleared the land; though not in the same manner as the other settlers. They did not girdle or belt the trees and leave them to perish, but cut them down and burned them. Underwood and bushes were grubbed up, and a field was thus made as fit for cultivation the second year after clearing as it might otherwise have been with twenty years of different treatment. The land could then be plowed, harrowed and reaped. The expense of repairing a plow, which was likely to be broken in a partly cleared field, was greater than the cost of removing the undergrowth in the beginning. The Scotch-Irish and other settlers were not as thorough in clearing the ground. The trees were mortally wounded by girdling them; in a short time the smaller branches decayed and fell, exposing unsightly skeletons which were ere long transformed by fire and weather into huge ghostly forms. The underwood was grubbed up, piled in heaps and burned. There were no matches to light them in those days. Punk and flint stone were

commonly used to ignite wood, or else live coals were brought from the fire in the house. Much of the timber was split into rails and used for making a worm fence around the newly cleared field.

To protect the lands, they were fenced in different ways. One way of fencing was by palisades, formed of sticks driven into the ground close together. Another was by rails, eight or ten feet long, laid on top of each other at a sufficient angle to remain secure. They were called worm fences because they were so crooked.

The tools used for cultivating the land were of the simplest description. Each German family usually brought a large iron-bound chest filled with homespun and some of the more important household utensils. They were also supplied with a wooden plow, a scythe, a hoe and a sickle. The old-fashioned wooden plow, shared often by several farmers, was drawn by a heavy draught-horse or by a pair of oxen. The crops were planted or sown by hand, and covered by hoeing or brushing. Seeds in great variety were sown; wheat and rye in the autumn, and reaped the following June or soon after; barley and oats in April, and garnered towards the end of July. Corn was a native of America and easily cultivated. Buckwheat, cotton, rice, spelter, millet, lucerne, sainfoin, flax, melons and rape were also raised. There was a long struggle to grow hemp, but finally its culture was abandoned. Peas were cultivated at an early day, every Swedish farmer having a little field of them. Beets and radishes flourished, the latter growing, it is said, to seven inches in diameter. The convolvulus or batata, called the Bermudain potato in the Province, was raised, says Kalm, by the common people, and by the gentry, without distinction, some

putting them in hillocks prepared for that purpose, others planting them in flat beds. The sweet potato, called the Maryland potato, also thrived. Pumpkins were raised, their round yellow bellies glistening in the sun and remaining, in that day as in ours, the last golden decoration of the fields. Wheat fields were prepared in the English manner, with no ditches; but there were numerous furrows draining the water, four or five feet apart.

In cultivating the land, no fertilizer was used, and of course after a few years the soil became less productive. When Kalm, an eminent Swedish professor, was journeying through the Province in 1748, he remarked that a grain field that had yielded the same kind of corn for three years produced nothing after that unless it was fallowed for several years or fertilized. In the interval plants and brush overspread it, while a new piece of ground was used, or a piece that had been lying fallow.

Every house had a garden, and an orchard was planted as soon as possible after a clearing had been made. Apple, peach, pear and cherry trees were planted, and grew luxuriantly. Kalm relates that once when he and a companion were passing an orchard, his friend leaped over the hedge and gathered some apples. The Swede expected that some serious result would follow from such a bold theft; but those working in the orchard did not even look at him. The people were more generous with their fruits than in other countries where the soil was less fruitful. In the environs of Chester were many gardens full of apple-trees, sinking under the burden of fruit.

After the sowing, planting and tending, came the joyful period of harvest. This was the most gladsome

season of the year. Neighboring families assisted each other, men and women working in the field. Tradesmen and town people dropped their vocations and joined in the reaping. One "through" was reaped, the "grips" were bound on the return, and a keg of ardent spirits was tapped at the end of each round. Exciting scenes attended the harvesting of corn. Days were appointed for husking-bees, at which both old and young assembled to enjoy the sport. There were refreshments of cider, cider-royal, metheglin and luscious red and yellow apples. The golden corn flew thick and fast, and as evening approached the pile swelled higher and higher until the work was finished. Happy the swain who found a red ear, for he was permitted to take therefor a kiss from the maiden of his choice. These festivals were in Indian summer, when a dreamy haze enveloped the landscape, and the woods were clothed in gorgeous colors. The clear blue sky, the rich meadows and deep groves, the tinkling bells of the cattle, the unregarded music of the brooks, all told of beauty and peace.

The Germans, perhaps, were less given to the enjoyments of agriculture than the Scotch-Irish and other settlers, yet in their own way they enjoyed existence and were as contented and prosperous as any people in the Province. In superstitions, perhaps, they led the rest. In planting and pruning, in sowing and reaping, they were influenced by the age and appearance of the moon, yet they were not the exclusive possessors of this supernal assistant. Absurd incantations were held to be infallible remedies for many diseases, nor was a belief in witches yet banished from the popular faith. Over the low door of the German's cottage one

would be sure to find the fateful horse-shoe. The German who suspected that his fireplace was a resort for witches expelled them by burning alive therein a young dog or two. If dogs were the innocent victims of the delusion, human beings escaped punishment,—a great gain to society surely compared with their fate in some other colonies. If the black cats, those old companions of sorcery, did not fare so badly as the puppies, they did not entirely escape; but earless and tailless, they wandered through the neighborhood, mutely testifying to the use of their blood in the treatment of erysipelas.

Kalm says that the cattle slowly degenerated. All the cows, horses, sheep and hogs in England were larger than those first imported from there of the same breed. The first generations grew smaller; the third and fourth were of the same size as those common in the Province. The climate, soil and food produced the change. The English did not bring many to this country, but the Swedes imported a large stock, or bought of the Dutch who were in the Lower Counties. The Germans fed their cattle well; consequently their horses were better able to work. German horses were known in every part of the Province, while their cows yielded a larger quantity of milk. The beasts were kept as warm as possible in the winter, and thus much hay and grain were saved. There were many cows and oxen in New Jersey which had become so wild by keeping them in the fields that no enclosure was strong enough to hold them.

Kalm gives a long list of animals that were tamed by the settlers. Among these he mentions the American deer, which soon yielded to the arts of the white man

and were sometimes used for hunting or for decoying wild deer. Beavers also were so domesticated that they went fishing, and brought their catch to their masters. They were as tame as dogs, and followed their owners everywhere. If he went into a boat, the beaver went with him, jumping into the water, and after awhile bringing up a fish. The opossum was trained to follow persons like a dog. The raccoon ran about the streets like a domestic animal, and was an incorrigible thief. He would creep into a poultry yard and in a single night kill the whole stock. It was necessary to hide sugar and other sweet things, otherwise he would get into chests or boxes, eat the sugar and lick the treacle. Women tired of this pet and finally discarded his society. Among tamed animals were the gray or flying squirrels, that became so gentle as to sit on the shoulders of boys and to follow them everywhere. Wild geese lost their shyness, and partridges would run around all day with the poultry and go with them to their feeding places when called. Some winters there were enormous flocks of pigeons, which became so tame that they would fly out and return again. Though the truth of some of these statements may be questioned, there is abundant proof that many of the animals of that day were easily brought under the dominion of the new lords of the land.

To prevent the swine from jumping over the low enclosures, a triangular wooden yoke was put around their necks. To the horses was fastened a tooth or hook, stopping the animal just when he lifted his fore-feet to leap over a fence. Other devices were also used to keep them within bounds. Bells were indispensable to indicate the whereabouts of cattle that roamed in the

woods. If a bell was broken or lost, it was not easy to find the animal to which it had been attached. Doddridge tells of a drove of horses intended for a Baltimore market, on whose necks bells were hung at the time of starting on the journey. At a lodging-place in the mountain two bells belonging to the drove were stolen during the night by the landlord and his hired man. The drover had not gone far in the morning before he missed the bells, and a man was sent back to recover them. The landlord and his servant were found reaping in the field. They were accused of the theft, but denied it. By a custom of the time the torture of "sweating" was applied to them. They were suspended by their arms, which were pinioned behind their backs. This brought a confession; the bells were forthcoming and hung around the culprits' necks. Thus attired they were driven on foot until they overtook the drove, which had gone nine miles. A halt was called, a jury selected to try them, and they were condemned to receive from each drover a fixed number of lashes. When the time came for the owner of one of the stolen bells to use his hickory, he said to the thief, "You infernal scoundrel, I will work your jacket nineteen to the dozen! Only think what a rascally figure I should make in the streets of Baltimore without a bell on my horse!" And he meant what he said, for he thought bells were needed everywhere, even in the streets of a city, never having seen horses without them.

Of the forest trees that were utilized, the red maple was most in demand. From its wood were made plates, spinning-wheels, rolls and legs for chairs and beds. Worsted and linen were dyed with its bark, which gave

the fabrics a dark blue color. From it a good black ink was also made. At that time the settlers did not utilize the sweet juice of the maple, though in Canada both treacle and sugar were made of it. A curled variety was used for utensils, and in all kinds of joiner's work, but the most valuable furniture was of curled black walnut, which was exceedingly scarce.

Of all the settlers the Germans were the most industrious. They worked early and late, women also toiling in the field. Aided by her daughter, the good housewife tended the grape-vine, cultivated the garden, and trained the honeysuckles about the cottage. A loom was in every family, and the women in the winter spun flax and wove linen, linsey and woolen cloths. The linen was bleached by spreading it on the lawn during the warm weather. One of the industries carried on among the farmers was that of distilling liquor from wheat and other cereals. At first, rye was used, and afterward corn was found to be valuable for the same purpose. Drink was common among the agricultural classes at harvest time, and was regarded as a necessity. The whiskey of those days was pure. The Friends drank as well as others; but if one of them indulged too freely he was put out of meeting. Many a case is recorded of members who were "brought before meeting" for imbibing ardent spirits too freely. If public acknowledgment was made, the offenders were generally excused.

Wine-making was also quite general, the women pressing it from the fruits. White and red currants, raspberries and cherries were often used for this purpose, as were strawberries and blackberries, which grew abundantly in the fields. In Maryland a wine was

made from wild grapes. Brandy was distilled from peaches and apples.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the Germans formed a considerable part of the farming population. Brissot, a French traveler, remarks that they were regarded as the most honest, industrious and economical of the farmers. They never contracted debts, and of all the people were the least addicted to the use of rum and other ardent spirits. Their families were large, and it was common to see twelve or fourteen children in one household. Brissot also remarks that the principal cause of migration to the remote parts of the Province was the hope of escaping taxes, though the land-tax was very light, not exceeding a penny to the pound on an assessment much below the real valuation.

The same Frenchman describes the early progress in cultivating the land, as related to him by a farmer whom he met during his travels. Doubtless his account is correct, but it applies only to a small class who lived during the closing years of the provincial period. The first planter or farmer was usually a man who had lost his fortune and his credit in the eastern part of the State. He went westward in the month of April. His first task was to build a little cabin for himself and family, the sides and roof of which were of rough hewn wood, and the floor of earth. It was lighted by a door and sometimes by a little window covered with oiled paper. An adjoining hut gave shelter to a cow, and a pair of miserable horses. When the work of building was completed the farmer attacked the forest, and the trees were cut two or three feet from their roots. The ground was then plowed and planted with Indian corn that often yielded in October a harvest of

forty to fifty bushels to the acre. As early as September it was ready to be eaten and furnished an agreeable food. In winter time the planter sustained himself and family by hunting and fishing, while the cow and horses fed on wild grass. During the first year he suffered much from cold and hunger, and living near the savages, he copied their example by solacing himself with liquor. Thus rolled away the first two or three years of his existence. As the neighboring population increased his troubles began. The cattle which had run at large, he was now compelled to keep within his little farm. Formerly he could obtain much wild game, now it had fled from the country. Increasing society brought laws, taxes and regulations, and nothing was so hateful as these shackles. Unwilling to sacrifice even a single right for the benefit of the government, he abandoned his new home and retreated still farther into the wilderness. So potent were the charms of independence that many men cleared consecutively four farms in different parts of the Province. Brissot remarked that the preaching of the gospel always drove away men of this class, but this was not surprising when one considered how much the Bible precepts were opposed to their manner of living.

The labor of the first planter gave some value to the farm that was now occupied by a man of the second class. The new tenant began by adding to his cabin. A saw-mill in the neighboring settlement furnished him with boards, and his house was now covered with shingles, and raised to two stories in height. He prepared a small meadow and planted an orchard of two or three hundred apple trees. He enlarged his stable and built a spacious barn which he covered with rye straw.

Instead of planting only Indian corn, he cultivated wheat and rye. Of the latter he made whiskey. Nevertheless this planter did not manage well. His fields were badly plowed and never enriched, and they produced but small crops. His cattle broke through the fences and destroyed the crops. His horses were ill-fed and feeble, and in the spring they often died of hunger. His house and farm showed signs of neglect; the glass of his windows was replaced with old hats and rags. He was fond of company; he drank too much, and passed his time in political disputes. He contracted debts and after a few years was forced to sell his homestead to a planter of the third and last class.

The newcomer was usually a man of property. His first task was to convert into meadow all his land that could be flowed with water. He then built a barn of stone to protect his cattle from cold, for they ate less when they were kept warm. To spare the consumption of fuel he used improved stoves, and saved the labor of cutting and carting much wood. Besides corn, wheat and rye, he cultivated oats and buckwheat. Near his house was a garden in which cabbages, potatoes, turnips and other vegetables were raised; and he built a dairy house near the spring which furnished him with water.

He improved the size and quality of his orchard. His sons worked by his side, and his wife and daughters quit their wheels and looms to labor in the harvest. Finally he built a house, generally of stone, which was well furnished. His horses and oxen proved by their strength and good appearance that they were well fed. The ordinary drinks of his family were beer, cider and wine. As he grew rich, perceiving the value of legal protection, he paid his taxes punctually, and contrib-

uted to the support of schools and churches. Two-thirds of the families of Pennsylvania belonged to this third class, and to them the Province owed its reputation and importance. If they were less cunning, they possessed more republican virtues than their southern neighbors, whose land was cultivated by slaves. In this description the Germans must be excepted, for they were thrifty from the beginning. Many bought farms that had been rescued from the forest, but they rarely sold them.

This chapter would be incomplete without describing the frontier fort, so essential to the security of the settlers, especially after their estrangement from the Indians. The fortifications consisted of cabins, block-houses and stockades. Partitions of logs separated the cabins from each other. The outside walls were ten or twelve feet high, and the slope of the roof turned inward. The floors were usually of earth. The block-houses were built at the angles of the fort and stood two feet beyond the stockades and the outer walls of the cabins. The upper stories were eighteen inches larger on every side than the under one, with an aperture at the beginning of the second story for firing downward, to prevent the enemy from getting under the walls. A large folding gate, made of thick slabs, and nearest a spring, closed the fort. The cabins, stockades and blockhouse walls were pierced with holes at proper heights and distances, and the outside was completely bullet-proof. A community would have felt uncomfortable without one of these places of retreat in times of danger, when the Indian was lurking around for the white man's blood.

These unwelcome visitors were expected in the

summer or autumn, and at such times the families in exposed positions were compelled to leave their farms and remove with their furniture to the fort. Parties of armed men would cultivate each plantation in turn, with scouts at a distance to warn of impending danger. Taught by their wily antagonist, they took every precaution. When signs of invasion were detected, the women and children were quickly brought within shelter, the cattle and furniture placed in safety, and a few of the more adventurous men set to watch the progress of the enemy. Let the panic of his coming once spread, and immediately plantations and settlements were abandoned, and the inland towns crowded with anxious, careworn refugees, leaving their old homes and crops to the torch of the invader. When the danger had passed, the settler returned once more to his home if it had been spared, and lingering over the fire during the long winter evenings, listened to the wild wailing of the northern winds that piled the deep snowdrifts against the wooden walls. Perchance the fierce howling of a distant wolf would lead his thoughts to his ox stalls, and he would go forth, floundering through the snow in the darkness, to assure himself of the safety of his herd.

So rapidly had the land in the eastern section been taken up and cleared, that, by the closing year of proprietary rule, the country had a settled appearance. The ghostly black and white skeletons were gone, the lands were fenced, and in many directions divided by highways. A traveler journeying over the roads during the spring, after the French and Indian wars, would have beheld as thriving a scene as any in the world. The sun's renewed strength, loosening the earth from

the frosty grip of winter, is followed by that annual display of nature's alchemy which will never cease to be a marvel. A burial-place for seeds, ere long the earth shows signs of life and is covered with tiny shoots. The grains spring up soonest, and in a brief time their stalks rustle in the breeze. As summer advances, their changing color from green to yellow betokens the completion of nature's process. Each perishing seed manifolds itself, every new one as perfect as the old. Then the green corn plants, shooting rapidly upward, become the dominating feature of the scene, while potatoes, peas, beans, squashes and other lowly forms of vegetation overspread many a field. Silently but cheerfully the farmer goes forth to his daily task, content to use his hoe, his sickle and his scythe, thankful for the harvest won by his honest toil, and unvexed by the crushing competition of modern days, that compels the husbandman either to use every labor-saving device, in order to extract the largest possible product from the groaning earth, or to abandon his fields to those more hopeful or more desperate than himself.

Section III.

Slaves, Apprentices and Redemptioners.

In the early provincial times all men were workers and almost every one was independent. Yet not many months passed before two classes arose; those who owned land, or engaged in commerce or exchange, and those who as helpers received a fixed stipend. The second class naturally fell into a fourfold division, slaves, apprentices, redemptioners and ordinary laborers. The slaves were brought from the West Indies and

other places, and some of them objected from the first to their bondage. The opposition was very strong at the time that the Tuscarora Indians in North Carolina were attacked by the whites and driven from their ancient possessions. Some of them were sold into slavery and taken to Pennsylvania as bondmen. The remnant of the tribe migrated to the central portion of the State, to the land which had been given them by the Iroquois. The other Indians were greatly moved when they heard of the misfortune to their race, nor was their fear quieted until the Legislature forbade the purchase and employment of Indians as slaves. Nothing could have been more impolitic than to deprive the Indians of their liberty, for the antagonism of the red man living in the Province was already burning fiercely without adding fresh fuel. Everywhere was abundant cause for discontent without adding such highly inflammable material.

The Dutch and English were engaged in the African slave trade before the arrival of William Penn. The police regulations concerning these servants were severe. If found abroad without a pass they were imprisoned to await recovery by their owners, and if not claimed they were sold at public auction to defray expenses. Yet negro slavery was always of a mild type in Pennsylvania. Just before the Revolution, Hector St. John wrote: "In Pennsylvania they enjoy as much liberty as their masters do, are as well fed and as well clad, and in sickness are tenderly taken care of. If living under the same roof they are in effect a part of the family, they are companions of their labors, and are treated as such; they do not work more than ourselves, and think themselves happier than many of the lower

classes of whites." Penn provided for the freeing of his slaves at his death, and in his will he bequeathed to "Old Sam," "one hundred acres of land," to be the property of his children, after the death of himself and his wife.[1]

Another kind of laborer was the apprentice. In the olden time he began to learn his trade in boyhood, and was bound to his employer by an agreement called an indenture. He was usually taken into his employer's family, and surrounded by healthful influences. After the close of his term he often continued as a journeyman in his master's service for many years, perhaps for his lifetime. He took an interest in his employer's work and prosperity, and in return secured regularity of employment. As a return for his skill and fidelity, his master was bound to care for him in sickness and to retain him in dull as well as in prosperous times. This system was growing healthfully when Penn and his followers arrived in the Province. The first important regulation of apprentices was enacted in 1770. Whereas great mischief and losses had been sustained by masters and mistresses for want of some law to regulate the conduct and behavior of apprentices and to prevent their absence from their master's service without leave, and to punish them for disorderly or immoral behavior, and to make the covenants mutually obligatory, it was enacted that every apprentice should be bound for the time mentioned in the indenture, to his master, occupation or service, with the consent of his parents, guar-

[1] Friends' servants were not buried in the same inclosure with their masters, as the prejudice against them was too strong. By direction of the Middletown Monthly Meeting of Bucks County, a lot was fenced off for burying negroes.

dians or friends, or with the consent of the overseers of the poor and the approbation of two justices. If a master abused or ill-treated his apprentice, or did not discharge his duty to him, then the law provided redress. If an apprentice absconded, the law also provided for the master means to recover him. The next year another law was enacted prescribing a more effective mode for apprentices to obtain justice from their masters at the expiration of their term of service. The system continued until the rise of the factory, which sounded the death-knell by radically changing the conditions of employment.

Another class of servants, which has filled a larger place in history by reason of their sufferings, were the redemptioners. There were several kinds: those who had fallen into that condition in consequence of misfortune, and emigrants who paid for their passage from Europe by agreement with the shipmaster that they were to be sold for a number of years after their arrival in payment for their transportation. The name was also given to the debtor without means who was sold for a fixed time to cancel his obligation; and to the criminal who, unable to pay his fine, was sold for as long a period as was necessary to make up the amount. The directors of the poor were empowered by law to bind men and women from the poorhouse for a term not exceeding three years, to pay the expenses of their keeping, and many were often sold in Philadelphia publicly. They were offered to purchasers by ordinary advertisement in the newspapers. Many of the indentured servants were called redemptioners, because they redeemed their liberty by service to the master to whom they were apprenticed. They were farm laborers, mil-

lers, butchers, weavers, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, joiners, hatters, tailors, shoemakers, saddlers, tanners and even barber-surgeons.

The custom of selling criminals who were unable to pay their fines arose from the poor jail facilities of the country, and the unwillingness of the early settlers to pay jail expenses. On one occasion a man in Lancaster county stole £14 7. He received twenty-one lashes, and was then sold for £16 to a farmer for a term of six years. The records of many counties contain instances of freemen who were sold as a punishment for their offences. This was indeed slavery, but it was mitigated by the fact that a man was not to be sold for his lifetime, but only for a comparatively short period. Imprisonment for debt was common in England, in Pennsylvania and in other colonies. By a law passed in 1705, if a debtor had no estate he was compelled to make satisfaction by a period of service, not exceeding seven years, if he were single and under the age of fifty-three; or five years, if he were married and under the age of forty-six.

The labor of redemptioners was usually sold at prices varying from £2 to £4, while free labor ranged at that time from £10 to £20 a year. The difference in these values was caused by the purchaser's obligation to feed and clothe those who were bound to him, and the labor of the bondman was less efficient than that of the free. These servants were constantly running away and were therefore a loss to their owners. The colonial papers were filled with advertisements of rewards for the capture and return of fugitives. A master could chastise them, and sometimes he ill-treated them. Some of the runaways enlisted as soldiers and became distinguished in the early wars.

Vessels bearing the Irish, Scotch, Welsh and English came from Dublin, Belfast and other Irish seaports. Germans from the south of fatherland sailed from Rotterdam and other Dutch ports. An advertisement like the following often appeared in the Philadelphia papers: "Just arrived in the ship Sallie, from Amsterdam, a number of German men, women and children, redemptioners. Their times will be disposed of on reasonable terms by the captain on board."

The sufferings of the German redemptioners have been described by Mittelberger. The first part of their journey was undertaken on the Rhine boats from Heilbronn to Holland. Thirty-six custom towns were passed, at each of which the boats and their passengers were detained and examined and the emigrants in consequence were compelled to spend money. The passage on the Rhine consumed from four to six weeks. In Holland they were detained quite as long, and were compelled to spend more money. When the ship finally reached England at the City of Cowes, anchor was raised for the long voyage, and then the misery actually began. When their sufferings could be no longer quietly endured, the spirit of discontent broke forth. The passengers called down curses on others or on themselves, and on the day they were born. With the fierce raging of hunger one blamed another for undertaking the voyage; oftentimes children reproached their parents, husbands blamed their wives, and brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances, threatened vengeance against each other, and most of all against the man-stealers. At last after a wearisome voyage, they wept for joy, and shouted with gladness at the sight of the green earth. But alas! when the ship

arrived at Philadelphia, no one could leave her unless he had money to pay for his passage. Those who had not the means remained on board until they were released from the ship by their purchasers. Mittelberger describes the mode of selling them: "Every day Englishmen, Highlanders and high Germans secured from the healthy persons those whom they desired, and bargained with them concerning the length of time they were willing to serve in payment of their passage, which they usually owed in full. Three, four, or five years must be served to pay for their passage, many of them if quite young, from ten to fifteen years were perhaps required to serve until they were twenty-one years old. Many parents traded and sold their own children like cattle, by which means only the parents, not the children, assumed the payment of the passage. Many were released from the ship, and it often happened that parents did not see their children for many years after their departure from the ship, or perhaps never again; often it happened that the entire family, husband, wife and children were separated, because they were purchased by different persons. Such were some of the injustices of this terrible system, which had such an enduring life in the Province."

The steady stream of emigration led sea-captains to abuse their privileges. The carrying of passengers was more profitable than freight traffic. Travelers were often huddled together, and as they sailed southward into a warmer climate, thousands became sick and died. In one year no less than two thousand were buried at sea and in Philadelphia. Of all the barbarous sea-captains, John Steadman attained the most notoriety. He bought a license from a magistrate of Rotterdam

which stated that no captain or merchant should carry passengers so long as Steadman had not two thousand on his own vessel. By this license the avaricious captain enjoyed a monopoly of the traffic. An ordinary passenger was carried for seven pistoles and a half. Many were redemptioners, and when they reached Philadelphia, were forced to pay whatever their masters demanded. More than one of them had paid for his passage before leaving, but, as Steadman had not credited him with the money, another sum was exacted on reaching this country. The thousands who died on the way increased Steadman's profits, for by a contract the living were bound to pay for the passage of the dead. Often after a man had paid his own fare, he was sold for that of some one else. Baggage was left behind to be carried in freight vessels, and when this reached Philadelphia chests and trunks were frequently broken open and nearly all the contents stolen.

By this miserable trade flourished a class of importers or brokers who had agencies in Philadelphia and in European cities. Other dealers called newlanders or soul-drivers went to Switzerland and Germany and, by describing America as a land flowing with milk and honey, tempted the people to emigrate. They were then sold in Philadelphia and the surrounding country. In Rotterdam some of the wealthiest citizens were engaged in this infernal business. A great jealousy sprang up in this trade between Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Runners were engaged to watch the arrival of emigrants and to ply their arts of persuasion. For each redemptioner the runners obtained a fee. All the routes to the sea-coast were watched and dealers even carried on house-to-house solicitation through Germany.

The evil was so great that a law was enacted by the Assembly for the relief of the victims, but it was never executed. An old sea-captain was appointed overseer of one of Steadman's vessels to look after passengers, but he was bribed to conceal the truth of their condition, though sometimes the emigrants had scarcely twelve inches of space between them, and often no bread or water. After his death, the Assembly elected an overseer named Trotter, but he permitted the vessels to slip through without enforcing the law. The people of Philadelphia and Germantown then asked the Assembly to appoint as overseer Thomas Lay, an English merchant living in Philadelphia, who every one believed was impervious to bribery. The petitions of the people were disregarded, nor did the redemptioners obtain relief until 1764, when a German society in Philadelphia was organized for their protection.

These despised workers were important members of the Province. The Assembly was very slow in taking action to improve their condition. The members regarded with disfavor the presence of so many redemptioners and thought that any improvement in their condition would only swell their number more rapidly.

The workingmen were well paid. One of the laws proposed by Penn prescribed the rates to be paid for labor. This was discussed more fully than any other measure during the first session of the Assembly. That body resolved itself into a grand committee, and indulged in a general debate. The principal points were, whether artificers should work at a general rate, or specified rates for each one, or whether all should be free to make terms. The differences were so great and vital that the question was suspended until the next

session. Happily nothing more was attempted. While the colonial legislatures generally regarded themselves quite competent to establish prices for nearly everything, and did indeed fix the rates of wages on many occasions, the Pennsylvania Assembly was an exception, leaving all to make such agreements as they pleased.

Gabriel Thomas, who wrote his little book on the Province, in 1698, after a residence of fifteen years, gave many interesting facts concerning the employment and rewards of this class. The first mentioned was the wages of a blacksmith, who, he says, with a negro man employed by him, received fifty shillings in one day for working up one hundred pounds of iron. House and ship carpenters, brick layers and masons usually received between five and six shillings, shoemakers and journeymen two shillings per pair for men and women's shoes; dealers twelve shillings per week and their board; the reward of sawyers was between six and seven shillings, and ten shillings for cutting pine boards; the wages of weavers was ten and twelve pence per yard for weaving cloth a little more than one-half a yard in width; wool-combers received twelve pence per pound for combing wool, and potters sixteen cents for an earthen pot that might be bought in England for four cents; tanners bought their hides for three and one-half pence per pound green, and sold their leather for twelve pence per pound, while curriers received three shillings and four pence per hide for dressing it; butchers five shillings a day and their board, and silver-smiths one-half crown and three shillings an ounce for working their silver; plasterers received eighteen shillings per yard for plastering, and last-makers sixteen shillings per dozen for their lasts, and heel-makers two shillings per

dozen for their heels. Such were the wages received by some of the mechanics and other working men in the Province; a long additional list is mentioned, whose gains and wages Thomas says are in the same proportion. Laboring men received between fourteen and fifteen pence an hour, and their meat, "drink, washing, lodging;" and their total wages was generally between eighteen pence and one-half crown, and their board in harvest, or they usually had between three and four shillings a day and their board. The wages of maid servants were between six and ten pounds per annum with very good accommodations, "and the women who get their livelihood by their own industry, their labor is very dear, for I can buy in London a cheese-cake for two pence, bigger than theirs at that price, when at the same time the milk is as cheap as we can get in London, and their flour cheaper by one-half."

Corn and meat, food and raiment, were much cheaper than in England, and farmers could afford to pay large wages to their working men, because their land was so cheap and productive, and their outlay so small. Nor was there any alternative, for if these stipends were refused, servants would quickly set up for themselves.

Wages changed with the price of other things, but throughout the provincial period the laborer fared well, and if he did not thrive the fault was his own, unless he was afflicted with ill health or some other misfortune. Depressions did indeed visit the country, but they were less frequent than now; and land could be purchased on reasonable terms. Crowds of unemployed were rarely if ever seen; they are one of the depressing sights of our more modern, and as we boast, higher civilization.

The principal offence of servants was the abandon-

ment of their masters, and the Assembly vainly endeavored, by means of penalties and other terrors, to restrain them from running away. Occasionally a servant fell from virtue, and Mittelberger tells of one who, unable to conceal her condition longer, informed her master, and also that another servant of his had been the guilty participant. He was very angry, and told her that she would do a great wrong if she charged such "a loose bird" with the deed; but, if she would heed him, he would give her some good advice. Assuring him of her obedient disposition, he told her to go to a justice and charge an unmarried man of means, whom she knew, with the offence. The servant went off, but, instead of going to the justice as directed, she went to another and charged her master. As he would not confess, he was condemned to prison until he would either give her £200 or marry her. Was ever such a bad dilemma more unexpected? He married his servant, acknowledging that his fate was a just punishment for advising her to charge an innocent man with the offence. Thus justice in the strangest of ways again triumphed.

Section IV.

Farming During and After the Revolution.

The Revolution was a severe but not mortal blow to the cultivation of the soil. The earth once subdued is easily restored from the ravages of war. Houses may be burned, trees cut down, growing crops laid waste, but by industry all can soon be restored. The earth for a few seasons may look scarred from the loss of trees, but these soon begin to grow, and thus in a few years the worst ravages to the earth are covered and repaired.

But not all the devastations wrought by war are so easily mended. The currents of trade may be turned and never return. And this was one of the consequences of the American Revolution. The markets for agricultural productions were to a considerable degree cut off, especially the English islands of the West Indies. The European demand too for products fell off, and farmers soon began to suffer.

While the war continued their prosperity varied in different parts of the State. In the East they were subjected to more frequent inroads from the armies. While the British were in Philadelphia they bought a large portion of their supplies, and the farmers did not suffer much from their devastations. They fared still worse from seizure by order of the commanders of the American army. Certificates were in all cases given, but a promise to pay of this nature was a very unsatisfactory return. These certificates were funded and ultimately paid, but after the system of seizure was once begun, farmers feared the application of it to themselves and lessened their production. Still, it cannot be shown that their losses by the Revolution were, in the aggregate, very great. The farmers in Lancaster County especially, and still farther removed from the seat of war, suffered far less; indeed they flourished and often brought their produce to Philadelphia and took their pay, not in the paper-money then current, but in specie which had no wings and would not fly away. This was safely put away because its owners knew that whatever else might perish this would survive the revolutionary storm.

The farmers formed then, as they ever have, by far the largest class of toilers. Said Franklin in 1786, "For

one artisan or merchant, I suppose we have at least one hundred farmers, by far the greatest part cultivators of their own land."[1] They had borne their share in the Revolution, their blood had reddened every battle-field. Many of them were expert in the use of the rifle, for they had served in wars against the Indians, or in the chase. After the war was over a large number rushed into mercantile pursuits. The people, "drunk," said an observer, "with the idea of gain, seem to think that the whole community can live by buying and selling European gewgaws."[2]

With the renewal of trade, after peace was made with Great Britain, farmers fell into the way of purchasing more largely than they had done before, and of supplying themselves less with home-made productions. The increased expenditure for these purposes, with a lessening demand for their own products and a diminished price for them, soon led them into a slough of despondency that was as unexpected and novel to them as it was distressing. The newspapers of the day for several years after 1783 are articulate with their complaints. Yet all writers did not look on their condition in the same manner. One of them declared that times were as easy with men who did their duty as they ever were; but those who wandered experienced trouble. He asserted that the complaint of hard times in the State was imaginary, "and as for cash, there was enough in circulation for a medium." Those who complained loudest of a scarcity had nothing with which to purchase money. At every period those who complain most of a lack of banking facilities and of money do not seem to understand that, if they have anything to

[1] Gazette, May 17, 1786.

[2] 1 American Museum, 461.

sell desired by others, money can be surely obtained in return. Generally desert places are debtor places, and money will never stay long in them until they cease to be deserts. Pennsylvania after the close of the Revolution was a forceful illustration of this truth. Much of the specie had gone to England to pay debts, yet the farmer who was not in debt with something saleable on hand could always get money.

Indolence and extravagance in dress were the causes from which all the bitter evils flowed. Of late, the farmers had been vying with the merchants in dress. They had neglected to make their own wearing apparel because it was not so handsome as the foreign; though more durable and cheaper. Was a writer making out a case from straw? Listen to his plain unvarnished tale. "The other day," he says, "I went to see some farmers who owed me a trifle. I found them in the field at work; one was clad in a velvet vest and breeches, and fine worsted stockings, the other in a sattinet vest and breeches, stockings like his companion, and a fine holland shirt with a ruffle at the bosom. I asked them for the money they owed me and was told 'Money is exceedingly scarce, the times are very hard, and it is an impossible thing to get money.' I offered to take stock or almost any other article, but they had nothing to pay me except land, and that they could not spare. The extravagance of people to decorate their bodies is the origin of their poverty; and the hardness of the times arises from a foolish pride." [1]

Did he not tell the truth? We need not delay with his moralizings. He unfolds another idea however that is worthy of notice. In a free and independent state,

[1] 1 American Museum, 461

he remarked, the idea of equality breathed through the whole, every individual felt ambitious to rival his neighbor. Among all the idea of inferiority, as in pursuing a mean employment or occupation for a livelihood, mortified the feelings and soured the minds of those who felt their inferiority, and so they strove to be equal with the rich in dress, if in nothing else. So "the farmer in the field was found clad in as delicate a garment as the merchant behind his counter." Such was the diagnosis of the farmer's distress by one who looked on him with a friendly regard and understood his situation.

Farmers also suffered in another way. Nemesis never fails to avenge herself, and one of the inevitable consequences of issuing paper-money, passing tender and ex post facto laws, regulating prices by law and providing plentiful ways for debtors to cheat their creditors, was the destruction of public and private credit. The sources of private loans dried up or disappeared, farmers could no longer borrow money. In 1786 there were three times as many tenants in the old counties of the State as before the war, because they could not borrow money on interest to pay for land. Perhaps they had not participated in laying low public and private credit, and might have been worthy of confidence; but this is one of the inevitable and saddening consequences of any great movement of the kind, the innocent suffer for the guilty.

Toward the close of the period we are now considering, the condition of the farmer had much improved. He had learned his lesson, and had mended his ways. The medicine was not liked and it never ought to be, for if it were, individuals would be still more inclined to

go astray. Though mother earth had not yielded so abundantly as in other days, prices advanced, and land with the increase in population rose in value. Those who worked for wages were well paid, and Franklin was probably right in saying that "in no part of the world were the laboring poor so generally well fed, well clothed, well lodged and well paid as in America."

The workingman was free to labor as he would ; no law in Pennsylvania had ever regulated the rates of wages. There had been some restraint on his freedom in traveling, but this applied to all classes, in all states, the survival of ancient conditions. But in 1786 a law was enacted in New Jersey regulating the practice of physic and surgery which started an interesting discussion concerning the right of a state to restrict or regulate employment. On the one hand, it was contended that if mechanics were regulated the public would be better served, especially in the quality of workmanship; that the tendency of such a law would be to establish a standard of prices, while "men of property" would be more inclined to educate their sons to useful callings than at present.

On the other hand it was contended that in a country where the common trades were well understood and the workmen generally distributed as in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the government ought not to abridge their natural rights. If one were to set up as a shoemaker, without competent knowledge of the art of cutting and stitching leather, he would soon be obliged to quit the business, whether he had served his trade or not. "Competition," so he argued, "is the true and only regulator of artisans in places where the arts have made any progress." The keeping out of interlopers and

foreigners was not deemed a sound reason, nor that of putting the sons of "men of property" to trades, for such action would neither improve the quality of manufactures, nor reduce the prices of them, but would lessen the number of artists.

To the other argument for the prohibition proposed, it was answered, that beyond all peradventure the binding out of young persons to trade was very proper, and in "the case of ordinary geniuses, very necessary." But was it necessary to establish this regulation? Not at all. Notwithstanding the natural right of every person to follow any business for which he was apt had been hitherto uninterrupted, yet apprentices had been sufficient to supply artisans with hands. "But suppose the parent to mistake his child's natural turn, and the apprentice to turn out a bungler, unable to get his bread by the trade he was put to, or suppose the occupation from unforeseen occurrences fall out of use, and there be nothing to do, shall not this person be allowed to exert himself as his natural talent directs, or as circumstances admit?" To give a monopoly to any persons whatever would invade a natural right, restrain the effects of genius and industry and damage the community. How then could such a law be justified?

The writer then inquires, "Suppose it was established by law, that no man should set up, exercise or use any trade to which he had not previously served a regular apprenticeship and that this regulation were enforced and freely executed, how would it affect many of our important manufactures? If no one who had not been regularly bred to the making and refining of iron could carry on or be a partner in the business, how few iron works would be supported; the real artists seldom

possessing the capital necessary to such expensive undertakings. Furthermore, how could sugar baking, distilling and brewing be conducted on extended plans —the only way of deriving profit and counteracting the importation of foreign manufactures." So the writer concluded that "if foreigners and interlopers were forbidden to meddle, the introduction of new arts would be almost impossible."

The writer truly sounded a high note for freedom of contract, which, to a large degree, has been preserved. There have indeed been some restrictions under the guise of regulation, yet the right has been jealously guarded by all classes, for if it were ever invaded the wisest prophet could not foretell who would suffer most.

CHAPTER XIV.

TRADE.

SECTION I.

Trade Before the Revolution.

HAVING described in another chapter the kinds of money in circulation, let us inquire how the people transacted business and what prosperity followed their undertakings. In the beginning, as money was very scarce, exchanges were chiefly effected by the ancient method of barter. Later, money in somewhat larger quantity sluggishly moved in the ways of trade; but as the risks and other difficulties of exchange were great, a margin of one hundred per cent. profit was often added, and not unfrequently more.

The most profitable source of trade was the Indians. From the beginning the white man realized his enormous advantages in trading with the simple children of the wilderness. The articles purchased by white traders were bear skins, the furs of beavers, foxes, etc., for which they exchanged usually liquor, blankets, various kinds of trinkets and wampum, the Indian money. Of this there were two kinds, the red and white, which were strung like beads. They were used for decorations as well as gifts, and their kings wore wampum crowns.[1]

The Indians preferred this money to silver coin,

[1] One string of the red was worth as much as two white ones.

because they could not be so easily deceived by it. They could not calculate the values of the pieces of silver, which varied greatly in value. To the untutored Indian the white man's money was a mystery, and he soon learned that it was an instrument of jugglery from which he usually suffered by taking it.

The Indian traders were divided into two classes; those who furnished supplies, and those who bought them. The first class lived usually in the frontier towns like Lancaster, and some of them transacted a large business. The other class went among the Indians, setting out usually at the beginning of May, and remaining with them three or four months. Some of these traders were members of a large company, having extensive connections and venturing far into the Mississippi Valley. They usually possessed great enterprise, and ran many risks in their journeyings. Sometimes their goods were stolen from them; now and then a trader paid the penalty for his rashness with his life. As a class they were among the hardest in the Province. Without principle, they regarded civilization, law and order as their foes; religion and morality were especially hateful; and the Indians rightly looked on them as their enemies. In trading, they first offered him a draught of fire-water, and then, having intoxicated him, were ready for business. The reader can readily comprehend who won the advantage in trading under such conditions.

Happily not all who traded with the Indians took advantage of their ignorance, or their propensity for strong drinks. Heckewelder relates an incident of an Indian from the Susquehanna country who went to Bethlehem with his son to dispose of his peltry. He

was accosted by a trader from a neighboring town who thus addressed him: "Well, Thomas, I really believe you have turned Moravian." "What makes you think so?" answered the Indian. "Because," replied the other, "you used to come to us to sell your skins and peltry and now you trade with the Moravians." "Now," rejoined the Indian, "I understand you well and know what you mean to say. Now hear me, my friend. When I come to this place with my skins and peltry to trade, the people are kind, they give me plenty of good victuals to eat and pay me money or whatever I want, and nobody says a word to me about drinking rum, neither do I ask for it. When I come to your place with my peltry, all call, 'Come Thomas, here is rum, drink heartily, drink, it will not hurt you.' All this is done for the purpose of cheating me. When you have obtained from me all you want, you call me a drunken dog and kick me out of the room." Had all who traded with the Indians been like the Moravians, we should have been spared a dark chapter in our provincial history.

During the administration of the Duke of York, laws were passed to protect the Indian against the avarice and rascality of Indian traders; afterwards other restrictions were invented and applied. One of these restrictions related to the quantity of ardent spirits that could be sold to Indians, another to private trade, but no plan availed. Finally the British Government elaborated a plan and put it into operation, but this too the remorseless trader soon broke down; indeed, the regulation of Indian trade was a complete failure. The government doubtless was honestly desirous of protecting them; it was one of those evils which

the government, with all its power, was quite unable to destroy or lessen; and the Indian traders were practically unhindered in their work. Of all whom they hated, the missionaries, who had the most extensive knowledge of their rascalities, were hated worst.

The innocent and unoffending whites were made to pay dearly for the wrongs inflicted on the Indians by these conscienceless traders. The two gravest charges, over-topping all others in the long indictment, are wrongful trading for furs and other commodities, and the so-called purchase of their lands. Those engaged in these things were only a small number of all the people in the Province; the younger Penns, and Allen, the land speculator, were responsible for the land swindles, and a small body of traders for the ordinary ones.

In the early days exchanges were chiefly among the people in the Province and adjoining colonies. As the people increased in number, trade slowly spread, especially into England and the West Indies. Its progress was not uniform, and within twenty years after founding the Province it was darkened by the cloud of hard times. The crops failed in the summer of 1705, and wheat was worth only four shillings, or fifty-three cents per bushel, while goods of all kinds were dear and money was scarce. Penn wished to make bonds assignable and current as money, and to establish a land-bank. Probably his scheme of a land-bank sprung from Chamberlain's idea, that had been current in Great Britain a few years before. It had been planted in New England and had borne fruit, though not of a desirable kind. To bonds were given an assignable quality, which they still retain. Budd, one of the earliest of the Pennsylvania writers, had great faith in the

plan; he wished to go a step further and have all bills and bonds registered and made assignable, thereby converting them into bills of exchange. He also proposed that lands and houses should be valued, and that these particulars should also be registered. "We having thus fitted ourselves," he says, "with a public register of all our lands and houses, whereby it is made ready money at all times, and a law being passed for the payment of all such large interest for moneys and land, and the security being so undeniably good, a bank will in time arise, and such a bank as will be for the benefit and advantage of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and trade universally."

Business revived, but just before the introduction of paper-money, the agricultural products of the Province had become abundant and farmers were again discouraged, and many laborers were unemployed. The true remedy was to increase home consumption and exports. The Assembly essayed to cure the evils by legislation. The use of molasses, sugar, honey and other substances, except grain and hops, was forbidden in the manufacture of beer, and distillers were encouraged to supply the consumption of ardent spirits made from domestic materials. Improvements in the manufacture of flour also claimed the attention of the Assembly and the people. Inspection laws were adopted, establishing the character of flour and of all salted provisions shipped to foreign markets, and the regulations were effective. Standards were adopted, and these products soon acquired a real value, because so much care was taken to insure a good quality. But this one-sided legislation was sure to react on the Province. To cut off exports from other countries with

which we were trading, and to supply them with our own, was to furnish cargoes in one direction only to American vessels, and therefore to enhance the price of outward freights and the cost of the commodities to purchasers. Again, such a policy was sure to lead the West Indies, with which we were trading, to go elsewhere if possible, in search of persons who would take their products in exchange for the goods desired.

At a later period there was commercial embarrassment arising from an inadequate market for superfluous produce. Payments were delayed; litigation increased; and above all things there was a deficiency in the circulating medium. It was clearly seen that direct trade with England was disadvantageous to the Province. Colonial produce was not needed there, and colonial manufactures were prohibited. On the other hand, all the specie obtained from other sources was needed to pay English debts, consequently there was an incessant drain, and an increasing debility arising from this commerce. Many remedies were proposed. One of the most curious was an attempt to prevent the hiring out of slaves who, working at reduced prices, prevented the employment of freemen. The manufacture of beer and distilled spirits received further encouragement from the Assembly, and produce was made a legal tender in payment of debts. The rate of interest was reduced from eight to six per cent. Legal proceedings for the collection of debts was stayed, and the value of coin was raised twenty-five per cent. This measure produced some relief, as the debtor discharged his debts more easily; but as a measure for preventing the export of gold and silver, it was a complete failure, for English goods rose in value with the coin on all new contracts.

In 1736, fourteen years after adopting paper-money, six thousand tons of shipping were employed, and two thousand more had been built for sale. Pennsylvania sent to the West Indies great quantities of flour, butter, meat, timber, planks and other lumber; to Spain and Portugal wheat, corn, flour; and frequently the ships, as well as their cargoes, were sold, and the proceeds sent home. To Ireland was sent a great deal of linseed, besides many ships; to England various kinds of wood, especially black walnut and oak planks for ships, iron, hides and tar. Ships also were in the category of things sold to England. At that time West India goods were also sent there from the Province.

In return, a great variety of imports was received. Those from England amounted in 1722 to £16,000, and in 1736 to £58,690. They consisted in part of English manufactures, fine and coarse cloth, linen, ironware and other wrought metals and East India goods. From the Dutch island of Curaçoa alone, four to six thousand pistoles were received for provisions and liquors. There was a brisk trade with Guiana, the French port of Hispaniola, and the other French sugar islands, from which molasses and specie were received. From Jamaica specie alone usually came, because such a high price was demanded for its rum and molasses. The Province also traded extensively with Madeira, the Azores and Canaries, and ports in the Mediterranean. "All the money," remarks Kalm, "which is got in these several countries, must immediately be sent to England in payment of the goods which is got from thence, and yet these sums are not sufficient to pay all the debts."

After a while trade began to feel the keen breath of competition. Other places, smaller than Philadelphia,

suffered from its superiority as a trading-place. New Castle was one of the first places to complain. Even the people of the Lower Counties, instead of stopping and trading at New Castle, continued up the river to the newer and more thriving city. This was exasperating to the merchants of New Castle; and to lessen this competition was one of the reasons for separating the lower from the upper counties. Says Logan in one of his letters to Penn, "That there might be no connection between this and the Lower Counties, whose inhabitants have always chosen rather to bring their goods and trade quite to Philadelphia, than to stop or have anything to do with New Castle, which with the inhabitants of the place, and their disorderly way of living among the people, has been the cause of that place not being much more considerable than it was thirty years ago, notwithstanding the fact that there are three times the number of people in the country about it than there were at the time Philadelphia was the first city. To make this town flourish, therefore, was the business to which nothing seemed more conducive than the entire separation of these counties from the Province." Neither separation from Pennsylvania nor any other legal regulation could turn the current of trade. Legislation may indeed do something to kill or to stimulate trade, but no fact of history is more familiar than this, that most expedients of this nature prove failures; nor did the citizens of New Castle revive their decaying and fading trade by separating themselves from Pennsylvania.

At a later day Philadelphia's turn came; and merchants began to complain of the rivalry of Baltimore. The trade along the Susquehanna naturally flowed into

the lower port. What advantages were to be gained in going to Philadelphia sufficient to overcome the additional transit? In those days transportation under the most favorable conditions was expensive, and the carriage of goods around the peninsula and up the bay to Philadelphia was a costly charge. To overcome Baltimore's advantage, it was proposed to build a canal from the Susquehanna to the Schuylkill, and to improve "the navigation of all rivers so far as they led towards our capital city." This was just before the Revolution; and many were desirous of building a canal through the heart of the country. The contest with Great Britain soon overshadowed every other, and business rivalry was forgotten.

The early merchants were very different from the modern in giving credit. People were more honest, more conscientious in fulfilling their agreements. The importers, who gave long credit on their sales to the retailers, purchased on long credits in England. Frequently they were for a year or still longer period. As individuals had confidence in each other, they were not importuned boldly and fiercely to pay. A different rule also prevailed in giving notice to indorsers. Before the founding of the Bank of North America, "promissory notes were few," and there was no fixed time for notifying indorsers; and two or three months often passed before the notice was given.[1] Everyone is familiar with the rigid modern rules that are observed.

No country though is so prosperous that some persons will not be wrecked from time to time on the uncertain shores of trade and commerce. To provide a mode of

[1] See the remarks of the court in Bank of North America *vs.* Pettit, 4 Dallas, 117.

settling the affairs of such unlucky adventurers is an important duty for every state. The first insolvent law in Pennsylvania was enacted in 1705. It was based on stern justice, and is a colder piece of legislation of its kind than can be found in any modern statute-book. No person could be imprisoned for a debt or fined for a longer period than the second day of the session of the court succeeding his committal unless he had concealed his property. And if this was not sufficient to pay his debts, he was compelled to remain in prison, should the creditor require him to do so, for a term of years prescribed by law.[1] But if the creditor refused such satisfaction for his debt, the prisoner was discharged. The severity of the law worked its own repeal, and twenty-five years later another act was passed, which is the foundation of the present system. By this if the debtor surrendered his property for the use of his creditors, he was discharged from imprisonment. If the creditor did not believe his statement concerning his affairs, he might be remanded to prison, and on payment of a fixed sum to the prisoner, his imprisonment might be continued at the pleasure of the creditor. The law having been abused by many small creditors there was a return to the older one, so far as obtaining satisfaction by servitude whenever debts of an insolvent did not exceed £20.

If the law dealt more severely with a debtor than modern insolvent laws, the sympathy of his friends over his misfortunes was deeper and more general than the sympathy shown in later times. Failures were less frequent in proportion to the number engaged in business, because men were more honest and did not em-

[1] For term of imprisoment see p. 175.

bark in business without some means of their own. Consequently when one was obliged to succumb, every man who met his neighbor made known his feeling of chagrin, and when meeting the debtor himself expressed genuine sympathy over his misfortune.

Section II.

Trade During and After the Revolution.

We need food, clothing and other things to live and be happy, and if these can be had more easily and economically through exchange than by direct effort, trade will go on regardless of war and weather. Yet trade movements are not regular like the trade winds, but as capricious as human desire and not more easily foretold.

That war with England should lessen trade was inevitable. Nevertheless, an illicit trade sprung up which swelled to very considerable proportions. On the roll of illicit traders was a man named Rumford, of Wilmington, Delaware, who was discovered one night putting flour on a pilot boat near Brandywine Creek. Previously suspected of the same offence, he now stoutly defended his conduct, declaring that he was shipping the flour on account of the consul-general of France at Philadelphia to the French fleet. He showed a letter of authority that was repudiated by the consul-general, and the flour was sent by the committee of Wilmington to the committee of Philadelphia. Afterward a considerable quantity was found in his possession, purchased at prices higher than those fixed by law. Again he showed a letter from the French consul-general, Holker, in which Robert Morris' name was mentioned as Holker's agent, who was authorized to employ Rum-

ford. The Wilmington committee, doubting Rumford, seized the flour, and notified Holker and Morris. Rumford succeeded in showing that he was acting for them, and did not suffer.

Not all escaped so easily. In 1780 a partnership sprang up between individuals residing in Philadelphia, New Jersey and New York for transporting lumber to New York, that was to be sold or exchanged for British goods. The vessels loaded at Philadelphia and cleared for Boston or some other Eastern port. As soon as they had passed the Capes and were beyond sight of land they steered for New York. If overhauled by British cruisers, they showed passes given by the British admiral and were permitted to go on their way. If overhauled by American privateers, they showed the proper papers and were no longer restrained. When the vessels arrived at New York the lumber was taken to the king's lumber-yard, and the vessels were sold or remained there until they found a favorable chance to slip out of port. In many a case the captain and crews were charged as American prisoners and exchanged as though they had been captured. Thus these inglorious traders, besides fattening on the miseries of their country, perpetrated a still more disgraceful swindle in pretending to have been taken prisoners and permitting themselves to be traded off for others who had been captured by the costly methods of war. Not content with practicing these iniquities, they brought counterfeit bills into the State, so long as paper-money formed the chief money sinew of the war, believing, as did many others, that if this could be destroyed, the Revolution would collapse.

The sea was not the only avenue for these hardened,

illicit traders. Wagons were made with false bottoms and sides, having a capacity to carry several hundred pounds of goods. Many articles were packed in water-tight kegs, which were enclosed in barrels containing cider. Laws were passed to prevent these practices, but the meshes were too large to catch these wary traders. Specie was often paid for the goods imported, and the withdrawal of so much from the circulating medium "justly alarmed," so President Moore remarked in a message to the Assembly in the summer of 1782, "every good citizen with apprehension of the most fatal consequences if that destructive trade is not immediately and effectively restrained."

There was another mode of getting British goods into the State, as novel as it was effective. The British authorities were permitted to send necessaries to British prisoners, and, under cover of this authority, large quantities of goods were sent for sale. After the capitulation of Yorktown, the British prisoners at Lancaster "received fifty wagons loaded with European goods of every kind." A store was opened for their sale and they were "hawked about all over the county and its neighborhood by the soldiers, their wives or strumpets." An indignant observer remarked that "the goods were never intended for the soldiery, but that the capitulation of Yorktown is to serve the most impudent and perfidious smuggling which can be conceived."

The chance for profits was so great that privateering became a very general and most fascinating pursuit. The greater the risk of capture, the larger the gains if not captured, and consequently there was never a time when ill fortune was strong enough to deter the most daring. The increasing list of the captured, instead of

cooling the zeal of those who escaped, heightened it by enriching the prospect with larger profits. The waters in every direction were vexed by these bold adventurers. Capital and men were always ready to embark in these exciting enterprises. From the beginning to the close of the war the ocean was alive with them. They were truly the terror of the seas. The captains were usually brave and resourceful; and in an irregular way was cultivated a spirit for naval warfare that has never died away.

One of the most spirited of these encounters was near Delaware Bay, in the closing years of the war. These waters were much infested by small boats, one of which was known as the Trimmer. Its draught was so light that it could retreat into shoal waters, where it was safe from pursuing privateers and cruisers. There were British privateers also cruising around the bay, and merchantmen bound to and from Philadelphia were constantly captured. Among others was the General Monk which, in her earlier days, had flown the opposite flag and was known as the General Washington. She was especially successful in cruising around the bay and annoying and capturing American coasting vessels. Finally a number of the citizens of Philadelphia determined to fit out a vessel to capture, if possible, this bold marauder. The money was contributed partly by private individuals and partly by the bank of North America. A vessel was purchased and named after the terrible living antagonist of the British arms in India, Hyder Ali. Joshua Barney was selected for commander, and with a crew of one hundred and sixteen volunteers and a battery of sixteen six-pounders she sailed down the bay.

Barney's instructions were to convoy a fleet of merchantmen to the Capes, but no farther, as the intention of the owners was simply to protect the waters of the bay chiefly from the "refugee boats," as they were called, that had so long plied their inglorious, though too successful business. The convoy had gone down the bay and was waiting for a fair wind to sail away. While lying there two ships and a brig were discovered coming toward them. Barney immediately signaled to the convoy to get under weigh and return. The Charming Sally obeyed orders and put on all sail. Unfortunately she ran aground, and one of the enemy's vessels came up, fired into her, wounding two men, and she struck her colors. The General Greene, an American privateer, was the next to suffer. She ran ashore and was captured, leaving the Hyder Ali alone to protect the convoy. Even a strong man might have looked darkly on the prospect, but Barney's courage was of no common kind.

Barney kept in the rear of the vessels and eagerly watched the movements of the enemy. It soon became evident that his plan was to send one of the ships ahead and cut off his convoy and then attack the Hyder Ali with the other ship and brig and thus secure all. The brig first came along, gave him a broadside and passed on. The guns of Barney's ship sounded no reply, for the other ship was rapidly approaching and Barney was reserving his fire for her. When she had come within pistol-shot, the Hyder Ali delivered a well-directed broadside. The enemy was now ranging alongside of him, and Barney saw the advantage of securing, if possible, a raking position. By skillful maneuvering Barney succeeded in entangling the fore-

rigging of his ship with that of the enemy in such a manner as to give him the desired position, of which he at once availed himself. Twenty broadsides were fired in twenty minutes, and so well directed were they that hardly a shot missed. Entering the starboard bow they went through the ship, grape, canister and round-shot, and were so effective that in half an hour the British ship had had enough and struck. The other frigate was now rapidly coming up, but, to Barney's great joy, withdrew and thus his victory was won.

What was the name of the captured ship? No other than the General Monk, mounting twenty nine-pounders and carrying one hundred and thirty-six men. During the action, Barney, in order to watch the fight more closely, stood on the binnacle during the entire action, exposed to the musketry fire of the enemy. One ball passed through his hat, grazing the crown of his head, another tore off part of the skirt of his coat. While his own men were picking off the enemy one of them called out to Captain Barney, "Captain, do you see that fellow with the white hat;" and firing as he spoke the poor fellow sprang at least three feet from the deck and fell dead. "Captain," said the Bucks County rifleman, "that's the third fellow I've made hop." While Barney was standing on the binnacle, he saw one of his officers with an axe in his hand, in the act of raising it to cleave the head of one of his own men who had deserted his gun and skulked behind the mainmast. At this instant a round shot struck the binnacle and Barney fell on deck. The officer, supposing he was wounded, dropped the axe to attend to his commander. Soon discovering that Barney was unhurt, he again picked up the axe to execute his dreadful purpose, when

he saw his victim fighting as fearlessly as any other of that gallant crew.

There was one peculiarity in the armament of the General Monk that ought not to be omitted. Six of the guns were of a Chinese pattern, made of wood. For what purpose these show guns had been mounted is not known, nor after the most diligent inquiry have we been able to learn whether any one had ever been terrified by them.

After the British left Philadelphia, the State fleet was again fitted out for service, and the Lord Drummond was soon afterward captured by one of the galleys. Ignorant of the departure of the British, the master steered into the bay and became an easy prey. Privateers' commissions were issued to the sloops Le Girard and Addison, and powder and cannon were loaned to them. A large number of letters of marque were issued, but for awhile there were no important captures.

The most famous capture was made by Captain Houston in the brig Convention. It was the sloop Active—a prize that started a long controversy between the State and the United States concerning their respective rights to deal with captured property. The Active had sailed from Jamaica for New York having on board Gideon Olmsted, a Connecticut fisherman, and three other Americans who, much against their will, were compelled to assist in navigating the vessel. She had on board a cargo of arms and supplies for the British army, which was then in possession of New York. Olmsted and his three companions determined to seize the vessel, though thrice outnumbered. They rose on the master and crew, confined them to the cabin and steered for Little Egg Harbor, New Jersey.

The British captain had no thought of submitting tamely and a desperate fight followed. The British melted pewter spoons into bullets, forced up the hatches, and attempted to clear the deck. Olmsted was wounded, but succeeded in turning a gun heavily loaded down the companion way, and this for a time had a quieting effect on those below. Then one of the number proposed to blow up with gun-powder the quarter-deck. Finally the British captain cut a hole through the stern and fastened the rudder and it could be no longer used. Confinement and starvation at last brought the prisoners to submission and the rudder was released. As Olmsted and his gallant three were nearing land, overjoyed with their capture, the armed brig Convention, that had been fitted out by the State of Pennsylvania, commanded by Captain Houston, took possesion of the Active, carried her to Philadelphia, and claimed the vessel as a prize. As another privateer, Le Girard, was near the scene, it also claimed a share of the prize. Olmsted resisted, claiming that his conquest was complete before the Convention appeared. In due time legal proceedings were begun, and the case was tried by a judge and jury who awarded three-fourths of the prize money to the Convention and Le Girard, and the other fourth to the daring Olmsted and his three associates. Judge Ross did not conceal his admiration for their conduct and his disappointment in the action of the jury, yet felt obliged to acquiesce in the verdict. Olmsted and his party would not submit, and appealed to Congress. Security was required and he applied to Arnold, who was also from Connecticut. Seeing a chance for gain, he and Stephen Collin purchased, for a small sum, an interest in the affair. The capture was

made in September, 1778, and ere long the case received the attention of Congress. It was referred to a standing committee on appeals, consisting of four eminent men, one of whom was Oliver Ellsworth, afterward Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Judge Ross's judgment was reversed, the marshal of the State was directed to sell the sloop and cargo and pay over the entire fund less the costs to Olmsted and his three associates. A just decision surely, yet the State was not inclined to submit. The Assembly had opposed Penn and his successors; many of the people had opposed independence; and now the State opposed Congress. The jurisdiction of the United States was denied and a controversy was begun, extending far beyond the boundary of the present work.

A court of admiralty had been established in 1780 to try prize causes, that was to exist for seven years and be governed by the laws of nations and the acts of Congress. Francis Hopkinson, the former Admiralty Judge, was appointed to preside over the court. He had not been long on the bench before articles of impeachment were presented against him to the Supreme Executive Council. The first charge consisted of an offer to appoint Blair McClenachan prize agent "if he would make him a present of a suit of clothes; and this condition not being complied with, other persons were appointed in his stead." The third charge was the taking of illegal fees. He was tried before the Council, the Assembly acting by a committee and the attorney-general, and unanimously acquitted.

Such were some of the difficulties in carrying on foreign commerce. The way of the sea was indeed perilous; yet those who were lucky enough to escape

amassed such large profits that these ventures were continued throughout the Revolution. On both sides were many captures, and both the English and American admiralty courts were busy adjudicating prize causes.

If the enemy's ships, even though carrying wooden guns, fettered trade on the high seas, other causes interfered almost as seriously with trade on land. Of these, the use of paper-money overtopped all others. It was a kind of viper on which every one looked with disgust. No one touched it without harm; no art could remove its poison. Of course, specie was driven out of sight, though not out of the country. On the contrary, the French and English sent over large quantities to pay the troops and purchase supplies. With the disappearing of paper-money and the restoration of a specie standard, hard money, as by magic, immediately began to appear. At no former period had there ever been such a large quantity, or so great a variety. Besides all the Spanish coins that had flowed in from the West Indies and British coins from Great Britain, many French coins had come in with the French armies. The return of gold and silver to trade, after their long banishment, was like the return of the sun to the earth after a long, cheerless winter.

But coin was not to be seen here and gladly taken long. As soon as peace was declared foreign goods were imported in large quantities and specie was sent abroad to pay for them. To tempt purchasers to buy still more largely, liberal credits were given. Exports also continued, though they were not as large as before the war. Yet considerable quantities of tobacco, flaxseed, cattle, beef, pork, fish, corn, flour, rice, naval stores

and iron were still sent to the European markets. In return there came from the West Indies chiefly sugar, rum, molasses, cotton, coffee, pimento, and some silver, and from Europe clothing, iron-mongery, teas, spices, drugs, fruits and wines. Of these Great Britain could furnish the whole, except wines, oil and the preserved fruits of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. She had had a monopoly of American imports, with few exceptions, besides the merchandise brought into the country by industrious smugglers. Many of the manufactures of Great Britain were better and cheaper than those of other countries, especially all kinds of iron and textile products. During the war the sale of European manufactures had been confined chiefly to the large towns; the country people had bought and consumed but little; yet notwithstanding all the guards against the introduction of British goods, enough had crept in clandestinely, together with the goods sold that had been taken by capture, to keep the habits and prejudices of those who preferred them alive.

The reader may imagine that after the French alliance the American people turned their eyes at once toward France for fashions and goods. Though eager for French assistance against Great Britain, they did not take to French fashions and French goods with the same alacrity. Nor are the reasons for the slow progress of French taste and manufactures without interest, especially at the present time, when we are trying to supply other countries with our manufactures. As an intelligent observer of the day remarked: "The French manufacturers were wholly uninformed of the habits, taste and style of dress in use among us, and therefore knew not how to adapt their goods to these

circumstances; but reasoning as our conventions did in framing constitutions of government, rather from what they conceived they ought to be than what they were, they sent us ordinary fabrics, dressed and finished in a style far below our ideas and unsuited to our taste." The risk and expense of getting these goods were as great as those for getting better ones, and consequently the price to consumers was nearly as great. Again, the factors in France were strangers in that country and did not understand the best modes of purchasing goods from the manufactories, and as they were often required to get them quickly for shipment by some vessel that was sailing to America, the time was too short "to make a proper choice and draw them from the proper places. Knowing, moreover, that the demand here was so great that almost anything they should send would find a ready market, they took such goods as they could get with the least trouble, paying less regard to their fitness than they ought to have done." The factors also "added to the prices of such goods as they got from the manufacturers, so as to raise them to an equality with the selling prices at Nantes and L'Orient." Consequently importations from France almost ceased as soon as commerce was resumed with Great Britain. Sentimental regard for France did not in the least affect the devotee of fashion, or the general consumer of foreign wares and products. He knew what he liked, and the price and quality were the matters that interested him more than the nationality of the producer.

At first, the times were lively with importers, as the demand for their goods was great, and there was a goodly quantity of specie obtainable to pay for them.

But the demand was soon satisfied, and as the supply did not diminish, they were sent to the auction-room for sale. This mode of selling goods had been practiced before the Revolution, especially by strangers. They often sent cargoes here and sold them in this manner for cash, and then bought other goods to carry home. Many cargoes especially came from Ireland, and flax-seed and other articles of produce were purchased for shipment. Some persons contended that strangers bearing no part of the burden of the State ought not to be encouraged to sell their goods here; but as the State imposed a duty on the goods sold at auction which equaled, if not exceeded any man's share of taxes, there was no foundation for the contention. "It certainly is," remarks a citizen of the day, "an advantage to this State to vend the manufactures of Europe as cheap as possible, because by so doing we pay for them a less value, and that in part by the produce of our lands."

While the war was in progress and when goods were scarce it was thought that they "contributed to depreciate the money and to raise the prices of the necessary and essential articles requisite to the convenience of the citizen and support of the army," and consequently their sale by this method was strictly confined to a city auctioneer. This was regarded as an invasion of private right and justified only by the stern necessities of war.

After the war, therefore, the restrictions were removed, though the business for several years was hedged within narrow bounds. It was held in the strong grip of a few persons, who had no intention of opening their hands for others to see their profits and grasp a part of their business. Auctions were held very

much as they were before the war, though by a smaller number. The goods imported that could not be sold in other ways were put into the auction-rooms. Very soon the retail merchants began to complain. The importers accused them of first filling them up with goods and then, through the auction-houses, of supplying their customers and thus cutting off their sales. "By which means," says a disheartened observer, "the cash which was brought from the country and intended to pay the citizen for goods sold months, perhaps years ago, has been laid out at vendue for fresh goods, sent there by the agents, and the native merchants been thereby unjustly kept out of their money and their stock on hand remained still within shelves—while men who occasioned this scene of difficulty are now completing the distress by suing, getting judgment and selling our real estate at a time when the circulating money had almost all flown to Britain, where the lordly purchasers of our lands will shortly follow, and we at length shall be reduced to that debased situation which the worthies who ruled America in 1775 pledged themselves to the world they would never submit to be hewers of wood and drawers of water to Great Britain."

Unhappily this picture of affairs was quite true. The imprudence of European and American merchants in giving extensive credits, the numerous speculations of uninformed adventurers in trade, yielded their inevitable fruits of disappointment and suffering. The farmer had been tempted by the same allurement to buy things he did not need, and others less thrifty than himself followed in the same thoughtless way.

The distress was intensified in another direction. With the restoration of peace an ardent commercial

spirit appeared throughout the Union. "Every man was tempted to throw his money into foreign commerce. The desire of gain and fear of tender laws conspired to produce this conduct. Trade was overdone and badly conducted. The most judicious merchants made unprofitable voyages by resuming branches of business which had raised the fortunes of themselves and their fathers in former times." All alike were shipwrecked by the adverse gales that now swept over the country. Only few escaped. Merchant and farmer alike were caught and borne toward the unfriendly shore.

Credit which had been unbounded a few years before disappeared. A writer in the Packet toward the end of 1786, says: "The commerce with America seems now to be almost entirely given up in London, for no merchant in his senses will give credit to the amount of £10 to above one house in twenty on the continent. One house in the city received bills to be paid in twelve months to discharge one shilling on the pound, and another a most curious promissory note for one shilling and nine pence on the pound for £250 payable seventeen months after the decease of the American Trader's Mother." Perhaps credit was dead, but the persistent joker was not.

Having cut off their credits, creditors began to turn the remorseless screws. When a creditor has stopped selling, he no longer regards his purchaser with the same friendly interest as he did before. The day for fine words is over. He regards himself somewhat in the light of an injured man, a victim; no matter what he may have done to tempt a weaker man to buy. Creditors therefore resorted to the law. Every one knows there is not much sentiment in legal proceedings. Debts

were sued, judgments obtained, and lands were taken to satisfy creditors. So much was thrown on the market that prices soon became depressed. A writer in the Packet thus relieved himself: "It has been a matter of astonishment to the inhabitants of not only the city of Philadelphia, but the State at large, that so numerous, respectable and wealthy a part of the community as the dry-goods merchants are known to be, should have so long tamely submitted without a struggle to see their landed estates daily wrested from them and sold at public sale, by the tyranny of the British agents now amongst us, especially at such times as the present, when it is universally known and acknowledged that landed property will not at forced sales bring more than one-third of its real value, and notwithstanding it is so low there are no purchasers even at its reduced price, except the very agents who have pushed its owners to extremity in order to become the purchasers."

Nor was this cry confined to a set of discontented traders who wished to defraud British merchants. It was the cry also of the sober trader whose only fault had been an error of judgment in importing too many goods and selling them to shop-keepers and farmers who, in consequence of the low price of produce and of the inability of the government to pay its indebtedness, were unable to pay for their purchases.

Notwithstanding the pall that had fallen on the industry and hopes of the country, the evidences of luxury were present in many places. A writer of the time could not help noticing that "the cry of scarcity and poverty" increased with "the appearance of expense and luxury." This was especially true of the people in Philadelphia. The costliness of the furniture,

the profusion of the table, the elegance of equipage and the refinement of dress were evidences of affluence and prosperity, while the tenor of conversation, the accumulation of debts, and the unpunctuality of payments indicated real want and actual insolvency. The building or improving of houses might be seen on almost every street and the rapid extensions of the city westward, while "hundreds of houses" were untenanted and "crowds were daily retiring to the distant districts of the continent." Such was the condition of things after a few short years of free commerce and political independence. The desire to over-trade, to purchase without adequate means, together with a decaying market for exports and lower prices, enveloped the State and country in industrial and commercial depression without a parallel. A mournful introduction surely to the golden prosperity and happiness that were to follow political independence. If political dependence was depressing, the people had suddenly learned that there was something far worse, industrial and commercial dependence, the loss of credit, the inability to buy and sell, and the hopeless mental and moral dejection that inevitably attends unrequited toil.

Yet not all fell out by the way from a lack of hope or ability to continue; if we can trust the chronicles of those days, already had debtors learned the art of getting rich by failing. A debtor acquired property, and to save appearances contracted large debts to his family, revived old continental transactions, and gave generous bonds for the payment of the immense sums which his sons and daughters or parents and kinsmen had lent him in the days of his prosperity. Then followed "the swearing part of the comedy." If he had given all his

property away, he could safely swear that he had none, and that his inventory was just. The oath in many cases was regarded simply as a form of law, "whatever it might have been in the days of our superstitious ancestors, or whatever it might have been in the days of the old pagan Romans who were weak enough to cultivate a reverence for an oath as the surest pledge of civil obedience and of military discipline." In due time the insolvent was ripe for his discharge, and to that end he notified the public through the newspaper of the time and place of his deliverance. He then received from the venerable hand of justice the pardon of his past follies, deliverance from the hands of his enemies and an open entrance into the bright prospects of enjoying the property which he was expected to receive from the generosity of his friends. "If these directions are carefully attended to," says a somewhat caustic critic of the period, "and a little more time and experience added to the salutary practice, one may shortly expect to see every man able to conduct this business for himself, and whenever he finds it convenient, to rid himself at once of all his debts as well as the other obligations of law and gospel."

With debtors everywhere unable or unwilling to pay their debts, what a strange overturn was this for the hitherto prosperous people of Pennsylvania! What should be done to prevent creditors from dealing too harshly with their debtors? was a question everywhere asked. American merchants feared that with the cessation of war they would suffer from the collection of debts due to British creditors; and on the first announcement of the preliminary treaty with Great Britain the sub-executive council had addressed the delegates in

Congress on the subject. Though not wishing to repudiate their debts, the merchants desired the insertion of an article in the treaty giving a reasonable time for the payment of their debts to British creditors. And the treaty provided that "creditors on either side should meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted."

There was no little discussion over the conduct of creditors in pressing so severely for payment, and many plans were suggested to ease the road for debtors. Most of these were impracticable schemes, which the good sense and honesty of the people saw clearly enough must not be adopted. It would not do to stop the hands of justice, for this would still more disorganize society. The courts must not be closed to protect debtors, for if they were, all bad men might take advantage of the situation to rob and burn, and render life insecure and still more wretched. One of the thoughts with many was the perfecting of some scheme whereby debtors could get an extension of time for paying their indebtedness without an accumulation of excessive interest. For a long time prior to the Revolution, goods had been bought in England on a year's credit without charging interest; but it had been proved in trials for the recovery of unpaid debts of this character in the courts of Pennsylvania that a higher price had been charged, so that the merchant had not reaped as much advantage from his long credit as he perhaps imagined. Besides, if the American importer could not pay at the expiration of the period of credit, an interest account was started, which was compounded until the debt was discharged. Thus the merchant,

often added interest to the price of his goods, and manipulated the debt in such a manner at the end of the year, if it was not paid, as to inflate it in a few years enormously.

Another remedy, aiming not so much to the relief of present debtors, as to prevent an increase in their number, was the taxation of imports. "This was," in the opinion of a newspaper writer, "perhaps the best means that can be adopted to check the superfluous use of foreign productions, as it operates at once as a restraint on the introduction of such articles, and as a bounty on genius in producing the like articles among ourselves, or others to supply their places." Moreover, so he continued, it was one of the best sources of revenue that could be devised, because it was productive and easily collected, "every consumer paying, as it were insensibly, a portion of it." The writer did not see the other side that was soon to be urged by more than one of the revolutionary fathers, that this was the very worst form of tax that could be laid, because the people, not feeling it, would be led into wastefulness. To lead, therefore, to watchfulness in public expenditures, direct taxation was long favored for the reason that the people, feeling as much as possible the weight of them, would be on the side of public economy, which implied economical and more efficient government. And yet we have learned from experience that no theory of taxation when tested has proved a greater failure.

Another reason urged by the writer in favor of taxing imports was, the tax would be laid "chiefly on those who could best afford it." Since the decay of the feudal systems, direct taxation had been found insufficient to

supply the needs of the best governments. Money supplied the place of personal services and, therefore, more was wanted, much more than direct taxation yielded, especially in a free republic, composed of so few people in proportion to the extent of the country. Such was the writer's remedy for the discontented times in which he lived. He had thrown an idea into the great sea of discussion which in due time was to permeate and color our national history.

The principal remedy was of a different nature, more paper-money. This was not the first time it had been prescribed for the relief of debtors, nor would it be the last. Seeing how easily the debtors in the revolutionary time had relieved themselves by issuing paper-money, what was more natural than for the people, throwing principle aside, to turn to this remedy? Get some more rags and make a bountiful supply of paper, and set the printing press in operation, and the sick patient would immediately rise from his bed and rejoice in his deliverance. The newspapers of the day teemed with articles advocating this panacea. Every reader must indeed have sympathy with the numerous debtors of that day, for their sudden indebtedness was a new experience, the result it is true, of their folly, but none the less heavy and impatiently borne. Doubtless many a one had learned the lesson and had determined, if he could succeed in throwing off the chain, never to wear another.

The Bank of North America, which had done so much for the country, for individual borrowers and for all classes of citizens, debtors now regarded as their great enemy. It had been established in 1781 chiefly through the influence of Robert Morris, who was then

superintendent of finance. The original capital was $400,000, payable in gold and silver. Its affairs were managed by twelve directors and its stock was transferable. It had had a unique life, living under a double charter, Congress granting one in 1781 and Pennsylvania another the following year. The states were recommended to pass laws forbidding the establishment of another bank during the war, and to receive its notes, which were payable on demand in gold and silver, in payment of taxes, duties and debts due the United States.

When the bank began business, the amount of specie in its vaults did not exceed forty thousand dollars, and the fear of an early exhaustion was so great that persons were employed during the earlier and more critical days of its existence to follow those who demanded specie and urge them to return it in order to preserve the precious foundation. Notwithstanding every effort to make the issues of the bank safe, they circulated in the beginning from ten to fifteen per cent. below par in the Eastern states. Had not Morris taken immediate measures to create a demand for them, and prevented further issues from going to those states, their value for a time would have been totally lost. Once gone, their value could not have been easily restored after the recent costly experience of the people in circulating paper-money. Morris succeeded in checking the depression, the issues of the bank soon rose to par and were thus kept without much difficulty.

On many occasions the bank relieved the pressing needs of the government. Considering its poor credit, the bank ventured a long way, much further than many individuals professing strong patriotism and possessing

ample means. The bank discounted bills drawn on the superintendent of finance, whereby he obtained the means to supply the army with clothes and provisions. By the 1st of July, 1783, these discounts had amounted to $860,000. "Without the establishment of the bank," said Morris, "the business of the department of finance could not have been performed. From the aids given by this institution the United States were able to keep up an army consisting of a larger number of men than they had had in the field before, or than they could have maintained without these aids. The army was in every point on a much more respectable footing than formerly, and they kept the enemy at bay."

The bank did not limit its public assistance to the United States. The State, unable to pay the officers of the army, had given certificates of indebtedness and, to pay the interest on them, had mortgaged the revenue of the excise. But as the revenue was not collected, the officers suffered, and the bank, learning of their condition, advanced the money to them, taking the security given to them by the State to secure itself. On other occasions, the bank loaned money to the State, on one occasion the sum of $80,000 to pay its quota due to the United States. The indebtedness of the United States to the bank grew so large that the directors became uneasy. Morris therefore sold $200,000 of the government stock, and paid the bank $300,000 of its indebtedness. Indeed, it continued to be a varying debtor, often for a larger sum, until 1784.

If many who were invited in the beginning to subscribe to the stock declined, they were eager to share in the profits as soon as these were known to be large. As the shareholders were not especially desirous of parting

with any of their stock, it was proposed to found another bank, to be called the Bank of Pennsylvania. Subscriptions were taken and an application was made to the Assembly (1784) for a charter. As the bank was a monopoly, many favored the new institution. "Two shops to go to," was the phrase of the day. The air was full of the controversy. The feeling ran high. The old bank asked to be heard before a committee charged with the matter in opposition to the new charter. No attention was paid to the request. The committee reported in favor of granting the application, and matters looked dark for the Bank of North America. Its owners dreaded a division of the business. Hitherto they had had the field, and could act in a very different manner than would be practicable in the presence of a sleepless rival. At last an effective quietus was adopted. The projectors of the new enterprise were permitted to become shareholders on favorable terms in the other, and the new scheme suddenly disappeared.

Darker days were coming. The people were determined to have more money. A debtor of course always needs money. If he wishes to have more, his rational course is to produce something that others desire; and then he will have money enough, if he produces enough.[1] But he is apt to try some easier way. He is

[1] Another writer as clearly saw that more paper-money was no remedy. "At this gloomy period, when poverty seems to have spread her veil over the State and idleness as pillars to support it, the people who have had struggles with work and have been overcome, see no other way to live but to have an emission of paper currency, which they seem to think would dispel the gloomy clouds and bring on a sunshine of ease and plenty. Those people who have any of the productions of the earth to sell can command money, those who

always trying to invent some way either of borrowing it, or of making his produce, whatever it may be, yield a larger amount. The bank's supply he deemed totally inadequate. There was no doubt a scarcity of money after the vanishing of paper-money and the swift return to Europe of specie to pay for unusual importations. The multitude of State debts were taken as money,[1] besides the notes of the bank. These were readily taken, and, as other forms of paper-money disappeared, filled to a very considerable extent the vacancy. The amount steadily expanded. This was not deemed enough, and recourse was had once more to State issues secured by real estate. In other words, the early plan of a State loan office was revived. Yet the aid thus furnished had not been very great. A writer who professed to be a friend of the loan-office in all states where there were new lands to settle, and on which private loans could not be made until their value was determined by cultivation and increased by buildings and other improvements, maintained that now such an office could only be supported by specie, and this he contended could be easily procured from a variety of sources if the springs of industry and confidence in government were opened by the annihilation of paper-money. The loan-office formerly supplied only a few hundred thousand pounds to new settlers and farmers. Individuals were the principal lenders.

are so poor that they have nothing to dispose of cannot command any, therefore they wish for a paper emission. If a paper emission should be granted it would doubtless be of service; it would discover the depravity and imperfection of human nature and serve as strong evidence to convince mankind of the inconsistency and folly of human transactions." Packet, June 13, 1786.

[1] A very considerable business in them was done by speculators.

Nearly £2,000,000 were supposed to have been loaned in Pennsylvania on bond and mortgage in 1774. This was the most important spring that invigorated every field of production and exchange. The loan-office was "only a drop in the bucket compared with the ocean of private credit." The writer contended that by upholding a loan-office the people grasped a drop and lost an ocean. Nor could a paper loan-office and private credit exist together. A loan-office, if lending gold and silver instead of paper could not fulfil all the demands of commerce, agriculture and manufactures. Private loans were of "ten times more consequence than a loan-office, as they brought ten times more money into circulation."

The writer had another fear arising from a State loan-office. The times had changed. When this institution was first established there were not many people in the State, who were "seldom deficient in their engagements." The case now was very different. What laws could be made under our feeble constitution to compel the early and punctual payment of the interest or principal of money lent to borrowers three hundred miles away from the seat of government?

"It was truly diverting," he continued, "to hear some men wish that we had not a silver dollar or guinea in our country, in order to favor the credit and circulation of our paper-money." These men put him in mind of a story of a man who contended that a saw-dust pudding was better than a flour pudding, because it lay longer in the stomach and thereby nourished the system for a longer period. He maintained the doubtful proposition that in proportion as paper-money acquired the credit and value of specie, it was expelled from the

country; but there was another and less questionable consequence of issuing paper-money, the creation of a larger foreign debt in proportion to the quantity issued, thereby entailing poverty, dependence and slavery on the country.

The great services of the bank to the public and to individuals were ignored in the determination of the people to put an end to its existence and to establish a new supply of paper-money. Before the Revolution the part credit had played in building ships and houses was forgotten. By the same potent agency manufactures had been established and carried on; farms purchased and improved. But by enacting a post-tender law private credit had been destroyed, and the lending of money on bond and mortgage had ceased. The revival of this credit was the result largely of the action of the Bank of North America in lending to individuals, thus repairing the injury wrought to them by others, and by the State. "Houses and ships were built and improvements in manufactures of all kinds were carried on by money borrowed from the bank."

The bank was charged with not favoring State issues; in truth, of depreciating them. Of course these were hostile to its own. Yet this charge was not just, for the bank had received State issues on deposit, and in March, 1786, had over £100,000, nearly the whole of those outstanding except the bills reserved for the operations of the land-office. There was no bank then in New Jersey, and yet the paper-money of the State passed at a discount of twenty per cent. "It is no uncommon thing," said a defender of the bank, "for a deluded people to trace their misfortunes to false causes.

A poor man who fell from his horse while riding from Edinburgh to Leith and broke his leg, cursed the authors of the union of England and Scotland as the cause of it, while the bad weather during the reign of George II. was ascribed by the mobs of London to Lord Bute." Quite as irrational were the deductions that the people were suffering from the action of the bank.

This, however, was not the chief cause of its unpopularity and fall. Tempted by the profits on the use of its credit, and by the popular demand for more money, the bank kept pushing its notes into circulation. At length the quantity was so large that the people began to distrust the bank and to present them for redemption. This movement alarmed the directors, and loans were refused right and left. The notes received from debtors were cancelled, and thus the policy of note expansion was quickly changed to that of note contraction. Debtors who were unable to get accommodations could not pay their creditors, and bankruptcy—a far worse thing in those days than in ours—followed.

The people felt keenly toward an institution that had treated them so kindly one day and so coldly the next. Its conduct was in no wise reprehensible from its own point of view, for prudence declared that if its circulation was excessive it ought to be retired. Furthermore, the action of the people in demanding specie for the notes was the clearest proof, a loud warning, that too many were in circulation. If the people were afraid of them, certainly it was not just to accuse the bank of inconsiderate action in declining to issue more. But no applicant to a bank for money has a higher opinion of it for denying his application, though he may think

otherwise of its action in denying another. So now disappointed applicants were enraged and eager for revenge.

Their feeling was strengthened by opposition to corporate power in general, and the Bank of North America in particular. It must be remembered that this was the early day of corporations, when they were monopolies in the strict sense, and were regarded with disfavor. This feeling was doubtless intensified by the throttling of the projected Bank of Pennsylvania. The people believed that a second bank would open the door of competition, and lower the rates for money. It might have led to excessive issues and thus wrought a serious evil. Unmoved by any fear, the people did not regard with equanimity the quiet burial of the scheme. They magnified the power of the bank for doing evil. A committee of the Assembly said: "We have nothing in our free and equal government capable of balancing the influence which this bank must create, and we see nothing which in the course of a few years can prevent the directors of the bank from governing Pennsylvania. Already we have felt its influence indirectly interfering in the measures of the Legislature. Already the House of Assembly, the representatives of the people, have been threatened that the credit of our paper currency will be blasted by the bank; and if this growing evil continues, we fear the time is not very distant when the bank will be able to dictate to the legislature what laws to pass and what to forbear."

This attack on the bank intensified the general suffering. "In no period of the late war," said the Pennsylvania Gazette, "did the citizens of Philadelphia experience so much distress as they have felt since the last session of the Assembly. The attack upon the

bank, by stopping the circulation of cash, has involved thousands in difficulties. Several mechanical businesses have been suspended; and the tradesmen, who have large sums of money due to them, suffer from the want of market money. The wealthy merchants, whose cash formerly circulated at six per cent. from the banks, now treasure it up in their iron chests, where it will not see the light of the sun perhaps for years, or, if it comes forth, it will circulate only for their own benefit. The moneyed man (with his last hope blasted in the credit of his country) is remitting his specie to Europe to be secured by laws which encourage industry and protect property. These distresses will soon spread themselves among the farmers. The low price of wheat and the weight of old and new taxes will probably produce such scenes of misery as were never known or felt before in Pennsylvania. It is computed that the loss to the farmers from the reduced price of wheat will amount to £200,000 in the course of the present year, and that from the same cause which has reduced the price of wheat, there will be five ships and one hundred houses less built this year than were built last year."[1]

Yet the charter was repealed, though less than four years old. Had the bank withdrawn its circulation entirely and stopped all discounts, the public would have suffered far more. Happily, the interest of the bank and that of the public were in harmony, though the public did not realize it. The bank still had a charter from the United States, but the worth of it was

[1] Our wharves look on a week day as they used to look on Sundays. Only a few houses are building and still fewer contracted for, and not a ship on the stocks the property of our merchants." Gazette, March 29, 1786.

questionable. To strengthen its position, the bank obtained a charter from the State of Delaware, and seriously contemplated removing to Wilmington, or perhaps establishing there a branch. But it went on its old way, though not to sleep, and at once set out to procure a new charter from the Assembly. For two sessions the battle was hot and prolonged. The newspapers teemed with articles for and against granting the charter. Its repeal somewhat cooled its opponents; and like many an opponent before and since that time, the thinking they should have done before making war on the bank was done afterward. Its great services to the State and to individuals were reviewed by numerous writers; and as a large part of the sufferings of the people were more and more clearly traced to their senseless action in smiting down their best and strongest friend, the current of opinion set strongly in favor of its restoration. Another charter was granted (1786), and since that day no attempt has ever been made to destroy the bank, and it still flourishes, living a vigorous life and doing its proper work, assisting trade and industry.

As might be expected of a body so far astray as to repeal the charter of the bank, seeking to destroy it when most needed, the Assembly authorized the issue of £150,000 of paper-money. The cogent arguments of Pelatiah Webster,—still interesting to the reader because they glow with the sure touch of genius —fell on unheeding ears. £100,000[1] were "to be paid into the hands of the continental loan-offices in this State," for "the payment of the interest due on the debts of this State," the bills were to be received for all purposes as equal to gold and silver money for the sums

[1] March 16, 1785. 2 Dallas's Laws, 256, 294.

mentioned in them; and £20,000 were to be cancelled annually after their return to the treasury. The remaining £50,000 were to be paid to loan-office commissioners and loaned by them to borrowers in Philadelphia and the different counties, in amounts varying from £8,000 to the people of the City and County of Philadelphia to £1,130 to the people of the County of Fayette. The loans were not to be for a longer period than eight years, nor for less than £25 or more than £100 in amount. The borrowers were to secure the State by giving mortgages on their land with a margin as large as the loan itself. Borrowers could pay off their loans before the time specified, and the money could be re-loaned. Thus the old venture of lending the State's credit to individuals, which had been undertaken sixty years before, and by the Roman emperor Tiberius seventeen centuries earlier, was to be renewed. Unhappily the character, ability or circumstances of debtors had changed since the provincial venture, for their obligations were to be less faithfully fulfilled.

The specie still in circulation was of foreign origin, except some of the cents which had been coined by authority of New York, Connecticut and Vermont. Pennsylvania had coined none, though there had been some discussion concerning the expediency of establishing a State mint. The State coins were "in general well made and of good copper." But advantage was quickly taken of the State coinage to manufacture and put into circulation counterfeit ones, which soon found their way into Pennsylvania. At once they were refused recognition by the trading part of the community, though perhaps one-half of the copper coins in the State for twenty or thirty years before the close of the period

we are now describing, had been manufactured at Birmingham, England. They had stealthily crept into circulation and maintained their place, notwithstanding their illegitimate origin, until the issue of others of the same ignoble character, produced in our own country. The people then concluded it was quite time to disown such base servants, and they speedily ceased to circulate.

Another untoward effect on trade at this period was its diversion to Baltimore. The merchants had scented this trail before the Revolution, and it was somewhat stimulated during the war by the peculiar operations of paper money.[1] The trade drawn toward Baltimore was principally from York and Cumberland counties, lying near the border and the Susquehanna. Says "Common Sense" in the Packet early in 1787: "The commerce and traffic of the back county members and the parts they represent goes to Baltimore. As their imports were derived from this source, their exports went there. They come here to legislate and go there to trade." Indeed, Baltimore had joined with the destroyers of the bank to protect and promote its trade interests. "Were this not the case," so one wrote at the time, "there would be no opposition about a bank, but what arises from the narrow motives of party spirit."

With so many failures, the legislation for releasing insolvent debtors had become of the greatest interest both to the debtor and creditor classes. By the constitution of 1776 the debtor, unless there was a strong presumption of fraud, could not be continued in prison after delivering up all his estate for the use of his creditors. Nothing had since been done to relieve

[1] See p. 41.

insolvent debtors except to revise the laws previously enacted. The members of the convention who framed the constitution doubtless remembered the frequent practice of passing expost facto laws in favor of particular persons, and therefore they adopted the constitutional provision above mentioned. Indeed, a general bankruptcy law was imperatively needed, for among the fifteen cases which were the subjects of special legislative regard during the ten years preceding 1774 there were some very improper characters. Among these was the case of John Kinott, "the chief shopkeeper" in Philadelphia, who, notwithstanding his "scandalous frauds," sought the interposition of the Legislature, which was granted. "The truth was," as a thoughtful newspaper correspondent remarked, "the cases of individuals are highly improper to be canvassed by large bodies of men; it is scarcely possible that they can avoid the fascination of undue influence. Besides, what perhaps any five of a large assembly would scarcely take upon themselves, it is too often easy to lead the larger number into, as the blame of wrong doing is supposed to be lightened in proportion as it is diffused. What a corruption of justice would ensue if the House of Assembly for the time being exercised the privilege of pardoning? This executive authority is not only with propriety, but of necessity, lodged with the President and Council."

Truly there was need of a general bankruptcy law, yet it was not to be enacted for many years. Already the danger of special legislation was beginning to be understood, and the need of enacting general laws for application to all cases of the same character as a means of escape. Special legislation for the relief of the debt-

ors alarmed creditors, for it endangered their legal rights. However kindly its purpose to the debtor, such legislation was an overthrow of private arrangements. "What," says a critic of the day, "will strangers, merchants in Europe, and elsewhere beyond seas, think of these retrospective doings? Will they not affect and injure our national and individual credit abroad?" Well might he fear the consequences.

Toward the close of the period we are considering, the need of establishing more general regulations for business led to an expression of the reasons for establishing a chamber of commerce in Philadelphia. Hitherto the merchants had irregularly met in coffee-houses. It was asserted that "many merchants were undermined by the deep and recently laid plots of their neighbors, who enticed away correspondents by offering them lower terms, to the prejudice of trade in general." Furthermore, it was asserted that the rates at which business ought to be done should be established by common consent, and when once fixed ought to be maintained; and their violation be regarded as improper and disgraceful. The conducting of business on such principles, it was believed, would promote "a spirit of equity" and "a more generous policy." This was a reversal of the policy of independent action which had hitherto guided the merchants of the city, but perhaps the time had come for diminishing the friction of competition and for acting in greater harmony. The two principles have long been contending for mastery in the worlds of production and exchange, and neither principle is nearer a decisive victory than it was centuries ago. At this moment the spirit of commercial union was rising, but it was not permanent; for the restless spirit of indi-

vidual supremacy will forever keep the leaders in every great pursuit in a path by themselves, free from the restriction which union imposes for the common benefit, unless perchance they become powerful enough to combine and devour all who are in the same field of competition.

So far, however, as trade was restricted by inspection laws, there was no escape, and these from time to time were increased. An inspector was appointed to inspect before their exportation pot and pearl ashes; another, staves and headings; and another, shingles. The modern tendency is to provide penalties against adulteration, and leave every buyer to make his own inspection. In that earlier day, the State had greater faith in its direct intervention than it has now. The duty has become too complex and extended to be well performed by any State, however wisely and effectively governed. Socialism has had a set-back, in some directions at least, since those early law-makers prepared their panaceas for inspecting and registering human conduct.

CHAPTER XV.

MANUFACTURES.

THE first mill erected in the Province was for grinding grain. It is true the Dutch had their wind-mills, built perhaps by the power of habit, just as beavers in zoölogical gardens continue their ancient, though useless occupation of dam-building. John Printz, governor of New Sweden, built a grain-mill in 1643 at Cobb's Creek, a tributary of Darby Creek, not far from Tinicum. As the people fell into the bad way of distilling too much grain, it was ordered in 1676 that no grain fit to grind and bolt should be used for distillation. The first grist-mill was built in Germantown by Richard Townsend, who came over with William Penn, and was afterwards known as Roberts's Mill. Penn himself engaged in the milling buisness, but his venture was not successful.

Grist-mills were essentially the same in plan and structure, picturesque objects, among the willows and alders. The oldest were built of logs with flaring gables and peaked cock-loft, from which dangled a rope like a hangman's for raising grain. On one side hung the ponderous wheel, dark and green with slimy moss, which rolled slowly around; or, when silent in winter, glistened with frozen pendants. How often has the sight of one of these old mills waked the lyre of the poet, or formed the subject of some painter's art? And what curious places were they, with their quivering floors and cob-

web-covered ceilings, inhabited by the solitary miller, whitened with meal-dust. As the machinery was made of wood, the sound of the grinding was low, giving a new meaning to that beautiful description of eastern life in sacred story before the coming of evil days. A few of these ancient mills with their wooden machinery have survived and still give forth a soft, cheery sound, so soothing to the ear, rasped by the harsh clangor of iron and steel; truly typical of the older, slower and more quiet times compared with our restless, noisy civilization. In the earlier mills the bolting of flour was often done in another place, by persons engaged in the bakery business. At a later period the mills were built in a more substantial manner, of stone, with bolting mills, and were capable of grinding two thousand bushels or more of wheat yearly.

At an early day, the machinery for grinding was greatly improved by Oliver Evans, of Delaware. By his genius a complete revolution was wrought in the manufacture of flour. His invention was opposed at first by the millers on the Brandywine, indeed, several months passed before they were willing to test it. Finally, a Friend made the following proposition: "Oliver, we have had a meeting, and agreed that if thee would furnish all the materials, and thy own boarding, and come thyself and set up the machinery in one of our mills, thee may come and try, and if it answers a valuable purpose, we will pay thy bill, but if it does not answer, thee must take it all out again and leave the mill just as thee found it, at thy own expense." Sure of success, Oliver accepted the terms, his invention was tested, and its great merits were acknowledged.

Notwithstanding their utility, no millstones turned

for a considerable period in the imm Pennsylvania, but of some settlements. Thus the peopl the importation were obliged for several years to cross the rain. Ardent with their grain, and make a long journey r alcoholic mill.[1] 'd under

Before many years, the exportation of flour beg malt especially to the West Indies, and the milling busines d. proved to be very profitable. The exportation of flour was regulated by the Assembly, that body prescribing the size of the casks, the quantity to be put in them, their storage, and the kind of punishment to be administered to those who should mix any improper, unwholesome ingredient in flour. Millers, bolters and bakers were required to provide brand-marks, and wagons for conveying flour were to be covered. The counterfeiting of brand-marks was punishable; and inspectors were specially appointed to execute the law.

Next to the grain-mill, the saw-mill was of the highest importance. These were needed to prepare timber for erecting buildings. At first, hand-sawyers were employed,[2] and in Bucks County no saw-mills existed before 1730. In 1760, the assessors for the County of Philadelphia reported forty saw-mills. Oak, hickory, walnut and other lumber was sawed near the city, or rafted down the Delaware. In early days lumber conveyed from Middletown down the Susquehanna, and down other streams, was always abundant in the Philadelphia market. Saw-mills speedily multiplied along

[1] Gibson's York Co., p. 20.

[2] They received for their labor for sawing pine boards, 7 shillings per 100. The price for the same labor in 1705 was 10 shillings, which would indicate an increased demand for lumber. Boards were then 10 shillings per 100; shingles 10 shillings per 1000; timber 6 shillings per ton, and wheat 4 shillings a bushel.

the peace to grant separate licenses to exporters, and to ale houses, on the condition that no wine, brandy, rum or other distilled liquors, mixed or unmixed, should be sold in such places.

The collection of an excise on liquors sold under twenty-five gallons, imposed by the law of 1720, was attended with great difficulty. In rural places this was quite impossible. In grain producing districts, the surplus grain was largely converted into spirits, and sold or bartered for other things. To collect the excise would have required a costly revenue service. So generally was the law violated, that in 1733 further legislation was enacted to prevent an evasion of the law.

In 1724, not many years after the erection of iron furnaces, an attempt was made to regulate the liquor traffic in the neighborhood of these places. The sale of ardent spirits to iron workers had proved "very prejudicial and injurious" to employers as well as to their men. The sale of it, therefore, was forbidden within two miles of any furnace without a license or permit recommended by the majority of the owners. This restriction did not apply to ale houses licensed under the act for encouraging brewing. At a later period the sale of strong liquors was prohibited within two miles of any muster-field or drill-ground.

The superabundance of grain, and cheapness of rum, led to much intemperance, which culminated in the Rush Temperance movement. As every farmer distilled spirits for his own use and also for his workmen, who were often paid in whiskey instead of money, the drinking habit rapidly spread. With the general manufacture and use of ardent spirits, the brewery industry made no progress. When Acrelius wrote, he remarked

Brewing gained a firm place
somewhat declined in consequence of Pennsylvania, but
of rum, and the domestic distilling of the importation
spirits became so cheap that the desire grain. Ardent
beverages increased. The beverage then sor alcoholic
the name of beer had nothing in common with under
liquors, as neither malt nor hops was consumenalt
Beer was simply fermented molasses, honey or sugar.d.
Governor Gordon, in his address to the Assembly in 1713, deplored the decline of the brewing industry. When the Province was young, it excelled all others in the quality of its beer; as a consequence of the decline in brewing, the cultivation of hops was neglected. To encourage the industry, the Assembly, in 1713, imposed a duty of threepence per pound on imported hops, except those imported from Delaware and the Jerseys. The encouragement thus given to brewing was offset the same year by imposing a tapster's excise on malt liquors to the amount of one penny per gallon, which was discontinued in 1718.

In 1722 further action was taken, and the use of rum was discouraged by adding a penny on every gallon of imported molasses. Another motive for doing so was to substitute malt liquors for the molasses beer. To this end the Assembly passed an act "for encouraging the making of good beer, and for the consumption of grain." After setting forth that the use of molasses and other saccharine substances in brewing had hindered the consuming of malt, and thereby discouraged the raising of barley, a penalty was imposed on any brewer or retailer of beer who used molasses, coarse sugar or honey. The law-makers separated the sale of beer from the liquor traffic by empowering justices of

the peace to grant separate licenses to exporters, and to ale houses, on the condition that no wine, brandy, rum or other distilled liquors, mixed or unmixed, should be sold in such places.

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concerning the beer, that it was "brown, thick and unpalatable, and only used by the common people." This remark was not true at a later period, for good beer was brewed in many places, while the liquors of the native growth and produce of the country between 1760 and '70, so Proud remarks, were "mean, scarce and inferior." "This seems to arise," he adds, "at least in part, by getting rum and spirits at such exceeding low rates from the West Indies, which has rendered malt liquor, though more wholesome and profitable for the country, less used than formerly."

Penn was desirous that the grape should be cultivated and made into wine. The Province abounded in wild grapes, the vines climbing near the borders of clearings or by "low voiced brooks that wandered drowsily." The Huguenots, who were vine dressers, and still living in fresh memory of the vine-clad hills of the Rhine, cultivated the fertile bottoms and sunny slopes of the hills raising the purple grape of their ancestral home. Penn cultivated the grape, and employed a Frenchman, skilled in the art of vine dressing. He had less faith in adopting the foreign plant than in improving the native one. In one of his letters, with the wisdom shown on so many other occasions, he wrote: "It seemed most reasonable to believe that not only the thing groweth best where it naturally grows; but will hardly be equalled by any species of the same kind that doth not naturally grow there, but to solve the doubt I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequences will be as good wine as any of the European countries." Penn was right, for no foreign vine could supplant the indigenous one. French, German and other cultivators failed in cultivating the European plant.

The ship-building industry was closely allied to that of preparing boards and planks and other materials from timber, and before the Province was many years old vessels were built. Fine oak abounded, some of the timbers were fifty or sixty feet long, very straight, and well grained. Among the vessels mentioned in 1722 were a pink, Orgalie, and a great flyboat of four hundred tons, that crossed the Atlantic. Many vessels were built for sale. Among the early marine productions were rafts, built for the purpose of carrying timber, and were taken apart on arriving at their destination. The last of this class was constructed at Kensington a few years before the Revolution. The Baron Renfrew, built at an earlier period, exceeded 5,000 tons, or double the measurement of an ordinary seventy-four, and made a safe passage into the Downs.

The reflecting quadrant, invented by Thomas Godfrey, though bearing the name of Hadley, was first used by vessels that went to the West Indies. Franklin, ever active and inventive, improved the models of sailing ships, and called attention to the advantages in vessels of water-tight compartments, which within a few years have been adopted as an essential feature of safety. This improvement was suggested by his study of Chinese vessels which had such compartments. An eminent naval architect of those days, Joshua Humphreys, furnished drafts and models for the six frigates that formed the beginning of the American navy. As a ship carver and sculptor, William Rush was pre-eminent. At that time great attention was paid to marine decorations. The figure-heads executed by him excited admiration even abroad, and he received orders from England. Some of them repre-

sented Indians, and were graceful and spirited designs. The figurehead of an Indian trader in Indian costume, on the ship William Penn, excited much curiosity in London, and was often sketched.

There were ship-carpenters, carvers, block-makers, turners, rope-walks, and rope-makers in Philadelphia; indeed, all the different parts and apparel of a ship could be made and fitted. The iron needful was also manufactured in the Province. Its presence was early known, and Penn's charter provided for the reservation of all minerals to the proprietary. Traces of gold were found in the time of Governor Printz, and silver, copper, iron and lead, besides several kinds of precious stones were afterward discovered. Penn describes the discovery of a mineral of copper and iron in divers places, while Thomas, whose account of the Province is often flattering, states that in 1698 iron-stone had been found, exceeding in purity that of England. Sir William Keith during his administration erected iron works. Indeed, prior to 1730 several furnaces or forges had been put in operation. The first iron works in Lancaster County were probably built in 1726, and the firm of Grubbs was established two years afterward. The Cornwall cold blast furnace in Lebanon County was built by Peter Grubb in 1742. A few miles west of the Cornwall ore bank a large charcoal blast furnace was erected in 1745, and eleven years afterward Elizabeth furnace, near Litiz, was built. It was managed by one of the proprietors, Henry William Stiegel, a German baron of wealth, skill and enterprise. At the village of Manheim, in Lancaster County, he erected large glass and iron furnaces. Here he built a castle or tower, and mounted it with cannon, which were fired on

his visit to the country, as a signal for his friends to assemble, and for his workmen to quit the smoke and labors of the furnace, and wait on his guests with music and other accompaniments. During the revolutionary war he was cut off from his European resources and failed. Some of the first stoves cast in this country were made by Stiegel. Parts of them may still be found in Lancaster and Lebanon counties.

The first rolling and slitting mill was built in Thornbury Township, Chester County, in 1746, and remained in operation four years. At the end of that time Parliament required a particular account of the works. This was the only one of the kind returned by the sheriff under oath, in obedience to the proclamation of Governor Hamilton, and in conformity with the act of Parliament requiring certificates of all rolling and slitting mills, plating forges, and steel furnaces erected in the colonies previous to June of that year. The sheriff of Philadelphia County returned one plating forge, with a tilt hammer, located in Byberry Township. It was the only one in the Province, and had not been in use for twelve months. In the same county were two steel furnaces. In Bucks County a furnace and forges were erected during the first half of the 18th century. The iron was transported in a kind of flat boat or barge, known as the Durham boat. Pig iron was thus conveyed from the Forks of the Delaware to Philadelphia for twenty shillings, fivepence per ton. In York and Cumberland counties furnaces and forges were erected for smelting ores, at the base of the South mountain before the Revolution. Spring forge in York County was built in 1790. In the same year the Pine Grove blast charcoal furnace was built on Mountain Creek, and is still in operation.

During the revolutionary war the development of the iron manufacture had progressed far enough to furnish cannon and guns. A blacksmith of Cumberland County made some curiously wrought iron cannon. One of them fell into the possession of the British at the battle of the Brandywine, and was sent to London, and is still preserved in the Tower as a monument of his ingenuity and patriotism. It was made of wrought iron staves, hooped like a barrel, with bands of the same material. Instead of one layer of staves, there were four layers, firmly bound together. A still rarer piece of field artillery was invented by the Indians in 1777, consisting of a hollow maple log, plugged at one end with a block of wood, and bound with iron chains. It was heavily charged with powder, and filled with bits of stone, and slugs of iron, and levelled at the gate of a frontier fort. As soon as the match was applied, it burst into fragments to the great disappointment of the Indian artillerists. Early in the Revolution, Benjamin Loxley proposed to cast for Congress brass motors, howitzers, cannon and shells. Daniel Joy, who tested them, proposed the construction of fire-rafts for the defence of the Delaware. Congress exempted from military duty all persons who were employed in casting shot, and manufacturing military stores. Cannon were cast at a number of furnaces during the Revolution, especially at the Reading and Warwick furnaces, and small arms were made at Philadelphia, Lancaster, Lebanon and other places. The insecurity of the frontier settlements, especially during the French and Indian war and afterward, rendered fire-arms essential to every household, and consequently the demand was constant for rifles and other effective weapons. Their

manufacture received a great impulse during the Revolution. The exportation of fire-arms, gun-powder and other military stores from Great Britain was prohibited in 1774, and Congress recommended their manufacture in each state. Governor Penn declared in his examination before the House of Lords in 1775 that the casting of cannon had been carried to a great perfection, and that excellent small arms were also made. Their workmanship and finish were universally admired. Rifles were made in many places, equal in quality to those imported.

During the Revolution the committee of safety established a gun-lock manufactory, and commissioners were appointed to erect and conduct it, and contract for the manufacture of arms. The factory was erected in Philadelphia and removed to Hummelstown, afterward to French Creek. The price paid to gunsmiths for good barrels delivered at the lock manufactory was fixed in November, 1776, at twenty-four shillings apiece. The price of a musket with a bayonet and steel ramrod was eighty-five shillings, but the price was soon raised five to ten shillings more as materials became scarce, and workmen were unwilling to quit the manufacture of rifles for which there was a great demand.[1]

From the metallic let us turn to the textile manufactures. During the Swedish supremacy, Governor Printz was instructed to encourage the raising of sheep for the purpose of exporting wool to Sweden, and to experiment in raising silk. The writer of a letter to a Swedish official in 1693, after ten years of proprietary

[1] Money was also advanced to Lawrence Byrne to enable him to erect an air furnace and mills for file cutting in connection with the gunlock factory.

rule, rejoices over the happy condition of the people, for they were exporters of bread, grain, flour and oil, and their wives and daughters were employed in spinning wool and flax and weaving. Among the first branches of industry encouraged by Penn was the manufacture of linen and woolen cloth. To promote and encourage trade and to furnish a ready market for domestic products, especially woolen and linen, fairs were established. The first fair held in Philadelphia was in 1686, and in consequence of the scarcity of money only £10 worth of products were sold. In Penn's charter to the city, two markets were to be held weekly, and two fairs annually. These occasions were much prized for exhibiting and selling all kinds of domestic goods, and stimulated the development of domestic manufactures.

The Germans who came to Pennsylvania were early noted for their linen and hosiery. To quicken their exertions in producing cloth, Penn offered for the first piece a premium. In September 1686, the petition of Abraham Opdengrafe was read in the council claiming the premium offered by the governor. A variety of linen and woolen stuffs was manufactured during the first twenty years, such as druggets, serges and cambletts, which improved in quality. The price for spinning worsted or linen in 1688 was usually two shillings a pound, and for knitting coarse yarn stockings, half a crown a pair. The price for wearing linen of half a yard in width was ten or twelve pence per yard. Wool combers or carders received twelve pence per pound, and the pay of journeyman tailors was twelve pence per week and "their diet." The German linen was declared to be "such as no person of quality need be ashamed to wear."

In those days linen served nearly all the purposes for which cotton is now used; consequently much attention was given to the cultivation of flax and hemp. The linens were of a coarse texture. The kerseys, linsey-woolsey, serges and druggets were of wool variously combined with flax or tow, and formed the outer clothing of many persons during the colder seasons; hempen cloth, and linen of different degrees of fineness formed the principal wearing apparel at other times. The inner garments and the bed and table linen of nearly all classes were largely supplied by household industry. The material was grown on farms; the breaking and heckling of the flax was done by men; while the carding, spinning, weaving, bleaching and dyeing were performed by the wives and daughters of the farmers.

The cultivation of hemp and flax was general among the Germans and Scotch-Irish, and an import duty was early laid on hemp and flax products. Flaxseed was an important export from Pennsylvania to Ireland and Scotland. In 1730 the Assembly passed an act for continuing the aid bestowed on those who raised hemp, and imposed penalties on persons manufacturing unmerchantable hemp into cordage.

At length clouds gathered over the prosperity of the people. During the French and Indian war their progress in manufacturing and accumulating wealth was disclosed, and the jealousy and fear of English manufacturers were aroused. To raise money for reimbursing Great Britain and to check the growth of colonial manufactures, Parliament imposed a scheme of taxation. The colonies responded by passing non-importation acts and depending still more on home skill and industry for supplying the needs of the people. Societies were

formed for the promotion of arts, agriculture and economy, and premiums were offered to stimulate the production of goods of finer quality. The non-importation resolution and retrenchment in the use of foreign merchandise alarmed British producers. Further inquiry was made into the efforts of the people of the Province to stimulate their production. Ships in the colonial trade now went from Great Britain only partly laden, and many were withdrawn. Thousands of weavers and workmen in manufacturing and commercial towns were unable to find employment and emigrated to America. English merchants engaged in colonial trade were imperiled, and feared the solvency of their American debtors. The pecuniary interests of these classes led Parliament to abandon most of the taxes, leaving enough to preserve the principle on which they were based, Townsend bluntly announcing at the same time the intention of the ministry to adhere to its policy. So the American people knew that the withdrawal of the duties on imports was merely a temporary expedient.

Not content with establishing a policy to drown the spirit of American enterprise, the exportation of machinery was prohibited. In 1719 the transporting of artificers was made punishable by fine and imprisonment. Thirty years afterward, the sale of tools and utensils used in woolen manufacturing was prohibited, though not in British colonies. In 1774 however Parliament raised a barrier against the exportation of textile machinery to any country. Whoever packed or put on board any machine, engine or tool, used in the manufacture of woolen, cotton, linen or silk, forfeited not only the thing itself, but £200 in money, and was

liable to imprisonment for a year. The statute was rigidly enforced. In 1784 a German was fined £500 for seducing operatives to Germany, and in 1786 a set of complete brass models of Arkwright's machinery for spinning and carding, made and packed in England for shipment to Philadelphia, was seized.

Perhaps the first joint stock company to manufacture cotton goods in America was organized in Pennsylvania in 1775. The company was to continue for three years, possess a capital divided into ten pound shares, and manufacture cottons, woolens and linens. The first general meeting was held at Carpenters' Hall. Dr. Rush was elected president, and made an appropriate speech showing the necessity and advantages of establishing such manufactures. The advantages were not only in saving money, but in employing individuals to establish a new basis of wealth in introducing foreign manufactures; in excluding vice and luxury of which foreign goods were declared to be the vehicle; and in forming an additional barrier to tyranny. All kinds of machinery and implements were extremely scarce, by reason of the interruption of trade between Great Britain and the colonies. These difficulties only stimulated still more production at home. In 1777, Oliver Evans, then a young man engaged making card-teeth by hand, invented a machine for manufacturing them at the rate of 1,500 per minute. He devised a plan for pricking the leather, and for cutting, bending and setting the teeth, but abandoned it because he had failed to secure a due share of the benefits of a previous invention.

Notwithstanding all the improvements in making textile goods, clothing for the army during the Revolution was scarce and dear. The labor of supplying an

army of several thousand men was very different from that of providing for the wants of one's household. Clothing could not be purchased abroad for lack of money; indeed, this was one of the most serious difficulties in getting clothing at home. Congress repeatedly appealed to the people for supplies of wool and other materials for the manufacture of cloth. In 1775 that body resolved that clothing be provided for the continental army, and payment be made by stopping every month a portion of the soldiers' pay. The man who brought into camp a good, new blanket, was allowed $2, with the liberty of taking it away at the end of the campaign. The several assemblies, conventions and committees of safety were recommended to do their utmost to promote the culture of hemp, flax, cotton and wool. In 1776 each colony was asked to furnish to every soldier it sent a suit of clothes, of which the waistcoat and breeches might be of deer leather, a blanket, felt hat, two shirts, two pairs of hose, and two pairs of shoes, for which Congress promised to pay. Notwithstanding orders had been issued in the beginning of the year to import quantities of woolens and other cloths from Europe, Philadelphia was twice asked to furnish blankets, which could not be purchased in the stores, and even to sell awnings for tents, of which the army had only a very few. The sufferings of the soldiers during the winter were extreme. A large portion of their clothing was linen. The lack of woolen goods was apparent in the contributions for the army. The commissioners in France were directed, at the beginning of the next year, to make purchases of clothing and blankets, and each state was assessed for their cost. In September the Supreme Executive

Council of Pennsylvania was advised to take any linens, blankets or other woolens found in the stores, and give certificates of their value.

In consequence of the rise in the price of wool and labor, the cloth manufacturer of Philadelphia was unable to fulfill his contract with the government. At the time of making his contract wool was sold at seven shillings, sixpence a pound. Soon the spinners and weavers doubled their wages, and the supply of wool became extremely scarce. Carding, spinning and shearing, etc., were manual operations; and forty or fifty cents was the usual price for fulling and dressing a yard of cloth.

The sufferings of the American army at Valley Forge in the winter of 1778, badly sheltered, and still worse fed, were greatly enhanced by the deficiency of clothing among the officers as well as men. Clothing was afterwards bought in Holland, and sent to America. To provide clothing for the soldiers not a few of the women were active. On one occasion Lafayette was invited to a ball, and the invitation was accepted. Instead of joining in the amusements, as might be expected of a young, lively Frenchman, he addressed the ladies: "You are very handsome; you dress very prettily; your ball is very fine; but my soldiers have no shirts." The appeal was effective; the ball ceased; the ladies ran home and went to work, and in a short time shirts were prepared for the defenders of their country.

Closely related to the textile industry is that of felt-making. In 1704 the felt-makers of Pennsylvania petitioned the Assembly to prohibit the exportation of beaver and other furs. A bill was passed but evaded; and hats were exported to other colonies, and not infre-

quently to foreign countries. Felts, which were the ordinary wear of the people, were made in large quantities, and much of the business was done in the interior towns, where wool was cheap, and the manufacturer was less exposed to official examination than at the seaports.

Another industry of great importance was that of printing. The first printing-press set up in Philadelphia was by William Bradford in 1685, and one of his earliest publications was an almanac, by "Daniel Leeds, a student in agriculture." He had printed another two years before, prepared by Samuel Atkins, in which a reference was made to Lord Penn that enraged the council. Soon George Keith engaged in a religious controversy, and the pamphlets flew back and forth like weavers' shuttles, printed by Bradford, who sided with the hardened and industrious apostate. Bradford removed to New York; but persons of the same name soon followed. Jansen was the immediate successor of Bradford, and was succeeded in 1712 by Bradford's eldest son. Jansen published the first literary work on a non-religious subject ever published in Pennsylvania. It was a work of travel by Jonathan Dickinson, entitled "God's protecting Providence," and was "a touching narrative of the author's deliverance," with others from shipwreck on the coast of Florida. The typography was described as "wretchedly executed, and disfigured by constant blunders." The Bradfords were a somewhat numerous progeny, and for over one hundred years supplied Philadelphia with printers. In 1732 Bradford was the public printer, as well as postmaster. The first newspapers printed in Philadelphia and New York were started by this enterprising family.

In 1723 when Benjamin Franklin, the greatest of American typographers, came to Philadelphia, the Bradfords were the only printers in the two cities, though Keimer was about to start a second press in Philadelphia. Franklin constructed the first copperplate printing-press used in America. The first daily paper in America was the Pennsylvania Packet, which was begun in Philadelphia in November, 1771, as a weekly by John Dunlap, and converted into a daily in 1784 under the direction of D. C. Claypoole.

During the provincial period the printers often combined with their business of printing that of book-bind-binding and book-selling, like Caxton and other early printers. Some of them sold groceries or fancy articles; others were extensive dealers in merchandise and imported books. Some, who began as book-sellers or publishers, with the accumulation of more means established printing-presses, and finally devoted their attention exclusively to printing. The books imported in the early days were not costly or rare, but chiefly practical and useful, and adapted to a young country whose inhabitants were eager for things that could be immediately acquired. Books of law, medicine, history and some practical branches of science and general knowledge were the staple of colonial book-stores. In 1773 there were thirty-eight book-sellers in Philadelphia, two at Germantown, and two at Lancaster.

To print, it was needful to have paper, and paper-mills were established at an early day. One was built in Roxborough by the immediate ancestors of the philosopher, Rittenhouse. The family had emigrated from Arnheim and for several generations had manufactured paper on the Rhine. The mill was destroyed by a

freshet, and William Penn asked the people to render assistance in rebuilding the structure. Perhaps the next one was erected by Thomas Wilcox on Chester Creek, in Delaware County. Writing and printing paper and clothier's pasteboard were manufactured there, and also much of the paper used by Franklin. Here also was made bank-note paper, used for printing the continental paper currency. Another paper-mill was built by the German settlers at Ephrata, and, after parting company with Saur, a printing-press. During the scarcity of paper in the revolutionary war, a few days before the battle of Brandywine, messengers were sent to this mill for a supply of cartridges. The mill happened to have none, but the fraternity, who held their property in common, generously put at the disposal of their country several two-horse loads of Fox's Book of Martyrs, printed long before and remaining unbound. Equipped with this fiery ammunition, the soldiers plunged into the bloody fight.[1]

Before the Revolution paper-mills had multiplied in the Province; and six were in operation in the County of Philadelphia. Eighteen of them, as Franklin told Brissot, had been established through his efforts. This optimistic Frenchman also remarks, after visiting Boston and New York, that there was no town on the continent so much engaged in printing as Philadelphia. Ever ready to encourage domestic industry, Franklin was especially interested in the progress of printing, and the allied arts. His metrical pleasantry on the subject of poetry is familiar to all; but his description of the process "to be observed in making large sheets of

[1] Nearly five hundred of the wounded were sent to the village of Ephrata after the battle and two hundred who died were buried there.

paper in the choicest manner with one smooth surface" is less known.

The manufacture of glass, undertaken as already stated, in 1762 by Henry William Stiegel, was exceedingly scarce during the War of Independence. The disuse of English glass had become compulsory, and it was quite impracticable to obtain it from other countries. Lord Sheffield, who wrote in the year of the peace, remarks on the existence of glass works in Pennsylvania, but asserted that not any quantity of glass was made in America except for bottles. A window glass manufactory had been established in New Jersey.

One other industry requires mention, that of tanning. The Swedes were well supplied by the Swedish West India Company with neat cattle from their native country, and made their own leather shoes, and the Dutch probably had tanneries. Like the Indians, these early settlers wore dressed skins. The women too wore jerkins and petticoats of the same material, and their beds even, except the sheets, were composed of the spoils of the chase. The Indians had a mode of dressing leather, whereby it became very soft, and the early colonists in the beginning made good use of Indian leather. The skins were often embroidered and painted in various styles, and the wearer presented a grotesque appearance. Leather stockings or overalls were charged in the accounts of William Penn at twenty-two shillings, and painted skins at twelve shillings. In 1704 the shoemakers, saddlers and others petitioned for a law against the transportation of deer skins dressed in the hair. In 1721 the Legislature passed an elaborate act relating to the tanning and currying of leather, and

regulating cordwainers and other artificers of leather. At first interior towns were chiefly supplied with shoes and leather from Philadelphia, but tanneries soon arose in most of the older settlements. In Lancaster, the manufacture of leather became an important business. In York County, for a considerable period, there was neither a shoemaker nor tanner. Shoes were bought in Philadelphia and mended by itinerant cobblers who went from house to house. Usually the tanning industry did not tarry long behind the settlement of a town. It was a necessary feature of every village, and especially as long as communication between them was slow and imperfect. Leather then was even more important than it is now, because it was used so extensively for garments.

Pennsylvania soon developed in this direction as well as in others, and took the lead in supplying New York and the southern colonies with shoes and leather. Tanned leather was among the exports of Philadelphia in 1731. The manufacture of leather and other kinds of dressed or half dressed skins for clothing was a distinct branch of the leather business in the principal cities and large towns. Dog skin for jackets, vests, breeches, etc., formed a part of a tailor's stock. In Bradford's Mercury, Nathan Cowley, a skinner of Philadelphia, announces his arrival "to dwell in Walnut Street where the great number of persons may have their buck and doe skins drest after the best manner, and at reasonable rates." The buttons were made of various materials; leather, glass, brass, tin and pewter. The Indians also furnished large quantities of prepared skins of wild animals. One of the most noted hunters was Logan, the Mingo chief, who lived in Mifflin County. He hunted the wild deer on the mountains,

and sold the skins, dressed by his own hands, to the white people. In their raw and prepared state they were an important article of commerce, and their prices were regularly quoted like other merchandise.

CHAPTER XVI.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

LOCAL government developed with the increase of population, though the Dutch and Swedes were not sectionally divided until after the English conquest (1664). Then a code of law was adopted containing something of the spirit of New England local legislation. The country was divided into towns and parishes. Over each town was a governing body consisting of a constable and eight overseers, four of whom were elected annually by the plurality of freeholders, while a constable was chosen in the same manner from the retiring overseers. When the constable was not present and the exigency demanded immediate action, any overseer could act as constable by carrying with him the staff of office—a staff six feet long with the king's arms inscribed thereon.

The constable and overseers possessed both judicial and legislative authority. They held the town court and could try an action for debt and trespass, not involving more than five pounds, or, if exceeding that amount, could submit it to arbitration. They had large authority in conducting internal affairs; they could plant and build, sell and convey lots, assess taxes and do many things of a prudential nature, making for peace and good government. The constable, with the consent of five overseers, could ordain needful constitutions, not of a criminal nature, or having a penalty not

exceeding twenty shillings, subject to the approval of the court of sessions or assizes. Besides all this authority the constable performed fiscal and police functions, and was the leading officer of the local government.

The parish also had a distinct organization. At the head were a constable and overseers, who chose yearly from their body two church wardens. The overseers had charge of the levies and assessments for building and repairing churches, providing for the poor, maintaining the minister, and in general for conducting the affairs of the parish. The church wardens also had prescribed duties, which consisted chiefly in making presentments to the court of sessions of violations of the law, swearing, profaneness, Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, fornication, adultery, and other abominable sins. The minister's office was prescribed with great particularity. Besides other duties, he was to attend to the cure of souls, to preach every Sunday, pray for the King, Queen, Duke of York and royal family, to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the parish church and in the houses of sick persons.

Not until 1676 were many changes introduced by the Duke of York in the law or government established by the Dutch magistrates. In that year the Duke's laws, which had been prepared by the colony of New York, were, with the chief exception of the constable's courts, put in force by Governor Andros. Arbitration was recommended by the constable and overseers as a substitute for the trial of small causes; and courts similar to the sessions held in the ridings of Yorkshire were established. These tribunals were, in truth,

county courts, and the districts or places where they were held are styled counties in the original court records.

The records of one of these primitive tribunals, that of Upland, have been preserved. The county court possessed remarkable functions, combining executive, judicial and legislative power. Grants of land were made by it subject to the approval of the governor and council; conveyances of real estate were acknowledged in open session and afterward were recorded; letters of administration were granted; ways and bridges built; tobacco inspectors appointed; and taxes levied. Besides these functions many others were performed, from directing the construction of a mill on the Schuylkill to the building of fences. Church affairs also came under its jurisdiction. The judical procedure was doubtless crude, and attorneys were not allowed.

After Penn's purchase local government developed more rapidly. Six counties were created with authority to build and repair highways and bridges, and for this purpose overseers could summon the inhabitants to "come in and work" and impose a penalty on them of twenty shillings if they refused. The county also had authority to appoint viewers of pipe staves made for transportation; viewers of bread in market towns; appraisers of property taken in payment of debts; public packers for inspecting meat for export; viewers of fences; and beadles to execute the law against cattle running at large.

The more important expenditures of a county were to support the poor, build and repair prisons, pay the salaries of members of the Assembly and of the judges. These charges were paid through the medium of a tax,

which by "The Great Law" of 1682 could be continued only one year. The next year the Assembly provided that a tax should be laid one-half on lands and one-half on polls; and non-resident landholders were to pay one-half more than residents. Even at that early day the Assembly regarded non-residents with less favor than others. The legislative authority, instead of looking on land and other forms of tangible wealth as exclusive subjects of taxation, fastened its eye on persons, and ever since has discriminated unfavorably against the weakest and least able to resist its power. The levy in each county was made up in open court by the magistrates.

Ten years afterward, the levy consisted of one penny in the pound clear value on land and other realty, and a poll-tax of six shillings on all free men who had been out of servitude for six months if not worth one hundred pounds or otherwise rated by the act; but persons who had many children and were indigent or in debt, and did not own thirty pounds of personal and real estate, were exempted. The members of the Assembly, or any two of them from each county, with three of the justices or other substantial freeholders, constituted a board of assessment.

Warrants were issued by a justice of the peace to constables, directing them to bring before the assessors lists of taxable persons and estates; when the assessment was complete, collectors were appointed by the assessors, and all moneys collected by them were paid into the hands of the treasurer designated by the governor.

The tax of 1696 was assessed in a similar way, by members of the Assembly and four justices or freeholders and was collected by the sheriff or other per-

sons appointed by the assessors. Three years afterward the constitution of the board of assessors was changed. It then consisted of three or more justices in each county assisted by four or more substantial freeholders.

In 1693, when Fletcher was governor, a tax of one penny per pound on real and personal estate was laid for one year, for the support of the general government; and three years later a similar tax was laid for that purpose.

In 1725 there was another elaborate enactment. At the annual elections for assemblymen, coroners and sheriffs, three commissioners and six assessors were to be chosen; the commissioners were to perform the functions previously discharged by the court of sessions; the assessors and commissioners were to hold a joint meeting annually, to calculate the public debts and charges. Directions were to be issued by the commissioners directed to the constables of the several townships, commanding them to bring lists of all polls and property subject to taxation to the assessors, who were to fix the rate; the assessors were to divide the county into districts, and to appoint a collector for each one of them. Aggrieved persons could apply to the commissioners as a board of equalization; the commissioners also were authorized to fine either the treasurer or the assessors for the neglect of their duty; while they in turn were accountable to the court of sessions; and all fines were to be "added to the stock of the respective counties." Eight years afterward the system was still further developed by providing that commissioners should not serve more than three years at one time, and their accounts as well as those of the treasurer and assessors were to be submitted annually to the justices

and grand jury. The grand jury's commissioners and assessors with the concurrence of the justices were to be the sole judges for building bridges, and also to let all contracts for the construction and repair of such works. This system thus developed continued without much change until 1779, when two assistant assessors for each township were appointed by the board composed, as before, of three commissioners and six assessors. At the same time a county assessor with two assistants was to make the assessment for each district, instead of the whole board acting for the county. In 1724 the office of clerk of the commissioners, the prototype of the modern county clerk, had been created.

The county organization of Pennsylvania during the provincial period was without a parallel. In no other colony was county government so clearly and fully developed. The departure from the town or township, the unit of government in New England, for the larger organization of the county, was radical and fraught with important consequences. Other states, that were organized afterward, instead of adopting the town as the unit of government, which had operated so successfully in New England, and is still so efficient in that part of the Union, adopted the Pennsylvania system of county government.

One of the important functions performed by the local government was the care of the poor. The only provision in the Duke of York's laws related to distracted persons, who might be both very chargeable and very troublesome, and so would prove too great a burden for one town alone to bear. Each town therefore in the riding where such person happened to be was to contribute towards the expense of maintaining

him. By Penn's "Great Law" of 1782 any county where a person fell into decay and poverty and was not able to maintain himself and children, or died leaving orphans, was obliged to take care of him until the next county court, when further provision was to be made for his future comfortable subsistence. In 1705 an act was passed for the erection of prisons and workhouses in every county, for felons, thieves, vagrants, and loose and idle persons.[1] In 1770 an elaborate act was passed relating to the relief of the poor. By this the administrative area for the exercise of the poor-law function was the township or town, which corresponded with the English parish, and in truth this act was largely founded on English legislation, enacted during the reigns of Elizabeth and Charles II. Thus the English poor-law system was transferred to Pennsylvania. By this system the overseers of the poor were appointed by the magistrates and, with their consent, were to assess and levy the necessary taxes on the clear yearly value of all the real and personal estate within the district, and as frequently within the year as might be necessary. The funds were to be employed in providing proper places and houses, and a convenient stock of hemp, flax, thread and other wares and stuffs for setting to work such poor persons as applied for relief and were capable of working; also in relieving the poor, old, blind and others who were not able to work and also poor children who were bound out as apprentices. The overseers could establish poor-houses and deny relief to any person who refused to be maintained in them. The

[1] In 1718 an act was passed for erecting workhouses in the respective counties; there was further legislation for Lancaster as well as other counties in 1763, and at later periods.

poor-rate or tax was compulsory, and a defaulter might be imprisoned. The order of relief and the poor-box were established as checks on the overseers. The overseers of Philadelphia were required to account to the magistrates who acted as auditors, but in townships regularly elected auditors were introduced, who were chosen by the freeholders "by tickets in writing." To serve as an overseer was made a compulsory duty and no compensation was allowed.[1]

Besides the townships and counties for building and maintaining highways and caring for the poor, borough governments were established, of which Germantown was the first. By its charter of 1689 six members were chosen committee-men, who with the bailiff and burgesses, were the general court of the corporation of Germantown. Once a year the court met and elected officers taken from the membership of the corporation. Thus the borough began its political career by limiting the right of full citizenship to a select few. One of the provisions declared that the "yeomen by the name of bailiff, burgesses and commonalty and their successors were at all times thereafter to be able and capable in law, with joint stock to trade, and that the same or any part thereof to have, take, purchase, possess, and enjoy manors, messuages and lands, tenements and rents of the yearly value of £1500 per annum."

Having a court of their own, the citizens thought that they ought to be independent of the court of Philadelphia County. They lived to themselves, settled their own quarrels, their court ordered the overseers of ways to make roads, and the county was not regarded

[1] See Report of Poor Law Commission, 1890.

as essential to their happiness or welfare. Once a year the people met for the purpose of having the ordinances read aloud to them. A writer who has described the history of this borough, thus apostrophises: "Oh ye modern legislators! Think how few must have been the statutes, and how plain the language in which they were written, in that happy community."

Only with difficulty did the corporation maintain its existence, and in one of his letters to Penn, Pastorius expressed his fear of not getting men enough to serve in the general court for "conscience sake," and hoped to find a remedy in the expected arrival of some emigrants. It was said that "they would do nothing but work and pray, and their mild consciences made them opposed to the swearing of oaths and would not suffer them to use harsh weapons against thieves and trespassers." Finally, in 1707, as not enough persons were willing to serve, the elections were not held, and the charter was forfeited. Thus ended the first borough of Pennsylvania.

Several others were created during the provincial period. The borough of Chester was established in 1701; that of Bristol in 1720; of Lancaster in 1742, of Carlisle in 1782 and of Reading the next year. In 1720, when Sir William Keith was governor, the settlers of Bristol petitioned for a borough charter. It defined the boundaries of the town, described the streets, regulated their width, and required that they should be kept free. Two burgesses, one high constable, and such other officers as were necessary to keep the peace of the borough, were to be elected. The burgess first chosen was styled the chief burgess or chief magistrate, and the other the second burgess.

The officers were to be fined not exceeding £10 for a burgess, and five for a constable, if they refused to serve.

A fruitful subject of legislation was the encroachment of buildings on the streets, another was the straying of animals. The usual ordinances against fire were proclaimed. Between Bristol and Burlington was a ferry which required much legislative attention. The council leased the ferry and fixed the rate of tolls. When the time came for paying the rent, the ferryman usually represented that his tolls were too light to pay all, and the council was merciful enough to release him with paying half. The tax rate was fixed by the council. In 1733 the tax levied was twopence per pound on all assets, and six shillings a head on all single men. In 1745 the limit of taxation was increased to threepence per pound. The wants of the settlers were fewer than those of the present generation, and the old town pump was a sufficient fire apparatus.

Two important privileges were granted to Bristol and the other boroughs—markets and fairs. At first, when stores were few, they served a useful purpose in facilitating trade, just as they did for many centuries in Europe, and do still in eastern Russia. But they were not needed to stimulate the growth of civic life in Pennsylvania, as they were, so Henry the Fowler thought, among the forest-loving Germans. The markets were held in Bristol on every Thursday and the fairs for two days twice a year. Many things were bought and sold, including general merchandise and live stock. They were attended by all classes some to make purchases, others for a frolic; horse-racing, drinking, gambling and stealing, were the prevailing amusements and customs. On the last day of the fair masters

permitted their slaves to attend, who regarded the day as a grand jubilee. The carousing and worldliness troubled the worthy leaders of the borough, and consequently, in 1773, they resolved that the fair was no longer needed because stores were so numerous; and that the debauchery, idleness and drunkenness consequent on the meeting of the lowest class of people were real evils, and called for redress. They had no authority to abolish them, as they were granted by charter, and though urging the Legislature to do this for them, that body did not comply until 1796. As other boroughs had quite the same experience with their fairs, they were abandoned generally. Toward the close of the century, agricultural and mechanical fairs rose as survivors and substitutes.

From the government of boroughs let us turn to the government of Philadelphia. Prior to 1701 what kind of government existed there is not clearly known. Those who have devoted careful study to the inquiry think that "there must have been some local authority exercised prior to 1701," though the traces of it "are vague and shadowy." In that year Penn granted a charter closely resembling that of many a city of Europe, which was dearly prized as the birthright of their liberties. Nor is the reason for thus cherishing them obscure, for they were concessions often bought from the king by paying a heavy price. One of his ways of getting means to wage war was by the granting of municipal privileges. Thus during the Middle Ages civil freedom grew most rapidly in the cities. It was purchased with the wealth gained in trade, and is one of the noblest uses to which it was ever dedicated. Many a charter has been wrested from a king by taking

advantage of his needs and of relieving him on condition of granting larger privileges to the relievers.

Penn's charter was a gift, and the government thereby established was to be administered by a small number of persons. The corporation was of a kind termed "close," consisting of a mayor, recorder, eight aldermen and twelve common councilmen. They did not act in a representative capacity; were not elected by the people. Penn selected the first names and put them in the charter, who thenceforth filled all vacancies. The mayor, who was one of the eight aldermen, was elected annually by the other aldermen and common councilmen; and all, including the recorder, held their offices for life. Their number could be increased, but the mode of selecting them could not be changed.

As there was not much opposition to this form of government, it endured until the Revolution. There was some friction, some inefficiency, and often a lack of revenue. The Revolution, like a bolt of lightning, shivered every corporation into ruins. The Legislature hastened to authorize all constables, overseers of the poor, supervisors of the highways and the wardens and street commissioners to continue to exercise their functions, and not long afterward a mode of electing justices of the peace was established. The courts, as we have seen, were still open. The occupation of the city by the British suddenly put an end even to the exercise of these imperfect powers. On the re-occupation of the city by the Americans it was governed for a long period by the military, to which all submitted, notwithstanding the harshness of such rule, because there seemed to be no other kind of government to put in its place. Such a government could not last. In 1783 a petition largely

signed by the citizens of Philadelphia was presented to the Legislature and referred to the city members. A bill was prepared, and though the condition of the city government was weak and nerveless, closely bordering on anarchy, final action was delayed. Strangely enough, there were those who thought "it was worth while to consider seriously" whether the bill, if passed, would "contribute to the advantage or injury of the people." One of the political skeptics of the times admitted that when incorporated towns exempted, as they did for centuries in Europe, a number of people from the anarchy and slavery of vassalage, promoting arts and industry, reviving liberty, and supporting "the interests of human nature," they served a wise purpose. "But, in a land of freedom, where every man is entitled to the blessings of liberty, to select a particular number of people from the rest of the community, and form them into a distinct society, will be found to have quite a different effect;" consequently, so the writer continued, "in modern times, the people in those countries in Europe which are most free desert the corporate towns for the same reason that they flocked into them when they were first erected."

The writer then seeks to show that a charter would abridge the liberties of the people and therefore was not desirable. Another difficulty perplexed his mind. "One of the powers with which the corporation is proposed to be vested is that of making by-laws. These by-laws will impose an additional duty of obedience on the citizens. We must obey the laws of the State and the laws of the corporation. We shall be the subjects of two Legislatures." Already the Assembly had passed more laws than were well understood or easily remembered.

"We shall then be in the wretched situation of serving two masters without knowing whom to obey."

The truth was, so another writer of the time asserted, "these persons intend by the designed incorporation to establish an aristocratic influence within the city, which may operate over the State. Having failed in their open attack on our democratic constitution, which they detest, because it holds out equal liberty to all, they now watch for and lay hold of every opportunity to undermine the fair fabric." Continuing in the same strain, "they hoped to fix the inhabitants of Philadelphia with their consent in the thraldom of being governed by a distinct legislature, needlessly invested with the dangerous authority of binding their fellow citizens by ordinances."

Looking across a century, these objections sound strangely in our ears. Greatly needed as was a government of some kind, many were afraid almost of the shadow of authority. The Continental Congress, denouncing its exercise by Great Britain, was afraid to exercise authority itself, and more than once the Revolution seemed to be dying when fresh life could have been easily supplied. The people believed in liberty, and liberty meant not much governing, save in regulative directions, and few laws. To endow men with authority to exercise civic power was to narrow the circle of personal freedom, besides incurring the danger of narrowing the circle still more through wanton action. Slowly did the idea develop that liberty might not be in the least endangered by stronger institutions and laws. To-day the people are centralizing power in order to gain public responsibility and efficiency and to serve the well being of all.

After a lengthy debate, the Assembly passed the charter, under which the city for a long period lived. Henceforth its growth was to be very unlike that of the earlier period; though time was to reveal new difficulties and require more changes. Such is the history of every attempt at institution-making; for the present generation, however wise, pure and unselfish, can only prepare an imperfect way and for a short distance into the labyrinth of the future.

At this period there was a movement to incorporate boroughs in Reading, York and Carlisle, but opponents appeared who questioned whether these communities were not assaulting popular government by creating a species of rival republic in the State. "In the provinces," said one of them, "which form the confederation of the Low Dutch, every large town, from the ancient times of the dukes of Burgundy, communities of this nature still subsist which are possessed of such privileges as constitute them distinct republics within the state, a circumstance very unfavorable to unity and dispatch in the national councils." If these things were so, he contended, why should the inhabitants of Philadelphia, or of any of the county towns in the State seek after any new plans of police, or other changes? After describing the mode of governing Philadelphia, he could discover no use for incorporating the city. On the contrary, he feared that by forming and marshaling the citizens into a body politic, "apparently in formidable array," the country people would become jealous, as they were apt to be of the town people; while the city people might be "nothing the better for their terrific form." Trenton had yielded up its franchise, the inhabitants having learned from experi-

ence that it was more vexatious than helpful. His objections and fears fell on hardened ears, for the boroughs were established; and were continued for Reading and York until they expanded into cities.

CHAPTER XVII.

HIGHWAYS AND TRANSPORTATION.

WHEN the first settlers came to Pennsylvania, the rivers and Indian paths were the only highways. The Indians, says Proud, "seldom travelled so regularly as to be traced or followed by footsteps, except perhaps from one of their towns to another." In hunting they were like ships at sea, going and leaving no track. Yet there was an Indian path across Pennsylvania from east to west, passing through the Juniata Valley, and crossing the Allegheny Mountains at Kittanning Point. War parties of Indians and white traders and settlers used this route. It was not passable for wheeled vehicles, but only for men and horses. This was the leading route to the Ohio until 1753, when the Ohio Company partly completed a road from Cumberland to Fort Du-Quesne.

The building of roads was not undertaken for several years, though a statute was passed in 1699 describing the mode of laying them out. At first these were short, extending from the landing-places to places not far inland. When Braddock started in 1755 on his ill-fated expedition, no road had been built over the mountains. The army was preceded by a body of men who cut down trees and made a rough road for horses and wagons, which were procured through the efforts of Franklin. For each wagon with four good horses and a driver, fifteen shillings per day were paid; for two

horses with a pack-saddle, or other saddle and furniture, two shillings, and for each horse without a saddle, eighteen pence. For wagons and horses lost or destroyed their owners were to be fairly compensated. The losses amounted to nearly £20,000, from which Franklin was relieved by General Shirley, who appointed commissioners to examine the claims, and afterward ordered their payment.

Before Penn's time, when the southern counties were under the dominion of the Duke of York, regulations had been adopted for making roads, the deputy-governor and council directing the work. In Penn's land grants, as an addition of five per cent. was added for roads, it was not needful when laying them out to make any compensation to the owners. As the land increased in value by settling the country, the value of the land taken was often, though not always, assessed in opening roads. When the turnpike was built from Lancaster to Philadelphia in 1733, it was decided that if the Legislature did not think fit to give compensation to the owners, this need not be done, as it could be taken for public use in accordance with Penn's original grant.

In 1700 the Assembly declared that roads should be laid out by direction of the governor and council. The roads were to be fifty feet wide, and six men were to be appointed by the county court to lay them out. Overseers, similarly appointed and serving seven years, were endowed with authority to compel the inhabitants to make repairs. Roads were thus built and repaired until 1772, when an elaborate statute was passed. Freeholders were to meet and choose surveyors of highways, who were authorized to lay a tax, not exceeding nine-

pence on the pound, for opening and repairing highways within their respective townships. The law prescribed for repairing roads laid out on the division line between townships, the appointment of supervisors, the time of service, the mode of collecting taxes and their deduction by tenants from their rents. If a tenant had taken land on a lease for a year or more, and paid the taxes imposed, or his property had been detained for them, he could deduct the amount from his rent. But landlords were permitted to make any contract with their tenants they pleased concerning the payment of the tax. Finally the electors were to choose four freeholders to settle the supervisor's accounts.

In the early days there were many ferries, because the people could hardly afford to build bridges. The Assembly fixed the rates and legislated concerning their maintenance. Sometimes the proprietary claimed an interest in them, gave licenses, and converted them into monopolies. Thus a ferry was established on the Lehigh at Bethlehem in 1756, for which an annual rent of five shillings was paid. The person to whom it was granted was given the exclusive right for the period of seven years, paying therefor "five English silver shillings or value thereof in coin current, according as the exchange shall be," between the Province and London. Such a proprietary right does not harmonize with legislative action regulating ferries, giving the proceeds to the adjoining townships, or to the ferrymen who were willing to conduct them.

At a later period regulations were established for building bridges. In some places the law provided for the building of a bridge by two or more townships, and dividing the income between them. But if any

individual was willing to embark in the enterprise, the law provided that he might take all of the receipts. In some cases, he was permitted to occupy land near the ferry, at a reasonable rent, determined by the township in which it was located.

The Province authorized loans for bridge purposes, and divided them between townships and counties. One of the laws provided that this should be done by the order of the county court, and if the creek bounded or limited two counties, the expense of the bridge should be borne equally by them. The governor and his council were to make agreements for their construction, and to superintend the work.

Among the earliest highways was one from Philadelphia to New York, extending along the eastern side of the Delaware. In the beginning it was a horse-way. The turnpike from Philadelphia to Morrisville, opposite Trenton, through Bristol, followed essentially the same route. It was opened in 1677 and called the king's path. There were not many roads in fair condition before the close of the eighteenth century, the trees and stumps remaining to impede and annoy. A road from Philadelphia to Chester, called the queen's road, was established in 1706. The old York road was located in 1711, and a branch to Doylestown and Easton was laid out eleven years later. In 1733 a road was surveyed from Lancaster to Philadelphia, and three years later was extended to Harris's Ferry. An important early road to the Susquehanna passed through Strasburg, eight miles from Lancaster, and was called the Strasburg road. In 1735 a road was laid out from Harris's Ferry, through Cumberland County, towards the Potomac.

Wagons, even among farmers, were slowly introduced.

At first sleds were used, both in winter and in summer. The best farmers had carts on their farms by the middle of the eighteenth century. In the earliest wagons little or no iron was used, and the wheels generally were of solid wood, cut with a saw from the end of a log. The strength of two horses was required to draw them, as the rocks and stumps remained, and the streams were not bridged. The farmers were better furnished with wagons at an earlier date in the southern counties than those in the northern. The Germans had a large, strong wagon, the ship of inland commerce, covered with linen cloth, an essential of the German family. By this wagon, drawn by four or five Conestoga horses, they conveyed to market, over the roughest roads, two or three thousand pounds of produce. After the country became more settled, in September and October, fifty to one hundred of these wagons might be seen daily on the Lancaster and Reading roads, going to Philadelphia.

The roads were gradually improved, and within a century after the landing of Penn, when Chastellux visited the country, he remarked on the excellence of the roads around Philadelphia. The one from Bristol to that city was wide and handsome, passing through several towns or villages. One could not go five hundred paces without seeing beautiful houses.

Pleasure carriages were the last vehicles to appear. Penn had one and also a "kalash." Even in 1761 only eighteen chariots were enumerated in a general list supposed to be complete, and in 1772 there were only eighty-four; but near the close of the century they increased rapidly. In 1728 Thomas Skelton had in Chestnut Street a four-wheel chaise for hire. For four

persons to Germantown he charged twelve shillings sixpence; to Frankford, ten shillings, and to Gray's Ferry, seven shillings sixpence to ten shillings. In 1746 a cooper in Dock Street advertised two chairs and some saddle horses in the following manner:

> "Two handsome chairs
> With very good gears
> With horses or without,
> To carry friends about.
>
> Likewise saddle horses if gentlemen please,
> To carry them handsomely, much at their ease;
> Is to be hired by Abraham Carpenter, cooper,
> Well known as a very good cask-hooper."

Family livery stables and horses were not known; and those who desired horses to drive procured them of others who kept them for business purposes. Merchants hired the horses of their draymen; a man who kept two or three horses for porterage usually had a plain chair for such occasions.

When the pioneers first crossed the Allegheny Mountains, and made their homes on the tributaries of the Ohio, the chief means of communication were by canoe on the streams, and by horseback through the forest. The only guides for the traveler were trees blazed or notched. Long after the Braddock expedition, the pack-horse system was the only method of transportation to the East over the Alleghenies. Braddock's trail was the favorite route, but some deflections were made by way of Bedford and Fort Ligonier, which was the military road to Fort Pitt. Household furniture was carried on pack-horses furnished with pack-saddles. Doddridge in his Notes, one of the most valuable works on frontier life, describes the mode of using pack-

horses. Every family collected what peltry and fur could be obtained throughout the year to send over the mountains for barter. In the autumn, after seeding time, the families united and started on their journey. A master driver was selected, who was assisted by one or more young men. The horses were fitted with pack-saddles, to which was fastened a pad of hobbles, made of hickory withes; a bell and collar ornamented their necks. Their food was carried in bags and some of these were left in different places to be eaten on the return of the caravan. Large wallets were filled with bread, jerk, boiled ham and cheese for the travelers. At night, after feeding, the horses were put into a pasture, or turned into the woods and hobbled, and the bells were "opened." Long files of pack-horses might be seen laden with poultry, pork, butter, flax and even live calves and sheep. During their journey they were fastened together, the head of a horse to the tail of the horse in front. Sometimes these trains numbered more than one hundred. Iron and salt were the most essential articles purchased in the East. Two bushels of salt, weighing one hundred and sixty-eight pounds, were the common load for a horse. At a later period grain was converted into whiskey and carried in kegs placed on each side of a horse. Grain was not transportable in its original form, but was when converted into this more concentrated and valuable product.

At an earlier day this had been the ordinary mode of transportation in Eastern Pennsylvania. At first, for several years wheat was the only marketable product; then butter, poultry, fresh meat and other things were taken. At a later period tongue-carts drawn by two horses came into use, which in turn were supplanted by

tire-wagons. When this change happened, the women, who hitherto had usually conducted the marketing, retired in favor of the men. Doubtless many a woman regretted her inability to continue her visits to the city and look on fresh scenes, to meet friends and learn news to relate to others on her return.

After the introduction of stage lines, pack-horse drivers grew very jealous of their competitors. Each tried to make life uncomfortable and wretched for the other. One of the wicked devices of a stage driver was to go so near the edge of the road as to compel the unlucky passing pack-horse driver to jump off the bank, or be run over. And for many years this state of warfare between the two classes continued.

Notwithstanding the poor roads, a postal service was established in 1683 between Philadelphia, New Castle, Chester and other settlements, the rates of postage varying from five to ninepence. Notice of the times of arrival and departure of the mail was posted on the meeting-house door and other public places. Ten years later, in 1693, a general post-office was organized by Andrew Hamilton, in Philadelphia, from which letters and packets were sent into all the colonies. He was authorized to receive postage on all letters conveyed by post. On foreign letters from Europe, the West Indies or anywhere beyond the seas, twopence were received on each single letter. If packets were not demanded within forty-eight hours, and the postmaster sent them to the houses of the persons to whom they were directed, a penny more was added. On all foreign letters bound outward, delivered into the post-office, twopence were received on each letter or packet. The rates for letters between New York and Philadelphia

were fourpence-halfpenny; between that city and Connecticut, nine pence, Rhode Island twelve pence, Boston fifteen pence, and to places beyond nineteen pence. Between Philadelphia, Lewes, Maryland and Virginia the postage was nine pence, and to any place within eighty miles of Philadelphia, fourpence-halfpenny. Public letters were received and sent without charge, and the post passed over all ferries within the Province without paying toll.

In 1700 John Hamilton of New York devised a post-office system for which he obtained a patent, and afterward sold it to the crown. For several years Benjamin Franklin was postmaster-general, and he introduced several improvements. The mails were carried on horse-back between Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. The time from Boston to Baltimore was reckoned by weeks.

In 1756 John Butler established a stage line from Philadelphia to New York, by way of Perth Amboy and Trenton, which went over the route in three days. In 1765 a second line of stages was placed on this route, and the fare was reduced two cents per mile. The stages were covered Jersey wagons without springs. In the same year a weekly line was established between Philadelphia and Baltimore, and soon after, a third line of stages with spring seats, was established between Philadelphia and New York, which made the journey in two days in summer, and three in the winter. The fare was twenty shillings. Letters for Chester and Bucks counties were delivered at the post-office in Philadelphia.

In July, 1742, a weekly post and express between Philadelphia and Bethlehem was organized by the

Moravians. Four postillions were appointed. There were two agents in Bethlehem and two in Philadelphia, and one in Faulkner's swamp, now in Montgomery County.

In 1777 a bi-weekly post route was opened between Wyoming and Hartford in Connecticut; Prince Bryant was engaged as post-rider for nine months; and the expenses of the route were paid by private subscription. During the Pennamite war letters and communications were sent by private messengers. On one occasion the wife of Lieutenant Jamison left Wyoming for Easton where her father with twenty other Connecticut settlers were confined in jail. The letters were carefully folded and concealed in her hair, which, in those days, was formed into a roll on the top of the head. On the way, at night, she was discovered near Bear Creek and arrested by Colonel Patterson, the Pennamite commander. Happily the letters were not found by the suspicious Pennamite, and she was permitted to continue, reaching Easton safely, and delivering the letters to her father and other prisoners.

The inhabitants used the rivers for highways, and this was one of the reasons for settling along their banks. In 1771 the Assembly declared the Susquehanna river a public highway. Portions of the land along the river had been cultivated for many years, and the inhabitants needed some convenient avenue for their grain and other products. They proposed to expend a considerable sum of money to improve its navigation, and the Assembly appropriated an additional sum, and appointed commissioners to superintend the work. The gravel bars were cleared away; trees and stumps were removed; a channel was opened and tow paths were

made along the rapids. In a few months the river was navigable from Wrightsville to Wyoming, and afterward from the Chesapeake to the New York line.

For a long time the canoe was a popular craft. It was hewn out of a single trunk, and could carry several tons. One of them, a leviathan of its kind, carried one hundred and forty bushels of wheat. On one occasion canoes were used in a very original manner. Some persons arrived on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna, who desired to cross with their horses. Finding no other kind of craft, they fastened two canoes together, and putting the hinder feet of their horses in one and their fore feet in the other, started for the other shore, where they safely landed.

The first advance in the means of transportation on the Delaware was a boat, "The Durham," built at a town of that name on the river, a few miles below Easton. The construction of these boats began in 1750. They were sixty feet long, eight feet wide, two feet deep, and when laden with fifteen tons drew twenty inches of water. The stem and bow were sharp and decked; a running-board extended the whole length on either side. The boat carried a mast with two sails and was manned by a crew of five men. One remained at the stern with a long oar for steering, and two on each side with setting poles for pushing them forward. The Schuylkill boats were of the same construction, but larger, and were often manned by more persons.[1]

[1] "The boats seldom come down but with freshes, especially from the Minnesinks. The freight thence to Philadelphia is 8 d a bushel for wheat, and 3 s a barrel for flour. From the Forks and other places below, 20 s a ton for pig iron, 7 d a bushel for wheat, 2 s 6 d a barrel for flour." Pownall's Topographical Description of the Middle British Colonies, p. 35.

The rivers were valuable as fisheries. They abounded in shad and other kinds of fish; large quantities were annually caught. Excellent oysters were found in the Delaware near its mouth and in the bay. To facilitate fishing, fish-dams were erected in the rivers, but these impeded navigation. One of the early boatmen of the Schuylkill, with a canoe-load of wheat, started down the river, and striking a fish-dam, nearly lost his senses and cargo. Another would have lost his wheat had he not leaped into the river and prevented his canoe from swinging around against the current. Another whose name is preserved to us, Jonas Jones, had the same watery experience. Proceeding on his journey, in his wet clothes, they were frozen stiff on his back, by means whereof, he quaintly remarked, he underwent a great deal of misery. No one will question the truth of Jonas's sensations. These obstructions multiplied. They were generally placed where they were most detrimental to navigation, below the mouths of creeks, and where islands and shallow waters aided in their construction. Boatmen, enraged by the presence of these dams, often broke through them and wantonly destroyed them, and also the weirs, baskets and other apparatus for decoying fish. Nay, the fishermen charged them at times with stealing the proceeds of their labor. For many a year, the excitement along the beautiful valley of the Schuylkill between the fishermen and the boatmen was intense. Many a contest was waged far more serious than that of words. The Assembly again and again tried to quiet their troubles. Then the fishermen below quarreled with those above; those who lived near the mouth were accused of getting too many, and of not permitting any to go up-stream.

Again the Assembly attempted to regulate times and quantities. Then those above had a very exhaustive way of fishing. Setting their nets so that nothing could go below, they would begin a considerable distance up stream and with brooms, and other appropriate apparatus, strike the water and startle the fish southward. In due time all were netted. Thus between the fishermen and the boatmen, and between the fishermen themselves, the Schuylkill river society for years was lively, if not happy. The same complaints and events occurred on the Lehigh, Susquehanna and other rivers. Sometimes fleets of canoes would be formed for the purpose of destroying all fish dams, weirs, and baskets in the Schuylkill. On such occasions the fishermen would unite to protect their property. If any one were unlucky enough to get fast with his canoe, or venture too near the shore, the fishermen would bring their artillery to bear on him in the form of a shower of stones. They were very hard, harder than heads, so the heads rather than the stones yielded and called on the magistrates for assistance. As these officials had no jurisdiction over the stones along the river, the fishermen, thus amply supplied with free ammunition, could hardly be prevented, especially in the presence of curious, if not admiring spectators, from displaying their skill in throwing them; consequently at times, the navigation of the Schuylkill, next to fighting the Indians, was the most wretched business of the period.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CLIMATE AND HEALTH.

THE climate of Pennsylvania has greatly changed since the coming of the first settlers. Every traveler of the early time who visited the country was impressed with its beauty and fine climate. When the enthusiastic Brissot came, he remarked that in dry weather the air had a peculiar elasticity which rendered heat or cold less insupportable than they were in places more humid. The air never became heavy and fatiguing except when the rains were not followed by the beneficent northwest winds. During the three weeks he was in the Province, in August and September, he experienced no languor of body, nor depression of spirits, though the heat was very great. Prodigal in wealth of forest and stream, nature did not deal less kindly in endowing Pennsylvania with a mild, equable climate, under which both man and beast flourished.

Ere long a change was felt. By destroying the forests, the fields were bathed in sunlight and the waters of the streams were drawn to the clouds. The change was marked by many thoughtful persons, and was ascribed by all to the same cause. "Many creeks," says Brissot, "and even rivers have disappeared by degrees, and this is to be expected in a country where forests give place to cultivated fields." The Swedish scientist, Kalm, during his travels made a similar observation: "The mills, which sixty years ago were built on

rivers, and at that time had a sufficient supply of water almost all the year long, have at present so little that they cannot be used but after a heavy rain, or when the snow melts in spring. This decrease of water, in part, arises from the great quantity of land which is now cultivated, and from the extirpation of great forests for that purpose." Great droughts followed, one of which was experienced in 1782. This was so severe that the Indian corn did not mature, the meadows failed, and the soil became so inflammable that in some places it caught fire, and the surface was burned. In contrast with the excessively dry weather of some seasons, a vast quantity of water fell in others, injuring the crops. Happily the country was so large that a general scarcity was never known, either by reason of the drought, or of excessive rain. The usual annual quantity of rain was thirty-five inches.

If the people suffered from drought and excessive rain as a consequence of disrobing the country of its natural water protection, in some respects the health of the people was improved by these changes. One of the most common causes of early suffering was malaria; in the Lower Counties especially, the people suffered terribly from this malady. Its visitations are by no means extinct, but are very light compared with its visitations in the earlier provincial days. An old settler remarked to Brissot that the visages of the people were less pale than they were thirty or forty years before, and that both "centennaries" and "septuagenaries" had increased.

The Province, in the earliest times, was visited occasionally by an earthquake, and the one that shook Philadelphia on the arrival of John Penn in 1763 was

the precursor of the political one that shook the country on his departure in July, 1776. In 1732 another earthquake visited Pennsylvania, New England and Canada. Five years later, when the well known prince from Mount Lebanon, Sheik Sidi, was traveling here, another performance of the same kind came off, but no record is left describing his impressions of the event.

The snow, also, was a more frequent and abundant visitor. At times it was so deep in the villages that all including women were immediately set to work to clear the way between the houses. With the destruction of the forest, the snow fell in smaller quantities. The winter of 1740–1 was long remembered as the "winter of deep snow." It lay on the ground four or five feet deep, from Christmas to the beginning of March; and horses could safely walk on its firm crust. Those who had cut down trees were surprised in the spring to see the stumps standing six and seven feet high.

If the winters were no longer, they were often severer than they are now, the Delaware freezing over many miles below Philadelphia. The summers too were cooler, with monthly visitations of frost some years, and a longer duration of vegetable and plant life. Such, in brief, was the climate during the provincial period of our history. One of the persons met by Brissot was a profound believer in the theory that the activity of the inhabitants could be measured by the rapidity of its rivers and the variations of its atmosphere. He could perceive dullness and indecision of the Virginians in the slow movement of the Potomac, while the rapid currents of the rivers of the north were in harmony with the activity of the people of New

England. Furthermore, he believed that the health of the persons was largely dependent on variations of the air, and activity in bodily movements. The Friends lived the longest, the Moravians next, and the Presbyterians were the third on the list. Many diseases and deaths were ascribed to sudden variations in the atmosphere. Doctor Rush gave as examples, the hard winter of 1780, the hot summer of 1782, and the rainy summer of 1788.

The most common disease was phthisis. It was unknown to the original inhabitants of the country, and consequently was the result of European habits of life transported to the Province. It was more common in the town than in the country. The physicians attributed this disease to different causes; to the excessive use of hot drinks like tea and coffee, to excessive sleeping and the use of feather beds, to excessive meat eating and to the excessive use of spiritous liquors. Women, especially Quaker women, were more frequently victims than men because they did not take enough exercise. Brissot said this was doubtless due to their gravity and immobile habits formed in early life, preserved for hours in their silent meetings. To other women besides the Friends, attacked in the same manner, different causes were ascribed; excessive dancing, the drinking of too much cold water, the eating of unripe fruits, the drinking of boiling tea, insufficient clothing in winter and lack of attention to sudden changes of weather. The Friends were more reasonable in all these regards; among them, however, was the fatal neglect of exercise. Brissot remarks: "To preserve good health, a family should have the gaiety of a woman of fashion, with the prudence and caution of a Quaker."

Another common disease in those days was sore throat, which when putrid was mortal. It was generally caused by excessive heat, cold drinks and careless dressing. Influenza was a common disease; likewise fever and ague; not limiting its ravages to marshy places and the sea coast, it often invaded healthy regions. It was combated by Peruvian bark; but the most successful remedy was a journey into the mountains or Northern states. From its assaults negroes were free. Their exemption was attributed to the custom they preserved of keeping fires always in their cabins, even in the hottest season. They regarded excessive heat as a guarantee of health, and even a negress, when laboring in the field under a burning sun, would expose her infant to its power, rather than lay it under the cooling shade of a tree. Other maladies were pleurisy and pneumonia, while the small-pox was a constant and much dreaded visitor. The yellow fever, a terrible scourge, came at a later period.[1]

A frequent cause of suffering was from the bites of rattlesnakes. To cure these, a variety of remedies was known and applied. Sometimes a portion of the snake, if caught, was laid on the wound to draw out the poison. Many of the remedies applied were effective. Doddridge, who studied the subject carefully, says that if a person were bitten where the blood-vessels were neither numerous nor large, the bite soon healed under any kind of treatment. Horses were frequently killed

[1] "The first epidemic which prevailed in this county was in the year 1763; it was a nervous fever and very mortal; it was more general along the Juniata river, but it also extended widely over the interior of the country." Bank's Letter, Collections of Hist. Society, p. 66.

by them, as they were generally bitten around the nose, which contained numerous blood-vessels. For the contrary reason, hogs were rarely killed. The animal generally took immediate revenge for the injury by tearing the serpent to pieces and devouring it.

Many diseases were ascribed, especially in the central and western part of the country, to the power of witches. On children more frequently they inflicted strange and incurable diseases, especially on the internal organs, dropsy of the brain, rickets and the like. The witches destroyed cattle by shooting them with hair balls and other inscrutable weapons. They often did still worse things, transforming men into horses, and after bridling them, riding them at full speed over hill and dale. Wizards also abounded possessing similar mischievous powers. Happily, instead of using them for bad purposes, they were used to counteract the evil influences of the witches. Doddridge says that he knew of several witch-masters, as they were called, who made a public profession of curing diseases inflicted by the influence of witches.

An act relating to conjuration, witchcraft and dealing with evil spirits was passed during the reign of James I. This was applied soon after the arrival of Penn in 1683. The persons tried before Penn and his council were not the only cases of witchcraft. In Northampton and other counties persons were arrested, charged with witchcraft and imprisoned, but on none was passed the death penalty. A woman in Wyoming Valley was accused of bewitching the cattle, several of which had died in spite of the efforts of Titus, an old negro witch-doctor. For several days Titus used the ordinary remedy, a gun barrel filled with a peculiar liquid, but

no effect was produced on the witch. Finally a fine ox was taken sick, and then a new remedy was applied to break the spell. The sexton of the church took the church key, approached the ox, and putting it in the animal's mouth turned the key around three times, repeating some spell-breaking words known only to himself. The power of the witch was destroyed, and the ox recovered. A woman near Tunkhannock frequently bewitched a hunter's gun. The remedy was as peculiar as the difficulty. A bullet was fired from an unbewitched gun into the body of a tree. As soon as the bullet was covered by the growth of the wood, the witch was seized by severe pains from which she found no relief until she removed the spell from the gun. In another village a woman bewitched the cows and hogs. The cows twisted their tails on their backs, threw up the earth with their feet, bellowed and ran their hind legs up the trunks of trees. The pigs squealed night and day; frothed at the mouth; rolled over; turned somersets, and indulged in various other performances that would have pleased even our modern circus attendant. The owner and his wife were terribly scared. Fortunately, a celebrated German witch-doctor arrived on the scene, who applied an effective antidote. We, who laugh at these follies may with profit, perhaps, indulge in a little thinking concerning ourselves. The day of witchcraft has passed, but what shall be said of those who cannot pass a graveyard by night without trembling and fearing the dread presence of a spook or ghost? And what shall be said of those who betake themselves to mesmeric doctors, clairvoyants and spiritualists? The number is legion who still believe in unnatural processes of some kind or other, cover-

ing up their superstitions by long names and smooth sentences.

Witchcraft, as believed in Pennsylvania, was mild and harmless; the wizards were effective in undoing the work of witchcraft; and the people suffered much less than they did in some of the colonies from this diabolical agency.

From the diseases of people let us turn to their physicians. The practice of the Welsh was essentially English, as they were educated at the school of Edinburgh. They generally had an apothecary store, thus combining the practice with the sale of medicine. This was done partly in obedience to the wishes of those who ordered medicine, that their physician should prepare it. At a later period apothecaries appeared from whom the physicians purchased their drugs. As long as they continued to furnish medicines they sometimes made "an advanced charge" on them to include attendance. This was done to make up for the patient's deficiency in fees, and was deemed proper. Indeed, says the eminent Doctor John Morgan, "a most extensive practice otherwise would be insufficient to support a family in a becoming manner." The paying of a physician for attendance, and of an apothecary for his medicines, was regarded as "the most eligible" mode of practice, both to patients and practitioners; yet it could not be denied that the practice of rating medicines at such a price as to include the charge for medicines and attendance was liable to gross impositions by ignorant medicasters, too many of whom swarmed in every city.

Beside these practitioners, was another class who practiced especially in the country, and had never acquired a regular medical education. One of these is

well described by his great grandson, Dr. John Watson. He had read several books relating to surgery, physic and chemistry, and having settled in Buckingham, where no doctor lived, grew into public esteem as a practitioner in the healing art. He was very successful in setting broken bones, curing scalded heads, ulcers and disorders in general. He also invented a spicy anodyne, called Watson's Black Drops, pronounced by his great grandson to be "an excellent medicine."

Douglass, who wrote a valuable Summary of the American Colonies, was a physician, and described the medical practice in all of them. He declared that in the plantations, a practitioner bold, rash, impudent, a liar, basely born and educated, had the advantage of an honest, cautious, modest gentleman. The practice was so perniciously bad, that except in surgery and some very acute cases, it was better to let nature, under a proper regimé, take her course, than to trust to the honesty and sagacity of a doctor. American practitioners were so rash and officious that the saying in the Apocrypha might with propriety be applied to them: "He that sinneth before his Maker, let him fall into the hands of the physician." Frequently there was more danger from the physician than from the distemper.

Practitioners were given to quackery, and the use of quackish medicines was encouraged. Apothecary shops were wainscoated or papered with advertisements recommending quack medicines. Doctor Douglass remarks that in the most trifling cases medical practice was of a routine nature. He once asked a noted practitioner what was the general method of practice, and was told that it was very uniform. Bleeding, vomiting,

blistering, purging and an anodyne if the illness continued; then there was *repetendi*, and finally *murderandi*. Blood-letting and anodynes were the principle remedies of the doctors in that day.[1]

Far away from the larger places not even the uncultivated country doctor practiced medicine, and people were obliged to depend on themselves. Consequently they paid more attention to remedies than they do nowadays. There were remedies for every kind of disease; and whenever serious sickness occurred, usually the neighbors were very kind in aiding the afflicted family, revealing the nobler side of human nature. Many of the remedies, if effective in curing the sick, certainly would have made well persons sick if they had been taken. For example, the croup, then called the bold hives, was a common disease among children, and often fatal. The remedy consisted of the juice of roasted onions or garlic, given in large doses. Wallink was also a favorite remedy with many of the old women. For fevers, as though the afflicted were not hot enough, they were put through a severe course of sweating. To produce this state, a strong decoction of Virginia snakeroot in large doses was given. For purgation, white walnut bark was used, peeled downward; for a vomit, the same kind of bark, peeled upward. Rum was a favorite remedy. A dram, either raw, sweetened with wormwood or rye juice, was used as an antidote against infectious or offensive smells. Besides rum, tobacco was a popular remedy. The early settlers used these things to ward off infection, especially to prevent the bad effects of drinking water. They imagined air and water to be unwholesome. The immediate bad effect

[1] Douglass wrote in the middle of the 18th century.

of drinking cold water, and the autumn fevers and agues, confirmed this opinion and so the practice of the laboring people of the West Indies was adopted, that of drinking rum.

The quackery that has survived the longest, pow-wowing, was derived from the Indians. Even amid modern enlightenment and civilization, no small number still resort, with undiminished hope, to the pow-wower for relief. He is regarded as more successful in dealing with some diseases than others; and erysipelas and scrofula seem to be his specialties. Charms and incantations were also used for the cure of many diseases.

For the mentally dethroned the government in its early years sought to provide. In 1751 the Pennsylvania Hospital was founded for the care of persons "distempered in mind, and deprived of their rational faculties," as well as the relief of the sick and injured. In treating lunatics a radical departure was made; the restoration of their reason was attempted, instead of confining them, as had formerly been done, like malefactors. In 1709 the Association of Friends had sought to establish a public hospital in the city, but forty years passed before their humane conception crystallized into an institution that is an honor to the city, to the State, and to the country.

In establishing this noble enterprise, Franklin was among the most zealous and effective. He labored especially to secure Legislative assistance, but there was strong opposition, and the right to appropriate money for this purpose was questioned. Franklin succeeded in getting an appropriation of £2,000 on condition that a similar sum was raised by the people.

Franklin says that "this condition carried the bill through; for the members who had opposed the grant, and now conceived they might have the credit of being charitable without the expense, agreed to its passage, and then, in soliciting subscriptions among the people, we urged the conditional promise of the law as an additional motive to give, since every man's donation would be doubled; thus the clause worked both ways. The subscription accordingly soon exceeded the requisite sum, and we claimed and received the public gift, which enabled us to carry the design into execution."[1]

Notwithstanding all the diseases from which the people suffered, they lived to a good old age. This was doubtless due to their vigorous constitution, abundance of exercise, and freedom from care and anxiety compared with the condition of many under the stress of modern civilization.

[1] Franklin adds: "I do not remember any of my political manœuvers, the success of which gave me at the time more pleasure, or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excused myself for having made some use of cunning."

CHAPTER XIX.

SOCIETY, DRESS AND AMUSEMENTS.

SECTION I.

Social Intercourse, Family Living and Entertainments.

The society of Pennsylvania was much more complex than elsewhere in America. This was the natural consequence of a membership so varied in nationality and religious belief. The newcomers had a hearty, sincere good will for each other, and realized the need of mutual assistance. Though not buffeted by the fierce competition for wealth, place and power, a note in our times so often cruel and discordant; and assured, if industrious, of a comfortable and honest livelihood, they were, nevertheless, sorely tried by new and strange conditions, which tended to promote and strengthen a common life. This was rendered still stronger by equality of circumstance, similarity of pursuits and aims, and unity in civic action. Lastly, the remembrance of their old homes, and of those still left in them grew more tender with advancing years, uniting all more closely with the subduing power of a common suffering.

On the frontier a common life was even more strongly felt. Without fine words for each other, they divided their rough fare with a neighbor or a stranger and would have felt hurt by an offer of payment. After the enmity of the Indian had risen strongly against them,

the ever-increasing presence of this deadly peril formed a strong bond of unity. For greater protection they built forts and often lived in them in common, and toiled together in the fields. Thus inured to danger by its constant presence, their life was somewhat like that of the generous and sacrificing soldier who, notwithstanding his own perils, does not forget the needs and sufferings of his comrades.

To an observing traveler of that early time, the scarcity of women in the Province would surely have started some reflection. Many married before twenty years of age, and elderly spinsters were unknown. The children generally were well favored and beautiful. On his arrival, Penn remarked that in all the houses of the Dutch and Swedes he saw lusty and fine looking children.

In the beginning, the Indians were kindly disposed toward the newcomers, and gave abundant proofs of a desire to live in peace with them. On many occasions they supplied the white people with meat, with beans and other vegetables, besides bringing other gifts to their houses and refusing anything in return. The Indian children were sociable and fond of play. In some respects the difference between the two races was not great at that early period, "when to live was the utmost hope, and to enjoy a bare sufficiency the greatest luxury."

When Philadelphia had grown into a goodly town, the Indians came every autumn to the city in bodies of fifty or more, men, women and children. They encamped at different places on their way, occupying much of the time in making and selling baskets, mats and splint brooms. After the middle of the eighteenth

century, most of them came from beyond the Blue Mountains, between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, and often brought furs for sale.

From the beginning, the houses of the settlers were much superior to those of the Indians. In divers localities these houses differed greatly; the country house from that in Philadelphia; the house of the frontiersman from that of the farmer in the more thickly settled parts of the Province. In a frontier home a block or two served for stools, a broad slab of timber for a table, and a rude framework for a couch. In the one chamber slept all the family, men, women and children, married and single, young and old. This room constituted kitchen, dining-room and parlor. Doddridge, who lived on the frontier most of his life, says that for several years after the settlement of the country, the furniture for the table consisted of a few pewter dishes, plates and spoons, with wooden bowls and trenchers. If noggins were scarce, gourds and hardshell squashes supplied the deficiency. Iron pots, knives and forks were brought from east of the mountains.

At a later period a farmer's kitchen presented a different aspect. Within the ample fire-place a kettle was suspended from a crane over a wood-fire resting on andirons, and close by were shovel, tongs and bellows. On the shelf of the mantel above were a coffee-mill, candlestick, glasses and stone pitcher for cider. In one corner was a large cupboard containing tiers of pewter plates and brown earthenware. From a peg in the wall a tin horn was suspended; beneath it stood a high-backed, splint-bottomed chair. From a heavy joist in the ceiling hung bunches of red peppers and ears of Indian corn, culled for seed. A spinning wheel and flax stood

on one side of the room, and close by was a bench table or settee. Above it was suspended a mahogany looking-glass with a huge ornamented top, several of Poor Richard's Almanacs, and a hat and coat from nails in the wall. In one corner was a splint hickory broom, and a basket of apples; while on the window-sill pots containing plants were proofs that neither cares nor ceaseless tasks had quenched the good house-wife's love of the beautiful.

The houses had huge fire-places, and as wood was plentiful, a fire in the winter was kept burning brightly. Into these huge fire-places, to save the labor of cutting and splitting, were put "back-logs" of a size sufficient to last for several days. These gave forth not only warmth, but light enough for ordinary purposes, and perhaps quickened the imaginations of those who sat around during the long winter evenings, for one mode of entertainment was to narrate astonishing stories concerning witches and Indian ghosts. Many a glen and forest was supposed to be haunted, especially at the dreary hour of midnight. Adventures of the chase were described, the skill displayed at marksmanship, or feats of persons in wrestling, or throwing the tomahawk. On these occasions they ate shellbarks and apples, and "moistened their clay" freely with cider, cider-royal and metheglin.

The best wood for fuel was hickory; white and black oak were regarded as next in quality. In 1746 Kalm remarks that the woods around Philadelphia would lead one to believe that fuel must be cheap. It was not so, because the great forest near the town belonged to some individuals who, believing that wood would become scarce, sold only to joiners, coach-makers and

other craftsmen, willing to pay a high price. Those who sold wood in the market were peasants, living at a great distance from the town. Every one complained about the increase of price, which was ascribed to the rapid growth of the town, and to consuming wood in making brick. The farmers, too, had consumed enormous quantities; and so had persons engaged in smelting iron. Indeed a large portion of the forest had been cut by the middle of the eighteenth century. Kalm prophesied that Philadelphia would be obliged to pay a high price for wood. Like many another prophecy it failed, because he did not know of the vast stores of fuel hidden in the earth.

The settlers discovered a wax or tallow on a shrub called the candleberry or bayberry, from which they made candles. The berries grew abundantly on the female shrub and looked as though flour had been strewn on them. They were gathered late in autumn, and when put into a kettle of boiling water, the fat floated to the top and was skimmed off. It soon hardened and looked like common tallow or wax, but possessed a dirty, green color. By re-melting and boiling, it acquired a transparent green color, and was worth twice the price of ordinary tallow because the candles neither melted so easily, nor smoked, and when put out yielded an agreeable odor. For many years the Swedes had collected this tallow and made candles of it.

In Philadelphia the houses improved more rapidly than elsewhere. In winter, company was often received in the sitting-room, which usually was also the dining-room, and sometimes a sleeping-room. There was a high backed settee revealing a bed when the top was turned down. The furniture was of the simplest kind:

settees with stiff high backs, one or two large tables of pine or maple, a high, deep chest of drawers containing the wearing apparel of the family, a corner cupboard for plate and china and a looking-glass adorning the wall. The floor was sanded, the walls whitewashed, the fireplace ornamented with a wide mantel and windows contained small panes set in a lead frame.

The wealthier class had damask-covered couches instead of settees, oak or mahogany furniture. They used china cups and saucers, Delft ware from Holland, and massive silver bowls, waiters and tankards. Those of less means used pewter plates and dishes, while not a few ate from wooden trenchers. Lamps were hardly known; but candles in brass candlesticks furnished light.

Not until the middle of the eighteenth century were carpets introduced. At first, they covered the centre of the floor in front of the chairs and tables; their extension over the whole floor is a modern practice. Many stories are told of persons who, at first, were afraid to walk on them, and went around the sides of the room on tiptoe to avoid soiling them. Wall paper was not introduced until nearly the close of the century.[1]

Plain indeed were the furnishings in the first houses, but they were in harmony with the plain food eaten. On the frontier, hog and hominy was the most common dish. Johnny-cake and pone were the only forms of

[1] Perhaps the most vivid idea that can be presented of the interior of a well-furnished house, is from a letter written by Mrs. Benjamin Franklin to her husband in 1765, after their new house in Franklin Court had been completed. This letter is not in any of the collections of Franklin's letters, but may be found in Westcott's newspaper history of Philadelphia, Chap. ccxviii.

bread for breakfast and dinner. At supper, milk and mush was the standard dish. When milk was scarce, hominy supplied its place, and mush was frequently eaten with sweetened water, molasses, bear's oil or gravy from fried meat. In the beginning the settlers in the older parts of the Province fared rather poorly for food, but after a few years meat, grain and all kinds of vegetables were abundant. Milk, bread and pie formed the staple of the breakfast; in winter the milk was sometimes boiled and thickened before using. The dinner consisted of good pork or bacon with plenty of sauce, and wheat flour pudding or dumplings with butter and molasses, and the supper of mush or hominy with milk and butter and honey. Pies of green or dried apples were liked, especially by the children. When milk was scarce, small beer or cider, thickened with flour and egg made "an agreeable breakfast." In many families doughnuts were too great a rarity to be eaten on any day other than Christmas.

The German farmers lived quite as frugally. They sold their most profitable grain, wheat, and ate the less profitable, rye and Indian corn. "The profit to the farmer, from this single article of economy," says an enthusiastic writer, "is equal, in the course of a life-time, to the price of a farm for one of his children." They ate sparingly of boiled animal food, and used large quantities of vegetables, and especially sauerkraut. Milk and cheese were largely used. Few consumed distilled spirits; their drinks were cider, beer, wine and water.

As corn in various forms was one of the chief articles of food, its conversion into meal was an important but difficult task in the early days, before the erection of

water-mills. The hominy-block and hand-mills were used in most houses. The first was a large block of wood three feet long, with a hole burned in one end, wide at the top and narrow at the bottom, so that by the action of the pestle on the bottom the corn was thrown up on the sides toward the top, and fell down into the centre. By this movement the whole mass of grain was subjected quite equally to the strokes of the pestle.

A sweep was sometimes used to lessen the toil of pounding corn into meal. This was a pole made of springy, elastic wood, thirty feet or more in length. The butt was placed under the side of the house or a large stump, and the pole, supported by two forks, was placed one-third of its length from the butt, elevating the small end fifteen feet from the ground. To this was attached a sapling five or six inches in diameter, and eight or ten feet in length. The lower end was shaped so as to form a pestle. A pin of wood was put through it at a proper height, so that two persons could work at the sweep. This simple machine was very effective. Sometimes it was used in making gun-powder. When the corn was too soft to be beaten, it was grated in a half-circular piece of tin, perforated with a punch from the concave side, and nailed by its edges to a block of wood.[1]

If the people had good appetites for eating, so had they for drinking. Everywhere springs gushed forth

[1] The hand-mill was better than the mortar and grater. It was made of two circular stones placed in a hoop. A staff was inserted in a hole in the top of the runner, or upper stone, and this upper end through a hole in a board fastened to a joist above, so that two persons could be employed in turning the mill. The corn was put by hand into the opening in the runner.

and ran their sparkling courses, undefiled with coal dust, dye-stuffs, or any other refuse of modern industry. But the settlers did not content themselves simply with drinking water. Garden herbs, like sage and thyme were used, and more especially dittany or mountain mint. Rye also furnished an agreeable drink. Tea and coffee did not come into use until nearly the middle of the eighteenth century in Philadelphia, and still later in the country. Its introduction was slow, and was limited to those in good circumstances, or used only on Sundays.

The use of spirits was very common, indeed, too common. Doubtless the modes of employment contributed to a larger consumption of ardent spirits. At public sales, bottles were handed round, and the practice became so prevalent that the Assembly prohibited the use of spirits on these occasions. In Philadelphia drinking became so frequent that the Friends discountenanced its use. Drunkenness was attacked and defended in verse.

An eminent citizen of the time, writing to his son, who afterward became chief justice, declared it was too common a thing for young men to sit at table two or three hours tippling wine and punch, and when "so stupid they do not know what to do with themselves, they go either to the tavern, or to one of their houses and drink away till the clock strikes twelve, and then, being quite devils and quite beasts, they stagger away home to snore and groan by the side of their innocent young wives, who deserve ten thousand better things at their hands; and all this after the poor young things have been moping at home and bemoaning themselves of their hard fate, and crying out a hundred times in an

evening 'Well, if this be the pleasure of matrimony, would to Heaven that we had remained under our parents' roof.'" On wedding occasions and other feasts, the drinking was excessive.

At burials the practice was common to feast and drink in a very immoderate manner, a custom which had prevailed in England. When a person of high rank died, the body was kept for several days lying in state, and during this period visitors must be entertained. The necessity of doing this grew into a custom at every funeral. The English practice of burying by torchlight never became general in Philadelphia, but was occasionally followed. In 1748 "burial biscuit" were advertised for sale by a city baker, showing that the custom of funeral feasting still continued.

In the early days of the Province, love-makings and marriages were quite as important events in society as now. Among the Friends, courtship was a very solemn business. The heart-stricken man before declaring his love to the object of his sweet trouble must first speak to her parents If permission were granted, then he strove by his grave demeanor and solid conversation to make a favorable impression on the object of his affections. He could not, like other young men, whisper his vows during a moonlight ramble, or resort to any of the thousand ways so often inspired by love. The only pleasures permitted to them were those of eating, drinking and going to meeting. Such a thing as going away unattended by a chaperone was unknown ; they must be in the presence of witnesses, yet they seemed to succeed quite as well as others.

As the Friends had no ministers, marriage with them was a contract between the individuals simply witnessed

by several persons. Sometimes it was held in the meeting-house; at others, in the home of either the bride or the groom; but it was a very simple affair, unattended with any of the accompaniments of modern marriage. In general, marriages were ordered by affixing to the court-house and meeting-house doors the intention of the parties, and after the act had been solemnized a record of it was preserved. True love laughs at shackles and bolts, and Watson, in his Annals, tells the story of an elopement in 1707 of Colonel Coxe with Sarah Eckley, a wealthy Quakeress. The runaway couple ran into the Jersey woods in the night and met the chaplain of Lord Cornbury, the Governor of New Jersey, who, oddly enough, prevailed on them to be married, and there preformed the ceremony by firelight.

In these days when with some women great titles are everything and character nothing, let us stop to note the first courtship and marriage perhaps of a provincial girl to a "baronet." For many years Lawrence Bathurst was the teacher of a school in Philadelphia County. He made the acquaintance of a girl who lived with Mrs. Roberts, whose grandson, a United States Senator, has preserved for us the tale. Though illiterate she knew how to get ink, red ink too, to use in communicating with her lover. She punctured her arm and stained a piece of paper with some highly original hierogylphics, which were sent to Bathurst by Mrs. Roberts' son, who was one of Bathurst's pupils. He gave Master Roberts a written answer, but as the girl could not read, at her request he read the letter to her. A glass frame was fitted up in the house on one side of the kitchen fire-place, and here young Roberts often sat

as though he was conning his lesson. The frame was so arranged that he could elude his mother's "vigilant eye," while the girl, without attracting attention, could tell him things to write for the eye and heart of her noble lover. Roberts doubtless enjoyed the fun, though he was hardly five years old. His father finally found out what he was doing, and asked him about the contents of the letters. The youngster replied that there was a good deal of love in them. The girl won "the young baronet," though they did not always live together. Roberts, the grandson and United States Senator, saw Mrs. Bathurst "in advanced years," but "could not judge," so he quaintly said, "by the stubble what might have been her early merit."

But who was Bathurst? He was, says Senator Roberts, "the son of a dissolute father who had dissipated his property and left him in charge of his uncle," Allen, the first Lord Bathurst. He sent him to the Westminster School in London, where he fell a prey to some persons who were then bringing servants to the colonies. By them "our baronet" was kidnapped and stripped of his quality ensigns and sold for a term of years. Roberts adds that "through his subsequent metamorphoses you could still trace something of his early associations." After many years his uncle found out where he was and invited him to return. Having learned of his marriage, his uncle asked him if he had married "a woman of fortune," and he replied, "My lord, where is my fortune?" Not content in England, he returned to Pennsylvania, where, for many years, he amused companies with his never-ending fund of stories, and at the age of eighty died at the home of

his youngest son, "to whom he left his empty title with its armorial bearing, a bloody hand."[1]

In early times weddings were festivals. Relatives and friends were invited, a good dinner was provided, and a lively spirit of friendship prevailed. The next day many of the young people again met, and with less restraint, indulged in social plays and sports. Many of these entertainments were very expensive; the company dined, but still remained for tea and for supper. For two days punch flowed in abundance. The gentlemen met the groom on the first floor, and ascended to the second, where they saw the bride. Every one in those days had the right to kiss her, and not infrequently she submitted to more than a hundred such attentions during a day. Even the Friends yielded to this part of the performance. For two days they called and took punch, and each time kissed the bride. Then the married pair had large tea parties at their home that were attended nightly by the groomsmen and bridesmaids. Besides thus eating and drinking at home, punch, cakes and meats were sent out generally in the neighborhood, even to those who were not visitors in the family. At length wedding entertainments were regarded with dread, both by those who paid the bills, and by the bride. Originating in a spirit of hospitality, the occasion degenerated into a fearful abuse. The Friends were the first to counsel moderation.

Weddings on the frontier were of a very different character. The whole neighborhood was always interested in an affair of that kind, for it was a huge frolic. Indeed, it was almost the only one not accom-

[1] MS. Autobiography of Senator Roberts.

panied with the labor of reaping, log-rolling, building a cabin or planning a campaign. The bridegroom appeared dressed in moccasins, leather breeches, leggings and a linsey hunting-shirt. The bride wore linsey petticoats and a linsey gown, coarse shoes, stockings and buckskin gloves. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons or ruffles, they were the relics of old times that had descended to the present possessors. A cavalcade was formed for the purpose of marching to the place of ceremony in double file, through narrow paths which perhaps were rendered worse by the ill-will of neighbors who had felled trees or tied grape-vines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was formed by the wayside, and an unexpected discharge of guns covered the party with smoke. Imagine the scene which followed, the sudden spring of the horses and the shrieks of the girls! At this period of provincial life, another ceremony often took place before the party reached the house of the bride. When within a mile of their destination two young men would run for the bottle. The worse the path, the more logs, brush and deep hollows, the better. The start was announced by an Indian yell, and logs, brush and hollows were speedily passed by the rival ponies. The first to reach the door was presented with the prize, which he took back in triumph to the company. The bottle was first given to the groom and his attendants, and then to each pair in succession, to the end of the line. The marriage ceremony was followed by a dinner, during which the greatest hilarity always prevailed. Then followed dancing that generally lasted until the next morning. If any of the company through weariness attempted to conceal themselves for sleep, they were sought out,

paraded on the floor, and the fiddler was ordered to play "Hang On Till To-Morrow Morning."

About nine or ten o'clock a deputation of the young ladies stole away the bride and put her to bed; generally, they had to ascend a ladder instead of stairs leading from the dining and ball-room to the loft. This done, a deputation of young men in like manner stole away the groom and placed him by the side of his bride. The dance continued, and if seats were scarce, every young man not engaged in the dance was obliged to offer his lap as a seat for one of the girls, which was always accepted. In the midst of this hilarity the bride and groom were not forgotten. "Black Betty," the name for the bottle, was sent up the ladder, and not infrequently was accompanied with bread, beef, pork and cabbage enough for at least half a dozen hungry men. The couple were compelled to eat and drink whatever was offered to them.

Inexpressibly coarse and shocking as all this is to modern ears, the mode of celebrating the event fitted into the social arrangements and ideas existing among the dwellers on the frontier. Yet criticise them as one may, in the sterling qualities of life, in purity and honesty of character, there is not the slightest evidence whereon to found an unfavorable judgment compared with those living in the longer settled parts of the Province.

In many parts of Pennsylvania, a cabin was often built for a newly married couple by their neighbors. A piece of land was selected, and a day appointed for beginning the work. One party felled the trees and cut them at proper lengths; another hauled and arranged them, while another selected proper trees for making

clapboards for the roof. Other men were employed in getting puncheons for the floor of the cabin, which was done by splitting trees about eighteen inches in diameter, and hewing the faces with a broadaxe. Materials were mostly prepared on the first day, and sometimes a foundation was laid in the evening. The next day the neighbors assembled for the raising. Four corner men were selected, who notched and placed the logs. The rest of the company supplied them with the timbers. Meanwhile the boards and puncheons were collected for the floor and roof, so that when the cabin was a few rounds high, the process of laying the floor began. The door was made in one side by cutting an opening about three feet wide, secured by upright pieces of timber three inches thick, through which holes were bored into the ends of the logs to pin them fast. A large opening was made at the end for the log chimney which had a back and jambs of stone. In the meantime the masons worked, filling up all cracks; and also putting in the back and jambs of the chimney. When finished the ceremony of housewarming occurred before the young couple took possession. This was a whole night's dance at which the relatives of the bride and groom, and neighbors were present. On the following day the young couple took possession of their cabin.

To what extent the practice of "bundling" was a feature of courtship in those days is imperfectly known. An old one in the British Isles and in Holland, it was adopted among the early New Englanders to prevent the ill consequences of sitting in cold and cheerless rooms. It was not an all-the-year-round custom, but confined solely to the winter season. About 1756, says

Stiles, Boston, Salem, Newport and New York resolved to be more polite than their ancestors, and forbade the custom. In Pennsylvania perhaps it was never so general, owing to the milder climate, but was longer continued.

Another phase of this practice sprung from necessity. Before inns became common and when a house consisted of a single room, the traveler was often obliged to sleep with one or more bed-fellows. Numerous experiences have been recorded of travelers who were thus obliged to lodge in the same room and bed with others. In many cases all the proprieties that the situation permitted were observed; in other cases there were great departures from them.

Section II.

Dress and Amusements.

The clothing of the early settlers was more durable than handsome. In the beginning the reign of fashion was unknown. The early dress of the people of the city was simple and made of strong, coarse material, cloth and deerskin for the men, and linsey and worsted for the women for everyday use. The best clothing was carefully preserved in a huge chest of drawers. At that time there was little difference between the dress of the Friends and of other people. At a later day the Friends adopted sober colors to resent the extravagances of fashion.

Amost every woman was a spinner and weaver. At a later period women wove carpets for their houses, and were as proud of their fabrics as any manufacturer is of his productions. The women of one neighborhood or township vied with those of another in spinning, weav-

ing and dyeing cloth. One hundred knots were sometimes spun by a woman; even as many as one hundred and thirty-five knots in twelve hours have been recorded. The principal fabric was a warm, durable cloth, called linsey, composed of a warp of flax and a filling of wool.

Every family tanned its own leather. The tan-vat was a large trough sunk in the ground. Each spring a quantity of bark was obtained, with which the leather was stained and pounded on a block of wood with an axe or mallet. Ashes were used for removing the hair. The operation of currying was performed by a drawing knife, with its edges turned after the manner of a currying-knife. The leather was blackened by a preparation made of soot and hog's lard.

Almost every family had its own tailor and shoemaker. Those unable to make shoes, could make shoepacks. Like moccasins these were a single piece of leather, except the tongue piece on the top of the foot. To the shoepack a sole was sometimes added. The women did the tailor work.

With the increase of wealth, fashions in dress began to appear, first in the city and then in the country. Leather clothing was very common for many years, and moccasins held their supremacy on the frontier for a period after the Revolution. During the French and Indian war, large quantities of foreign goods were imported; "half silks" and calicoes were common, also silk bonnets, silk and fine linen handkerchiefs; indeed, almost every article of woman's attire was of foreign manufacture. The men wore jackets and breeches of Bengal, nankeen, fustian, black everlasting and cotton velvet.

At this period too the distinction between the richer and poorer classes began to emerge. Household furniture was imported, and the new fashioned and old fashioned people were daily seen. The first beginnings were imperceptible, and tea and calico were perhaps the initiatory articles. Tea was easily brewed and made a convenient treat on an afternoon's visit, and calico was a light simple dress that would bear washing. Homespun could not compete with foreign manufactures, that could be purchased in the city or country stores at low figures, and often on credit.

Notwithstanding the rise of class distinctions, cordial relations contined to exist between all. This was as true of people in the city as in the country. An ancient writer says, "for many years there subsisted a common concord and benevolent disposition among the people of all denominations, each delighting to be reciprocally helpful and kind in acts of friendship for one another."

Ere long the distinction between the dress of a gentleman and that of other classes became clearly marked. To check undue assumption by tradesmen in the city the term members of the Leather Apron Club was invented and applied to them. While at work, or when going abroad on week-days, carpenters, masons, coopers and blacksmiths always wore a leather apron, covering their vest. Buckskin breeches, check shirts, and a red flannel jacket were the common garb of most workingmen, and men and boys from the country were seen always in leather breeches and aprons. Felt hats, coarse leather shoes with brass buckles and wooden heels, and coarse yarn stockings completed their dress. In those days tailors, shoemakers and hatters waited on

their customers to take their measures, and afterwards called to fit the partly finished garments.

After the reign of fashion began, some went to extremes, some were moderate, but only a few men and women were seen representing the old-fashioned kind of people. Watson describes a young lady who purchased in Philadelphia, in 1765, a pair of black velvet wedding-shoes, the style of the time, and putting them on in her chamber, was unable to descend the stairway because the cork heels were so high. The seller was wholly to blame for this unhappy predicament. He ought to have instructed her, when selling them, that the approved method was to descend the stairs backwards, for though not an especially graceful movement, it was free from peril.

Wigs were worn by many until the return of Braddock's defeated army. The soldiers returned to Philadelphia with only their natural hair, although they went forth all bewigged and powdered like those left in the city. The natural mode was well adapted to military life, and the change, though arising from necessity, was immediately adopted by the citizens. The king of England, too, at that time discarded his wig, and his example was rapidly followed by the English people, to the ruin of wig makers. Penn attended carefully to his wigs, and he purchased several during his short stay here. They were made of horse hair. When wigs were universally worn, grey wigs were powdered, and for that purpose were frequently sent in a wooden box to the barber to be dressed on his blockhead. Brown wigs were exempt from the white disguise. At first they were as much worn by genteel Friends as by other people. In 1719 Jonathan Dick-

inson, a Friend, in writing to London for his clothes, says: "I want for myself and my three sons, each a wig, light good bobs." The perukes of that time were thus described: "Tyes, bobs, majors, spencers, foxtails for men, and twists and curls or tates for women."

The abolition of wigs was followed by a change in the mode of dressing the hair. Among women especially, it was prepared in a wonderful manner. At first, curling was very common. Not infrequently a four hours' torture was required to produce properly crisped curls. Wishing to be inimitably captivating, and uncertain of securing the services of an expert at the time desired, some performed the operation the day before and then slept all night in a sitting posture to prevent the disarrangement of their frizzles and curls. Of course, not all put themselves in this category. Curling was succeeded by the creation of some foundation head-work consisting of rollers, over which the hair was combed back from the forehead. These, again, were superseded by cushions and artificial curl-work that could be dressed on the barber's block like a wig, leaving the lady, in the meantime, free to pursue other pleasures. The hair was dressed by plaiting it, by cuing and clubbing, and by wearing it in a black silk sack or bag adorned with a large black rose. With the cues belonged frizzled side locks and toupees of the natural hair, or a long tie and splice. Such was the general passion for the longest possible whip of hair, that sailors and boatmen tied theirs in eelskin to aid its growth.

Many styles of hats were worn, but the most stylish for men were gold-laced cocked hats. Fur hats of natural beaver were also worn. Whenever an apprentice re-

ceived his freedom, he was given a real beaver hat. A common hat, called a felt, was made of wool. Rorem hats used soon after the Revolution, consisted of fur fastened on wool felts. The fashion of those worn by women was still more varied. The skimmer hat, made of a fabric which shone like silver tinsel, possessed a very small flat crown and big brim. Another hat, not unlike this in shape, was made of horsehair, woven in flowers and called the horsehair bonnet. The musk-melon bonnets had numerous whalebone stiffeners in front of the crown an inch apart in parallel lines, and presented ridges to the eye between the bones. The "calash bonnet" was always of green silk. It was worn abroad, covering the head, but in a room was pushed back like the springs of a calash or gig top. To keep it up over the head, it was drawn up by a cord, always held in the hand of the wearer. The wagon-bonnet was of black silk, and was used exclusively by the Friends. It was supposed to look not unlike the top of a Jersey wagon, and had a curtain of silk covering the shoulders. The "straw beehive" bonnet was worn generally by old people.

The coats worn in the beginning were very simple, consisting of a shirt or series of shirts as the weather required. In the summer-time the early settler wore a shirt of linsey-woolsey or of similar material, and if not warm enough, he added another and another, and so on through the winter until sufficiently clad to withstand the stiffest boreas. It thus served as a combination of shirt, undershirt, coat and overcoat. With the accumulation of wealth and introduction of fashions the style of coat as well as of other garments changed. The coat of the beau had three or four plaits in the skirt, with

wadding almost like a coverlet, to keep them smooth; and large capes to the elbows, open below, and inclined down, and loaded with lead. The capes were thin and low, to expose the close plaited neck-stock of fine linen cambric, and the large silver stock-buckle on the back of the neck. To his shirts were hand-ruffles, with sleeves finely plaited; his breeches were close-fitting, with silver, stone or paste gem buckles; his shoes or pumps were ornamented with silver buckles of various sizes and patterns. The poorer classes wore sheep and buckskin breeches that fitted closely to the limbs. Gold and silver sleeve buttons set with stones and paste of various colors adorned the wrists of the shirts of all classes. Lace ruffles extending over the hand were a mark of indispensable gentility. The coat and breeches were generally of the same material, broadcloth for winter, and silk camlet for summer. Cotton fabrics were not then in use, or known; and hose were of thread or silk for summer use, and of fine worsted for winter. Coats of red cloth were considerably worn even by boys, and plush breeches and plush vests of various colors were in common use. Everlasting, a worsted fabric, was very common for breeches, and sometimes for a vest. The vest had great pocket flaps, and the breeches were very short, for suspenders were unknown. It was the test of a well formed man that he could by his natural form readily keep his breeches above his hips, and his stockings, without garters, above the calves of his legs. There was nothing like a surtout, but men had greatcoats of blue cloth and brown camlet cloaks with a green lining. During the time of the American war, many of the American officers introduced the fashion of wearing Dutch blankets for greatcoats.

The "small clothes" of sailors were immense white petticoat breeches wide open at the knees, and not extending further. Working men in the country wore the same kind of breeches, made so full that they were turned around when the seat was worn out. Among sailors and the common people big silver brooches were worn in the bosom, and long quartered shoes with big buckles in the extreme front.

In the summer season men often wore calico morning gowns throughout the day, even in the streets. A damask banyan was almost the same thing with another name. Laboring men wore ticklenburg linen for shirts and stripped ticklen breeches. They wore gray duroy coats in winter, and men and boys always wore leather breeches.

In the olden time men used to carry muffetees in winter. It was a little woolen muff of various colors, large enough to admit both hands, and long enough to protect the wrists, for men wore short sleeves to their coats to display their fine linen and plaited shirt sleeves with their gold buttons and lace ruffles. The sleeve cuffs were very wide, and leads were put in them to make them hang down.

The shoe underwent many changes from the moccasin worn by the first settler to the elegant and dainty shoe worn within a century afterward. Before the Revolution no hired man or woman wore shoes of calfskin, but used coarse neat leather. The shoes were square toed and often "double channelled;" then the fashion changed to peaked shoes, and ever since it has varied from the one kind to the other. Calfskin shoes had a wide rand of sheepskin stitched into the top edge of the sole, which was kept white as a dress shoe as long as

possible. Ladies' shoes were made mostly of white or russet rands stitched very fine on the rand with white waxed thread. The heels were wood, gold, crosscut, common and cork, followed by the plug and wedge or spring heel. Sole leather was all worked with the flesh side out. In the earlier time the materials of the uppers were common wool and cloth, or coarse curried leather; afterwards cashmere, everlasting, shalloon, russet and similar stuffs were used. Some were of satin and damask; others of satin lasting and Florentine.

In the surrounding counties the dress was somewhat different. The first settlers, and those succeeding them wore a strong coarse kind of dress, with buckskin for breeches, and sometimes for jackets; while osenbrig made of hemp-tow was much used for boys' shirts.[1] A wool hat, strong shoes with brass buckles, two linsey jackets and a leather apron formed an ordinary stock of winter apparel. This kind of dress was common among the laboring people until 1750 and even later.

On the frontier one of the forms of dress commonly worn was the hunting-shirt. This was a kind of loose frock, reaching half way down the thighs, having large sleeves, opening in front, and lapping over a foot or more when belted. To this was a large cape, sometimes handsomely fringed with a ravelled piece of cloth of a contrasting color. The bosom of the dress served as a wallet to hold bread, cakes, jerk, tow or other things needful for the hunter or warrior. The belt was tied behind and served several purposes besides that of holding the dress together. In cold weather the mittens and sometimes the bullet-bag occupied the front part. To

[1] Sometimes flax and flax and tow were used for that purpose, and coarse tow for trousers.

the right side was suspended the tomahawk, and to the left the scalping-knife in its leather sheath. The hunting-shirt was usually made of linsey, sometimes of coarse linen, and a few of dressed deerskin. A pair of drawers or breeches and leggins covered the thighs and legs, and for the feet, moccasins of dressed deerskin were better than shoes. Flaps were left on each side to reach some distance up the legs. They were nicely adapted to the ankles and lower part of the leg by thongs of deerskin, so that no dust, gravel or snow could get within. In cold weather the moccasins were stuffed with deer's hair or dry leaves, to keep the feet warm; to wear them in wet weather was a decent way of going barefoot, because of the spongy texture of the leather. In consequence largely of defective covering of the feet, hunters and warriors were often afflicted with rheumatism.

Leaving the more plainly dressed people of the country for those in the city, a description may be given of the beau as he appeared in 1772. On his head was a vast quantity of hair standing on end, "giving him the appearance" says an old chronicler, "of being frightened." His hair was loaded with powder and pomatum, "all little enough too to keep any degree of light or heat in the few brains scattered about the cavities of the soft skull it covered." The rest of his dress consisted chiefly of French silk, gold lace, fringe, silk stockings, a hat and feather, and sometimes a cockade. He wore a diamond ring, carried a snuff box and a scented handkerchief, and managed a cane. His employment was to present his snuff box, wield his cane, show his white teeth in a perpetual grin, "to say soft things in every sense of the word" to ladies, and to follow them everywhere like their shadow.

A picture of a fashionable couple walking in the streets of Philadelphia at an earlier period is given by Watson. The lady tripped lightly on her dainty feet, cased in satin slippers. She wore a flowered silk petticoat, so enlarged by hoops that it required great skill to get through an ordinary-sized doorway. Her too tightly laced stomacher was richly ornamented with gold braid; the sleeves were short and edged with wide point lace, which fell in graceful folds near the wrist. At this time her hair was no longer propped up by wires and cushions, but dropped in curls on her neck. Cherry color was then the prevailing fashion of the light silk hood that protected her head. The parasol was not yet known, but the fan was in use. The gentleman by her side was quite unable to offer her the support of his arm because the great size of her skirts as well as his own prevented, for his square-cut coat of lavender silk was stiffened out at the sides with wire and buckram. It opened in such a manner as to show the long flapped waistcoat with wide pockets for carrying the snuff-box and the bonbonniere. The sleeves were short, with rounded cuffs, and his hands were covered with gold-fringed gloves. Around his neck was a point lace cravat, and over his tight wig he wore a cocked hat trimmed with gold lace. His feet were enclosed in square-toed shoes with small silver buckles. His partridge-silk stockings reached above his knees, where they met his light blue silk breeches. Thus attired, this pair of walking balloons started on their tour through the streets. At a short distance behind walked the gentleman's valet and the lady's maid. He wore a black hat, brown colored coat, a striped waistcoat with brass buttons, leather breeches, worsted stockings and

stout shoes with brass buckles. The maid's dress was of huckaback, made short. The skirts were not so ample as those of her mistress, yet were somewhat puffed out, in humble imitation of her high and mighty superior. Her costume was somewhat set off by a white apron, a silk neckerchief and a net cape. This quartette must have presented a striking appearance in the plain city of Philadelphia, which still bore many of the marks of a town in the wilderness.

Perhaps not far away was a tradesman with his wife. His coat was of stout gray cloth, trimmed with black, while his gray waistcoat half concealed his serviceable leather breeches. Worsted stockings and leather shoes protected his feet. His wife wore a chintz dress made up in fashionable style, with the indispensable hoops of the day. A checked apron extended over her stomacher and concealed the bright petticoat.

Among the Friends the plainest women wore silk aprons of green, blue and other colors. In the middle of the eighteenth century the gay wore white ones. In time the white aprons disappeared from the gentry, and then the Friends discarded colored ones and substituted white. The old ladies among the Friends who wore white aprons covered their heads with large, white, almost crownless beaver hats, confined by silk cords tied under the chin. Eight dollars would buy one, and it lasted a lifetime.

Women often went abroad and to church wearing checked aprons. Hired women wore short gowns and petticoats of domestic fabric, and thus could be instantly recognized wherever seen.

Fans were used before the Revolution, and some costly ones were made of ivory and pictured paper.

Among elderly gentlemen, gold-headed canes were a mark of distinction. They were used in the churches and other public places to support the chin; in truth, this was only done to show them. The pride thus displayed was of the same kind as that shown by the owners of gold snuff-boxes who freely proffered their contents to others. Silas Deane had one given to him, set in diamonds, that he was very proud of displaying. Many of the younger men wore short swords. Children and working women often wore beads made of Job's tears,—the berry of a shrub,—believing they prevented diseases. In 1771 umbrellas were introduced as a defence from the sun. Some of the journals of the day ridiculed their use as an effeminacy, but physicians advised the people to carry them. One of the citizens, after amassing a great fortune in the West Indies, appeared abroad, attended by a mulatto boy bearing his umbrella; but his example was not followed.

The men of former days never wore Mohammedan whiskers. Watson remarks that perhaps men of leisure could be endured who wore them, but not business men, and that during business hours especially they ought to be "unbobbed and uncorseted." Intellectual men were rarely found in this array unless possessed of some obliquity of imagination and taste.

Amusements in the early days were somewhat rough, though hardly rougher than some of the sports of our most advanced civilization. "Among people in the city shooting, fishing and sailing parties were frequent," says Watson, "while respectable citizens much indulged in glutton clubs, fishing houses and country practice." All classes were sociable until the conflict with Great Britain sent every man to his own ways. The discord

created by that event was never fully allayed; but all changed rapidly their manners, thoughts and associations. For a long time the amusements of the young people of the city were of the simplest kind. To those already mentioned may be added riding, swimming and fishing. While "going to meeting" should not be classed as an amusement, it surely was a pious recreation for the young Quakers. The annual meeting in 1716 advised the Friends to keep aloof "from plays, games, lotteries, music and dancing." In 1722 there was an exhibition "of the Czar of Muscovia's country seat, with its gardens, walks, fountains, fish ponds and fish that swim." Two years afterward the first rope-dancer astonished the town with a performance on Society Hill.

One of the most interesting recreations was known as the porch amusement. After the middle of the eighteenth century the houses were usually built with a front porch, where it became customary for the ladies of the family to sit in pleasant weather at the close of the day. Neighbors called, while beaux with swords, silk ties and stockings, powdered wigs, and square-cut coats, lifted while passing their three-cornered hats to the fair ones.

Numerous small shows were given from time to time in the city. "The lion, king of beasts," was advertised for exhibition in 1727. Ten years later a curious cat came to town, having one head, eight legs and two tails. Then came a mechanical contrivance of moving figures, representing Joseph's dream. In 1744 "a beautiful creature, but surprising fearless, called a leopard" was exhibited in Market Street, and the same year "a strange and surprising creature called a mouse, about

the bigness of a horse. It has a face like a mouse, ears like an ass, neck and back of a camel, hind parts like a horse, tail like a rabbit, and feet like a heifer." In 1740 the camel was exhibited; two years later there was a magic lantern exhibition, and in 1745 a camera obscura.

In 1738 Theobald Hackett, dancing master, opened a dancing school, advertising to teach "all sorts of fashionable English and French dances, after the newest and politest manner practiced in London, Dublin and Paris; and to give all young ladies, gentlemen and children the most graceful carriage in dancing, and genteel behavior in company, that can possibly be given by any dancing master whatever." A dancing assembly was formed in the city, and an association for musical purposes; they also gave parties and balls. In 1761 John Walsh advertised that he taught "dancing in all its parts, after the most elegant tastes, together with the masquerade and Spanish fandango."

The country folk indulged in athletic games; wrestling, running or shooting at a mark were the sports wherein each strove for honorable fame. Boys were taught to throw the tomahawk, and to imitate the cries of the creatures of the forest with a fidelity that would deceive the most practiced ear. Ruder sports, however, were not infrequently practiced, and quarrels and fist-fighting were common among the lower classes of people. Often these grew out of a free use of rum at sales, frolics, and in hay-time and harvest. Duels were rarely fought.

From an early day a great variety of amusements was practiced at the fairs held both in the city and in small places. In the early days of the Province, when the

people had fewer opportunities for meeting together, these occasions were of far more consequence than now. The theatre grew slowly; Henry Hallam, called the "father of the American stage," was the projector of a company of poor players who came to the new world, and appeared in Philadelphia in 1754. Though the leading city in America, Hallam encountered a strong opposition. The Friends were hostile and influential, and the Presbyterians had, if possible, still greater horror of "profane stage-plays." If the Germans were not opposed, at least they were indifferent to the theatre. Besides, Philadelphia was proud of its scientific and literary pre-eminence. The lectures of Professor Kinnersly on electricity and his practical experiments were regarded as more instructive and entertaining than an exhibition of stage-plays by a company of strolling players. Notwithstanding this unfavorable atmosphere, the first American play, "The Prince of Parthia," was produced in 1759 by Thomas Godfrey of Philadelphia. Seven years afterward the Southwark Theatre was built, and was used for dramatic representations until the beginning of the present century. The first permanent structure of the kind built in America, it was ill contrived both without and within. It was built of brick and painted a bright red, and the stage was lighted with oil lamps. It was not opened without opposition. A remonstrance was presented to the Assembly, and a committee prepared an address to the governor that was unfavorably received. Governor Penn answered that he would consider the remonstrance and act agreeably to his judgment "without regard to persons or parties." As he did not interfere with the players, the remonstrance was in truth disregarded.

After the colonies had fairly started on their wondrous career they were a fresh and interesting field for travelers. The English and French were the most frequent, and many wrote letters, journals and books describing the manners, customs, dress and lives of the people. Like modern books of travel, some were hastily prepared, colored with prejudice, and showing inappreciation and ignorance of colonial life and its conditions. Other accounts were careful pieces of work. Among these are the travels of a Swedish professor, Kalm, who visited the province in 1748, and who left a valuable account, especially of the land, its cultivation, and of all matters possessing more especially a scientific interest. Chastellux was a Frenchman unable to perceive the good things in colonial life. Another Frenchman, Brissot, who came at the close of the Revolution, wrote a very different work, in which he upbraids his countryman more than once for his superficial and prejudiced account of things. Brissot met the best people of Pennsylvania, and through them obtained correct ideas concerning their lives, manners and prosperity. With the Friends especially he was pleased. Simplicity, candor and good faith characterized their lives as well as their discourse. They were not affected, but were sincere; they were not polished, but were humane. They had not that wit, that sparkling wit, without which a man was nothing in France, and with which he was everything; but they had good sense, sound judgment, an upright heart, and an obliging temper of mind. "If I wished to live in society, it would be with the Quakers; if I wished to amuse myself, it would be with my countrymen. And their women, you ask, what are they? They are what they

should be; faithful to their husbands, tender to their children, vigilant and economical in their households, and simple in their ornaments. Their principal characteristic is that they are not eager to please all the world."

Of criticism and caricaturing of men and things there was no lack. To "crack the satiric thong" on the offenders of the day was much in vogue during the closing years of the Province. One was cracked by a teacher in the Academy named Dove, who dared to "wash the Blackmoor white," meaning Judge Moor. Another denounced the Friends for promoting Indian ravages in the time of their association for preserving peace. Judge Peters, who had been Dove's pupil, described him as "a sarcastical and ill-tempered doggerelizer, who was but ironically Dove, for his temper was that of a hawk, and his pen the beak of a falcon pouncing on innocent prey."

Section III.

The Revolutionary Period.

During the Revolution, society passed through many changes, but English fashions, which had been so long followed, still retained their magical power. Near the close of the struggle, the French had become so highly esteemed and were so numerous in the country, that French fashions began to supplant the English. Besides, the French fashions were more graceful, and ardent devotees suffered less physically from adopting them.

With the change in fashions one of the first things to go was the three-cornered hat. By 1778 it was replaced with the gold-laced hat, which in turn gave way to the round hat that first appeared in England during the

Revolution. Within eleven years it had pushed the old cocked hat entirely out of fashion.

Then the square-cut coat and low flapped waistcoat passed through a transformation. Cloth of various colors replaced the richly embroidered silk, satin and velvet. The stiffening was taken out of the skirts and the waists were shortened. All this was in the direction of a plainer and cheaper garb.

The knee breeches were gradually replaced by trowsers. During the Revolution General Lee indulged in a furious correspondence over a charge attributed to Miss Franks that he "wore green breeches patched with leather." He assured her that he wore "actually legitimate sherryvallies, such as his Majesty the King of Poland wears," who had made more fashions "than all the knights of the Mischianza put together, notwithstanding their beauties." This doughty warrior, who was so much more interested in his breeches than in fighting the enemy, proposed to fortify his word by sending them to her. When Lee learned that Miss Franks had never had the slightest interest in the color of his breeches, his fury calmed down and in due time he made an elaborate apology. Lee is not the first man who has worked himself up into an hysterical mood over some fancied remark of a man or woman, and the breeches episode is a good proof of Lee's greater interest in little things than in the grave matters of war. The reader may wonder how such a fop ever secured a position in the army, and especially such a responsible one, but let us not forget that wire-pulling and politics abounded in the Revolution, as they have in every subsequent war, notwithstanding the gravity of the occasion.

At the beginning of the Revolution the hair was powdered and tied in a long queue, and shoes were fastened with silver buckles. The queues and buckles disappeared by the close of the century, but in 1782 a farmer complains bitterly of the fashions still raging. He says that his eldest son having spent some weeks in the city has come home "a mere baboon," a choice name surely to apply to a beloved son. His hair is besprinkled with powder, as white "as that of an old man eighty years of age;" a pair of ruffles reaches from his waistbands to the extremity of his nails; a strip of gold lace encircles his hat, while a huge stock is worn around his neck containing "muslin enough to be his winding-sheet." To complete his dress, "a long piece of cold iron, called a sword, dangles by his side." Doubtless the reader will readily excuse the old farmer for thinking that his son's dress was not well adapted to working in the field or milking cows; and the farmer's surprise may indeed be excused. What a change from the primitive leather-breeches days!

Amid the conquests of fashion the Friends had remained loyal to their principles concerning dress. A French traveler in 1788 who perhaps was inclined to paint everything in too favorable colors, thus describes the Quaker dress: "a round hat, generally white, cloth coat, cotton or woolen stockings, no powder on the hair, which is cut short. He carries in his pocket a little comb, and on entering a house, if his hair is disordered, he combs it before the first mirror that is seen."

Perhaps the French Revolution effected greater changes in the dress of women than in the dress of men. One of the most marked was in hair-dressing. As we have seen, in the earlier seventies the hair was displayed

in toupee and curls. Then it began to rise in various forms by means of flowers, feathers and artificial hair, pads, rolls and other appliances, until the distance from a woman's brow to the top of her head-dress was nearly three feet. This sky-towering feat was not accomplished at a single venture, but by gradual ascents. The needful skill was slowly acquired, and the mind was insensibly accustomed to the display. Nor need the reader be reminded that this arrangement was intended for the drawing-room and fair weather, and not for a gale of wind or a rain-storm. Under the influence of French fashion the huge pile was reversed, the height was lessened and the expansion was lateral. The hairy mountain was still visible, the form only was changed. An east and west view was deemed more graceful than a perpendicular one; fashion is so peculiar! Timothy Pickering wrote to his wife: "I mention to you the enormous head-dresses of the ladies here. The more I see the more I am displeased with them. 'Tis surprising how they fix such loads of trumpery on their polls; and not less so that they are by any one deemed ornamental. The Whig ladies seem as fond of them as others. I am told by a French gentleman they are in true French taste, only that they want a few French feathers. The married ladies, however, are not all infected." A hardened critic in 1779 thus writes of them: "Ladies are accused of robbing their breasts of gauze, cambric and muslin for the use of their heads, with quilts or supernumerary upper petticoats for cushions, pomatum, powder and essence above; their heads tower to the extremity of the fashion; below, a single petticoat leaves them as lank as rats."

The change to French fashions was a change in the

for a considerable period in the immediate neighborhood of some settlements. Thus the people in York County were obliged for several years to cross the Susquehanna with their grain, and make a long journey to reach a mill.[1]

Before many years, the exportation of flour began, especially to the West Indies, and the milling business proved to be very profitable. The exportation of flour was regulated by the Assembly, that body prescribing the size of the casks, the quantity to be put in them, their storage, and the kind of punishment to be administered to those who should mix any improper, unwholesome ingredient in flour. Millers, bolters and bakers were required to provide brand-marks, and wagons for conveying flour were to be covered. The counterfeiting of brand-marks was punishable; and inspectors were specially appointed to execute the law.

Next to the grain-mill, the saw-mill was of the highest importance. These were needed to prepare timber for erecting buildings. At first, hand-sawyers were employed,[2] and in Bucks County no saw-mills existed before 1730. In 1760, the assessors for the County of Philadelphia reported forty saw-mills. Oak, hickory, walnut and other lumber was sawed near the city, or rafted down the Delaware. In early days lumber conveyed from Middletown down the Susquehanna, and down other streams, was always abundant in the Philadelphia market. Saw-mills speedily multiplied along

[1] Gibson's York Co., p. 20.

[2] They received for their labor for sawing pine boards, 7 shillings per 100. The price for the same labor in 1705 was 10 shillings, which would indicate an increased demand for lumber. Boards were then 10 shillings per 100; shingles 10 shillings per 1000; timber 6 shillings per ton, and wheat 4 shillings a bushel.

the rivers in the interior where timber abounded, and many of them were owned by the industrious German. Large quantities of staves, heading and shingles, planks and boards were exported.

Flour and saw-mills were twins in this flourishing Province. The trees were large and abundant, enough seemingly for all ages, yet hardly an original monarch of the forest is now alive. The State has suffered greatly in consequence of ruthless forest butchery, regardless of Penn's far-seeing provision for retaining a fifth of the forest lands. Had not coal been discovered at an early day, the State would have been stripped still more closely of its woody mantle.

A portion of the corn and other produce of the land was consumed in the manufacture of beer. The brewing business was begun early, and regulated by law. By one of Penn's first laws every person who became drunk was required to pay five shillings, or work five days in the house of correction at hard labor, and to live on bread and water only. For a second offence the penalty was doubled. For health-drinking a fine of five shillings for every offence was imposed. The price of strong beer and ale was fixed at twopence, and beer made of molasses, at a penny a quart. In those days beer was a very common drink; the tavern license had fixed the prices of food and lodgings, and prescribed that a meal should not cost more than seven and a half pence, consisting of "beef or pork, or such like produce of the country and small beer." At the session in 1684 the Assembly increased the price of beer to three pence per Winchester quart. Laws also relating to adulteration were passed, and imposed a fine on those who were guilty of adulterating rum, brandy and other spirits by the admixture of water and other liquors.

Brewing gained a firm place in Pennsylvania, but somewhat declined in consequence of the importation of rum, and the domestic distilling of grain. Ardent spirits became so cheap that the desire for alcoholic beverages increased. The beverage then sold under the name of beer had nothing in common with malt liquors, as neither malt nor hops was consumed. Beer was simply fermented molasses, honey or sugar. Governor Gordon, in his address to the Assembly in 1713, deplored the decline of the brewing industry. When the Province was young, it excelled all others in the quality of its beer; as a consequence of the decline in brewing, the cultivation of hops was neglected. To encourage the industry, the Assembly, in 1713, imposed a duty of threepence per pound on imported hops, except those imported from Delaware and the Jerseys. The encouragement thus given to brewing was offset the same year by imposing a tapster's excise on malt liquors to the amount of one penny per gallon, which was discontinued in 1718.

In 1722 further action was taken, and the use of rum was discouraged by adding a penny on every gallon of imported molasses. Another motive for doing so was to substitute malt liquors for the molasses beer. To this end the Assembly passed an act "for encouraging the making of good beer, and for the consumption of grain." After setting forth that the use of molasses and other saccharine substances in brewing had hindered the consuming of malt, and thereby discouraged the raising of barley, a penalty was imposed on any brewer or retailer of beer who used molasses, coarse sugar or honey. The law-makers separated the sale of beer from the liquor traffic by empowering justices of

the peace to grant separate licenses to exporters, and to ale houses, on the condition that no wine, brandy, rum or other distilled liquors, mixed or unmixed, should be sold in such places.

The collection of an excise on liquors sold under twenty-five gallons, imposed by the law of 1720, was attended with great difficulty. In rural places this was quite impossible. In grain producing districts, the surplus grain was largely converted into spirits, and sold or bartered for other things. To collect the excise would have required a costly revenue service. So generally was the law violated, that in 1733 further legislation was enacted to prevent an evasion of the law.

In 1724, not many years after the erection of iron furnaces, an attempt was made to regulate the liquor traffic in the neighborhood of these places. The sale of ardent spirits to iron workers had proved "very prejudicial and injurious" to employers as well as to their men. The sale of it, therefore, was forbidden within two miles of any furnace without a license or permit recommended by the majority of the owners. This restriction did not apply to ale houses licensed under the act for encouraging brewing. At a later period the sale of strong liquors was prohibited within two miles of any muster-field or drill-ground.

The superabundance of grain, and cheapness of rum, led to much intemperance, which culminated in the Rush Temperance movement. As every farmer distilled spirits for his own use and also for his workmen, who were often paid in whiskey instead of money, the drinking habit rapidly spread. With the general manufacture and use of ardent spirits, the brewery industry made no progress. When Acrelius wrote, he remarked

dentists, wits and idiots. The next day the idolized stranger is not known in the street, except that he be wealthy, especially in money, when indeed the politeness of the citizens of Philadelphia continues to exist as long as the stranger can purchase estates, and even beyond that term—for the homage paid to wealth is a worship in which all sects unite."

The noble Frenchman relieves his picture somewhat by his fine words concerning the women. Everywhere they possessed the highest degree of virtue. "They have more sweetness and more goodness, at least as much courage, but more sensibility than the men." Good wives and mothers they were; their husbands and children and household affairs engaged their entire attention. The young women too enjoyed a liberty which in France "would seem disorderly" in going alone and walking with young men, enjoying in short the liberty of a French married woman, nor was it ever abused. Thus from a primitive simple condition, society had grown to be complex and highly stratified, and wealth had already wrought wonders in building up a social supremacy. Yet we must guard against errors in foreign judgments, as they were generally founded on narrow premises. Most of these visitors were here only a short period; they dined with a few, talked with others; but it is easy to go wrong on interiors unless one sees them, and they never saw many. Nor is the judgment true that money-worship, as we now understand the term, had already been set up, nor had the city become inhospitable. Long famed for its hospitality, its sincerity and good cheer, we are loth to believe that its character had so soon and so radically changed.

The flooding of the country with imports after the close of the war led to an era of extravagance that brought no little suffering in its train. "An honest farmer" has left an artless picture of the insidious way in which luxury crept into his household. For these many years it has lain in the dusty Packet gallery, unnoticed, apparently, by any seeker after knowledge of that time. He begins by saying that all the country was afflicted as well as himself, all too were telling their grievances, but not how their troubles came on them. It was common for people to throw the blame of their misdeeds on others, or at least to excuse their own conduct. As he was "an honest man," he could not in conscience say that any one had brought his trouble on him but himself. "Hard times, no money, says everyone. A short story of myself will show you how it came hard times, and no money—with me, at the age of sixty-five, who have lived well these forty years. My parents were poor, and they put me at twelve years of age to a farmer, with whom I lived till I was twenty-one; my master fitted me off with two stout suits of homespun, four pair of stockings, four woolen shirts, and two pair of shoes—this was my whole fortune at my setting out in the world, and I thought it a good one at twenty-two. I married me a wife, and a very working young woman she was; we took a farm of forty acres on rent; by industry we gained ahead fast. I paid my rent punctually and laid by money. In ten years I was able to buy me a farm of sixty acres, on which I became my own tenant. I then in a manner grew rich and soon added another sixty acres, with which I was content. My estate increased beyond all account. I bought several lots of out-land for my children, which

amounted to seven when I was forty-five years old. About this time I married my oldest daughter to a clever lad to whom I gave one hundred acres of my out-land. This daughter had been a working dutiful girl, and I fitted her out well, and to her mind, for I told her to take of the best of my wool and flax, to spin herself gowns, coats, stockings and shifts; nay, I suffered her to buy some cotton and make into sheets, as I was determined to do well by her. At this time my farm gave my whole family a good living on the produce of it, and left me one year with one hundred and fifty silver dollars, for I never laid out (besides my taxes), more than ten dollars a year which was for salt, nails and the like. Nothing to wear, eat or drink was purchased, as my farm provided all.

"With this saving I put money to interest, bought cattle, fatted and sold them, and made great profit, in two years, after my second daughter was courted. My wife says, Come, father, you are now rich, you know Molly had nothing but what she spun, and no other clothing has ever come into our home for any of us. Sarah must be fitted out a little, she ought to fare as well as neighbor N—'s Betty—I must have some money and go to town. Well, wife, it shall be as you think best: I never was stingy, but it seems to me that what we spin at home will do. However, wife goes down in a few days, and returns with a calico gown, a calamanco petticoat, a set of stone tea-cups, half a dozen pewter tea-spoons, and a tea-kettle, things that were never seen in my home before; they cost but little, I did not feel it, and I confess I was pleased to see them. Sarah was as well fitted out as any girl in the township. In three years more my third daughter had a spark, and wed-

ding being concluded upon, wife comes again for the purse, but when she returned, what did I see! a silken gown, silk for a cloak, looking-glass, china tea-gear, and a hundred other things with the empty purse, but this was not the worst of it. Some time before the marriage of this last daughter and ever since, this charge increased in my family; besides all sort of household furniture unknown to us before, clothing of every sort is bought, and the wheel goes only for the purpose of exchanging our substantial cloths, of flax and wool, for gauze, ribbons, silk, tea, sugar, etc. My butter, which used to go to market and brought money, is now expended on the tea-table; my time of breakfast, which used to take ten minutes in eating milk, or pottage made of it, now takes my whole family an hour at tea or coffee; my lambs, which used also to bring cash, are now eaten at home, or if sent to market, are brought back in things of no use, so that, instead of laying up one hundred and fifty dollars every year, I find now all my loose money is gone, my best debts called in and expended, and, being straitened, I can't carry on my farm to good advantage and it costs me to live (though less in family and all able to work) fifty or sixty dollars a year more than all my farm brings me. Now this has gone on a good many years and has brought hard times into my family, and if I can't reform it ruin must follow, and my land must go. I am not alone; thirty in our township have gone hand in hand with me and they all say—hard times."

The old farmer then says to the editor: "I don't know how you live; may be you are more frugal now than we are, as all of us used to be." But he declares that he is still master of his home and that he is

determined to mend his ways. He will live as he did twenty years before, when he laid up one hundred and fifty dollars a year. "No one thing to eat, drink or wear shall come into my home which is not raised on my farm, or in the township, or in the country, except salt, and iron work for repairing my buildings and tools—no tea, sugar, coffee or rum. The tea shall be sold. I shall then live and die with a good conscience; my taxes, which appear now intolerable, will then be easy; my younger children and my grandchildren will see a good example before them, and I shall feel happy in seeing a reform of abuse which has been growing on me more than twenty years."[1]

We have given this lengthy picture because it brings us so near those days. It is not an isolated one, for he says that thirty farmers in his own township were suffering like himself and from the same causes. Indeed, the evidence is abundant that for a few years after the Revolution all classes seem to have abandoned their old habits of frugality and supplying their wants by their own exertions, and as the farmers were by far the most numerous class their complainings were more frequently heard. Their situation was worsened by the falling off of exports, and a shrinkage in prices. Of course, this finally led to a return to more economical ways of living. The old farmer was right, and clearly saw that to recover he must spend less and save more; and he and thousands of others by their resolute course rescued themselves.

The taxes bore with unusual heaviness while the depression lasted; everywhere murmurings were heard over their weight, for they diminished the living fund

[1] Packet, Oct. 6, 1786.

and increased suffering. Though this weight would not have been felt and noticed in prosperous times, they now seemed to many a serious blight on their prosperity and contentment.

Another consequence of luxury was soon observable, yielding pleasure to neither sex, the growth of bachelorhood. The difficulty was not one simply of support; something more was wanted, style in living. "Wedlock, in short," said one, was "perverted from all its good old purposes to a mere scheme of splendor and parade." "All our matches nowadays," he asserts, "are calculated upon a luxury beyond what was enjoyed before. It is thought ungenteel not to be able to make a wife appear in public with some kind of taste and pomp, and therefore it is thought more convenient to avoid matrimony."[1] This ebbing of the matrimonial tide was much greater in the city than in the country, but everywhere sprang from the same causes. The desire for more expensive dress and other luxuries competed with the pleasures of married life, and the balance fell more and more on the former side. Luxury, therefore, was a usurper, as viewed by men, into the domain of matrimonial felicity, though the statement would not be complete without adding that the desire of women "to appear," as a writer expresses the idea, "in greater lustre in the world," also deterred the men from marrying. The same causes produced the same results on both sides; in other words, the old trite question was faced by them that has been faced by most of the generations of men, If you cannot have everything, what will you have? The situation had greatly changed since

[1] The writer adds: "It is incredible how many matches have been put by for the want of a coach, or an elegant tea-room."

the earlier day, before luxuries had become so numerous and inviting; for in that day the opposing scale of marriage was much lighter, and consequently marriages were far more numerous.

The desire for luxuries, finer living, was closely allied with the desire "for a town and genteel life." A writer who did not mince his words remarked that men would choke before they succeeded in the way they were then seeking for these things. Indolence and brilliant dress he reiterated were the constituent parts of a gentleman. So many had successfully attempted to get into this mode of life that poverty began to disturb the peace of all. Yet was he not right in saying that a new country can support only a small number of its inhabitants in mercantile and learned professions? Nevertheless, the profession of the law was greatly overcrowded; one quarter of the number of attorneys could easily have transacted all the business. And yet young men were crowding into the profession "as though the whole community would live by practising law." In truth, there were "not much more than two cases each court to a lawyer in a county." In the medical profession the physicians were almost as numerous as the patients, yet almost every practitioner had two or three pupils studying with him "and all complaining that it is such healthy times they cannot get a living by their business."[1]

The forming and hardening of classes wrought many changes in society and industry. It is said that in India a person who is not a member of a caste would be absolutely helpless, shut out of all society. To be a member of a caste is an essential part of existence. In

[1] Packet, June 13, 1786.

the early provincial days either the caste system or any stratification akin to classes was unknown; all were helpful to each other, for all were on nearly the same plane of dependence and material condition. But it was inevitable that differences should appear—differences in mental and moral temperament, in taste and education, in physical surroundings derived from unequal prosperity. The possessor of fine taste and education could find no more pleasure in the society of a boor in that day than he can in ours. The possessor of a fine moral sense sought to escape from the society of a coarse vicious man as eagerly as a trout darts away from any impurity in a stream.

In 1788 a writer divided the social strata then existing into the cream, the new milk, the skim milk and the canaille; and asserts that in private parties and in public meetings the distinctions were accurately preserved. The cream curdled into a small group; the new milk floated between the wish to coalesce with the cream and to escape from the skim milk; while the skim milk in a fluent kind of independence laughed at the anxiety of the new milk and grew sour on the arrogance of the cream. Hence, he asserted that the concerts and assemblies had lost their charm, "for the superiority established on the one hand and the mortifications felt on the other seem to have produced this resolution; that never again shall the ears of cream and new milk listen to the same melody, or their feet caper. Notwithstanding these variances," he adds, "each class imitates its immediate superior, and from the conduct of one you may easily conceive the conduct of all."

The theatre had been under the ban ever since 1774,

when Congress declared that the members would discourage every kind of extravagance and dissipation, especially horse-racing, all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, entertainments, and all other diversions and amusements. The American theatre in South Street was closed and silent until the British took possession in 1777. After the retaking of the city the Southwark theatre remained open for a time, when Congress resolved that any person holding an office under the United States who should promote or encourage the attendance at such places should be deemed unworthy of office and be dismissed. And this resolution was soon after fortified by the sanction of the State.

Notwithstanding this prohibition, performances of various kinds were given, and at the same time the war for opening the theatres was begun. One plan was to open and tax them. The newspapers ranged themselves on both sides; the Friends presented a memorial to the Executive council in opposition. In this it was remarked that "the nature and tendency of these exhibitions, unhappily introducing a variety of intemperance, dissoluteness and debauchery, must necessarily affect every pious, judicious mind with real concern, and excite a tender compassion toward unwary youth, whose minds, becoming vitiated by a taste of delusive pleasures, grow indisposed to the regular, laudable and virtuous satisfaction of domestic and social life, and are often gradually drawn into infidelity and corrupt principles, of which experience has given abundant proof in those places where such ensnaring amusements are allowed and encouraged." The Friends concluded by calling on the Council "to put an entire stop to the undertaking, however plausibly disguised to elude the penalties of the law."

Neither State nor Council was yet ready to throw open the doors of the theatre. In the meantime plays were performed in disguise. Thus one of the advertisements consisted of "lectures—being a mixed entertainment of representation and harmony." It was to consist of three parts. The first part was "a serious investigation of Shakespeare's morality, illustrated by his most striking characters, faithfully applied to the task of mingling profit with amusement." The second part was "a practical introduction to a display of characters, comic and satiric, in which those light follies and foibles that escape more serious animadversion will be exposed to the lash of ridicule, and a scene of innocent mirth be opened to the heart without sacrificing sense to laughter or decency to wit." The third part was a "dissertation on the passions, showing the different complexions they assume." The advertisement was a very thin cover of a play, and it was evident that the spirit of the law was utterly disregarded. Yet it remained on the statute-book, and every year an attempt was made to repeal it. Finally in 1789, an act was passed authorizing the president of the Executive Council and the chief justice and president of the court of common pleas, or either of them, to license theatrical entertainments for three years, while unauthorized exhibitions were to be fined £200. Thus, after long persisting, theatrical managers prevailed in gaining the right to present their plays without violating the law. The Assembly Committee of 1787 did indeed report in favor of a total repeal of the inhibition, for "they had been led to contemplate the stage as the great mark of genius, and, as such, a natural and necessary concomitant of our independence. We have cast off a foreign

yoke or government; but shall we still be dependent for those productions which do most honor to human nature until we can afford due encouragement and protection to every species of our own literature?" But two years more must pass before a majority of the Assembly are ready or bold enough to vitalize this opinion.

CHAPTER XX.

RELIGION.

Section I.

The Provincial Period.

To the thoughtful of every age religion has been a question of transcendent import, and nothing of its gravity was lost by the speech and conduct of William Penn. From early manhood his liberty to worship God in the manner revealed by the highest light he knew had been restrained by the cold and unfeeling arm of civil power. Twice imprisoned for his religious belief, constantly seeking, and often successfully, to secure freedom for others who had been proscribed or imprisoned for a similar cause, by much experience Penn had learned the worth of religious liberty. At last, acquiring an empire of his own, he planted therein his dearly cherished principles, which, quickened by a more genial sun than had ever warmed them before, sprang up and joyfully grew. The first law enacted by Penn established liberty of conscience, whereby man could think and worship as freely as the waters of the Delaware ran to the sea. So this broad-minded, far-seeing founder established freedom of religious thought and belief on a basis broad as the heavens; broad enough for men of all nations and climes.

No wonder that the people of the old world, having suffered long from public oppression, by sword, by

pillage and by fire, eagerly embraced Penn's invitation to join him in building such a State. No wonder, too, that they came in ever-increasing numbers; for having given his life to resist civil and religious tyranny, he had a wider European reputation than any other man who had come to America.

That the leading object with many of the early settlers was to enjoy their religious rights no one will dispute. "Our business in this new land," wrote one soon after coming, "is not so much to build houses and establish factories and promote trade and manufactures that we may enrich ourselves, as to erect temples of holiness and righteousness which God may delight in; to lay such lasting frames and foundations of temperance and virtue as may support the superstructures of our future happiness."

For many years the Friends were the religious leaders in the Province. Outnumbering all others, and led by Penn, a mighty impetus was given to the Quaker movement. Besides the English, many Welsh and Germans who had adopted the same belief hastened to join the migration to America. Of the Scotch-Irish, Germans and Huguenots drawn to Pennsylvania by the powerful attractions offered by Penn, we have spoken elsewhere.

Most of the earlier settlers were religious, chiefly Friends, Presbyterians, German Reformed and Lutherans. As Penn's gracious shade was sufficient to cover all, there was, also, a large and interesting assortment of unique beliefs; no other Province sheltering so great a variety. Hither came all religious oddities who, for the first time, were free to fly in an undisturbed atmosphere their religious kites. This modern pantheon,

erected by a Friend, drew for a generation a more varied concourse of religious worshippers than any other place in the world.

Penn's legislation indicated clearly his profound religious belief. Some of his laws savored strongly of restricting action, though not accompanied by severe penalties like the blue laws of New England. They forbade profane swearing, lying, drunkenness, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, theatrical exhibitions, card playing and the like. On the first day of the week all were to abstain from daily labor that "they might better dispose themselves to worship God according to their understandings." Litigation was prevented by the appointment of arbitrators, and controversies between Friends were adjusted by their monthly meetings. Well might the freemen exclaim, after enacting these laws, "This is the best day we have ever seen;" and another said, "We may worship God according to the dictates of a Divine principle, free from the mouldy error of tradition. Here we may thrive in peace and retirement in the lap of unadulterated nature; here we may improve an unsound course of life on the virgin Elysian shore."

One of the marked characteristics of Penn's legislation was his regard for the Indians. Genuine believers in peace, the Friends brought no weapons of war to America. If tradition be believed, the Indians assembled fully armed under the Shackamaxon tree, while the Friends had neither gun nor sword. Yet into the presence of that motley throng which might easily have overwhelmed them, the Friends came without the slightest fear. Seeing them unarmed the Indians threw down their tomahawks, bows and arrows. Never be-

fore had the Indians beheld such a scene. No wonder they were impressed by Penn as they had never been by the Dutch and Swedes whom they had seen with their guns during fifty years or more.

The constitution framed by Penn harmonized with the views of the Friends; and in council and Assembly they shared fully in serving the State. Indeed, for a long time the civil offices were filled mostly by them. So long as Penn stayed in the Province the proceedings of the council, over which he presided, were opened not with prayer, but in solemn silence after the manner of the Friends.

The test of citizenship and for holding office provided that no person confessing an Almighty God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and desiring to live peaceably under civil government, should be molested or prejudiced for his persuasion and practice, nor should be obliged at any time to frequent or maintain religious worship, but should freely enjoy his liberty. By another law all officers of the Province, as well as electors, were required to profess faith in Jesus Christ. These laws were active for more than ten years, no one either in the Province or in England complaining of their operation. During Fletcher's rule, he summoned a General Assembly whose members, before assuming their duties, were required to take the oath of allegiance prescribed by the act of Parliament, and to subscribe to the test of disbelief in the chief peculiarities of the Roman Catholic faith. This was the first attempt to introduce into the Province a special religious test as a qualification for office. After Penn regained his Province the same requirements were applied to all public officers before fulfilling their duties,

and were incorporated into the third charter adopted in 1696. An eminent writer on Pennsylvania history says it is hard to understand how such a test could have been interposed under Penn's direct authority. Though the test in form was very elaborate, its essential characteristics were rejection of the cardinal tenets of Roman Catholicism, and a belief in the divinity of Christ and the inspiration of the Scriptures. This test not conflicting with the belief of the religious persons in the Province, except a small number of Roman Catholics, why should any one have objected strenuously who was willing to submit to the test imposed by the first charter?

As the Friends in the beginning comprised nearly the entire population for a long time their meetings were the only religious assemblies. Within two months after the landing of Penn, a monthly and quarterly meeting were established; and three months after the founding of Philadelphia no less than nine weekly meetings beside three monthly meetings were held in the Province. Within two years after its settlement eight hundred persons were in regular attendance on first and week days at the meetings in Philadelphia. Two years later the number of meetings had increased to twenty, and in 1700 the yearly meeting represented at least forty separate assemblies. This increase arose not simply from immigration; many were drawn to the Friends by religious conviction. Of these the Welsh were the most numerous.

It was not long, however, before the serenity of the Quaker fold was invaded by a fierce controversy lasting several years. For fifteen years the unity of the Friends had been complete. The society had moved

along as serenely as on a summer sea; but toward the close of 1691, the stillness was broken by the apostasy of George Keith. Of unusual literary attainments, he came to Philadelphia in 1689 and was appointed to the head mastership of the charity school recently founded in that city. Formerly a rigid Presbyterian, he had changed to the Quaker faith, but finding fault with the discipline, sought to correct it and prepared an essay on the subject that was presented for approval to a meeting of ministers. Unwilling to sanction the paper, they referred it to the yearly meeting. With this body the paper fared no better, and some one proposed to submit it to the yearly meeting of London. To this tribunal Keith objected, preferring to abandon its publication. Becoming captious and self-willed, Keith's wrath increased to a flame. He was then accused of unsoundness of doctrine, especially "concerning the efficacy and universality of divine grace." The lines were now fairly drawn between Keith and his opponents. The dissension grew; other improprieties followed. The conduct of the meetings was arraigned, their active members denounced, and charges of unsoundness were preferred against the society. At a quarterly meeting Keith roundly accused them of meeting together "to cloak heresies and deceit," declaring "there were more damnable heresies and doctrines of devils among the Quakers than among any profession of Protestants." Some Friends visited him to obtain a retraction. He did not listen to their counsels, and told them plainly that he "trampled upon the judgment of the meeting as dirt under his feet." All hope of reconciliation vanished, and the society issued a declaration of disunity with him for seeking not only by unjust charges

to render Friends contemptible in the eyes of the world, but also to divide and scatter them. Keith therefore was disowned. He determined to appeal to the yearly meeting. He had numerous friends, and the quarrel did not easily die. Neutralized passages from the writings of the Friends were taken to prove the charges of unsoundness in doctrine, and to mislead the unwary. Nor was his course entirely unsuccessful; many joined his party, and the schism widened. Separate meetings were held at Philadelphia, Neshaminy and other places. Families were divided; husbands and wives, professedly of the same faith, worshiped no longer in the same house. Says a historian of the Friends: "Scarcely in the history of the society has there been a more lamentable exhibition of the devastating effects of a dividing spirit than was manifested on this occasion." Though he did not bring his appeal before the authorized body of Friends, Keith continued his plotting. As his conduct was condemned generally by the society in America, his power gradually declined; and he tried to restore his influence by obtaining a favorable judgment from the yearly meeting at London. At last his strongest adherents began to waver in their allegiance. Thus deserted, he renounced the views of the Friends, joined the Episcopal ministry and returned to America as a missionary "to gather Quakers from Quakerism to the mother Church." While playing the missionary role he frequently sought to allure the Friends into the arena of public disputation. After two years he returned to England boasting of the success of his mission in the new world, especially in proselyting Quakers. Though his attempt failed, his tongue did not, and he continued his attacks after his influence had entirely ceased.

With the practice of thrift came prosperity, and acquiring means to aid others, the Friends were not remiss in deeds of charity. In 1692 money was raised to redeem their brethren held in captivity in the Barbary States; and in 1697 they sent £200 for the relief of their suffering fellow members in the eastern part of New England.

From time to time they were visited by ministers from England, attracted by their success and peculiar situation. Two of the most distinguished were Thomas Story and Roger Gill. Penn and Story were warm friends. During Story's visit much sickness occurred in the Province; within a short period two hundred and thirty persons had succumbed to the ravages of the yellow fever. Few if any houses escaped its attacks. Learning of the sufferings of those in Pennsylvania Gill returned from New England to minister consolation.

The Episcopalians were the first to contest the field with the Friends. The state church in England, it became the policy of the British ministry to establish, if possible, its pre-eminence in America. The royal charter endowed the Bishop of London with power to appoint a chaplain for any congregation, of not less than twenty persons, who desired a minister. In 1693 the Episcopal church acquired ascendency in New York, and the assembly passed an act "for settling and maintaining a ministry." In 1700 the Roman Catholic province of Maryland also passed an act "for the service of Almighty God and the establishment of religion according to the Church of England." Four years later a similar position was gained in Carolina. Before this time Christ Church had been established in Phila-

delphia. The officiating priest, undaunted alike by his isolation, or by numerous Friends, petitioned the crown to provide for an income for him from the customs on tobacco. No means were left untried to overthrow the religious liberty of the Province. In 1737 the clergy of Maryland, now enjoying ecclesiastical authority, attempted to extend their power over Pennsylvania. They prayed the king "that a regular clergy be encouraged under royal protection, to reside not only on the borders, but also in the whole Province of Pennsylvania." The attempt received no encouragement from the king.

The most active spirit in trying to establish a state church in Pennsylvania was Colonel Quarry, a judge of the court of admiralty for New York and Pennsylvania. An enemy of every form of democratic government, he constantly sent false reports of the condition of the Province to the board of trade, and in various ways tried to uproot the authority of the proprietary. Not content with seeing the Anglican church on the same plane as the meetings of the Friends, he tried to secure sectarian domination. Liberty of conscience had attracted men of every shade of religious opinion, and one consequence for years was the absence of all heart-burnings for ecclesiastical supremacy. Not until the advent of Quarry, prompted by the Episcopalians in England, and inspired by the renegade Keith, was anything ever heard in the Province of ecclesiastical control. Again and again this imaginary Samson attempted to pull down the pillars of the proprietary temple. One of his brilliant deeds was obtaining an order for the enforcement of oaths on all not conscientiously opposed to them. This excluded Friends from

acting as magistrates, as they were unwilling to ask others to do what they themselves believed to be wrong. Again he sought to overthrow Penn as well as the Friends in the Province, by exaggerating the evil consequences of attempting to live without either engaging in war or making war preparations. Indeed, he exerted every effort to secure the repeal of Penn's charter, persistently urging the futility of successful government by the principle of non-resistance. He was, in truth, so villainous that Penn finally denounced him in the harshest terms, and his representations to the government were labelled "swish-swash bounces." Never ceasing to exasperate the Friends, he continued his opposition to the proprietary authority until removed.

In 1718 Penn died. What shall be said concerning his "Holy Experiment" at the time of his death? The population was not less than forty thousand. Of these, one-fourth lived in the city and half of them were Friends. Besides the Episcopalians, the other leading religious bodies were Presbyterians, Lutherans and German Reformed. The first day of the week was religiously observed; there were no theatres or dancing schools; no pawnbrokers, beggars or lotteries; no soldiers; no martial spirit. During Penn's lifetime a duel never disgraced the Province; horse racing and brutal sports were unknown. The instrument of public authority was the constable's staff, and "never," says Clarkson, "was a government maintained with less internal disturbances, or more decorum." Who shall say that to a considerable degree the Province had not fulfilled Penn's expectations? There was some cursing and drunkenness, cheating of the Indians, dissatisfaction in the Assembly, and contentions among religious

sects; yet the general tone of society was sound. Doubtless the absence of great individual wealth, the necessity of working in order to live, and the common spirit of mutual dependence contributed in no slight degree to make men thoughtful, humble and religious. Not long after Penn's death the moral and religious decadence began.

Twenty years after establishing the government, the Presbyterians began to arrive in large numbers. Nearly six thousand Scotch-Irish came before 1729; and more than twice that number arrived annually for several years afterward. At first, some English and Welsh dissenters and French Protestants with a few Baptists assembled for religious worship in a storehouse in the city, to whom Mr. Watts, a Baptist minister, ministered. Not pleased with their relations, the Presbyterians called a minister from Boston, Jedediah Andrews, who came to Philadelphia in 1698. Soon after his arrival, dissensions between the Baptists and Presbyterians rose, and the Baptists withdrew, leaving the others in possession of the store-house. Here they continued to worship until 1704, when they moved to a new meeting-house on Market Street. The next year a Presbytery was formed in the city, and eleven years later their number had increased enough to form a synod, comprising the presbyteries of Philadelphia, New Castle, Snow Hill, and Long Island. After the formation of the synod, the body continued to receive additions, and by 1732 there were fifteen or sixteen Presbyterian churches in Pennsylvania.

Large numbers of the Scotch-Irish journeyed westward towards the frontier. In their march toward the Susquehanna they met the Germans, but their ways were too diverse for harmonious living. The proprie-

tary therefore urged these energetic settlers to move along southern and western lines instead of mingling with the Germans then in Lancaster County and further north. There was land enough for all, and accordingly they went into York and Cumberland counties. Thus parting in the early days, they have never formed a common stream of civic and religious life. Their business relations have indeed been constant, but without corresponding social intercourse, while their religious relations have been still more distinct.

The ministers who came with the Scotch-Irish were scholars; among these were Makemie, Alison, Blair, the Tennents, and others who stamped themselves on the men and institutions of their time. Besides founding common schools they organized and conducted classical academies. Thus the Province soon had a considerable number of higher institutions of learning, the offspring of these learned and good men.

The Germans were more numerous than the Scotch-Irish, and more diverse in their beliefs. Many Lutherans came to escape political oppression. In their new homes they found no German ministers nor schoolmasters; and they were not drawn toward English teachers and preachers. The few ministers accompanying the large number of emigrants in 1710 gradually went elsewhere, while those who remained exerted very slight influence. Thousands of educated German Lutherans now scattered in the Province never entered a church or cared for one. "Many," says an eminent writer, "were so utterly indifferent to all religion that it became proverbial to say that they belonged to the Pennsylvania church."[1]

[1] Reichel.

The German Reformed were as numerous as the Lutherans, and perhaps came here at an earlier date. The greater number were from the Palatinate, and settled in Montgomery County, in Germantown and in other places. The oldest German Reformed congregation is supposed to be that at Goshenhoppen, organized in 1717. Another congregation built a church at Germantown in 1733. In a few years there were thousands of German Reformed immigrants in Pennsylvania for whose spiritual welfare no one cared. Without churches, without schools, without ministers, they grew up in ignorance and vice.

The Mennonites were fewer in number than the Lutherans or German Reformed. Their most pronounced peculiarities were disbelief in infant baptism, refusal to take a judicial oath and to bear arms. They were not poor settlers, and therefore were able to make a judicious selection of land. Economy, industry, frugality, and simplicity of dress, and in their meeting-houses, were their chief characteristics.

The Tunkers or German Baptists also refused to take an oath or to bear arms, and believed in baptism by immersion. The most active spirit was Peter Becker who, in 1723, was chosen official baptizer of the church of Germantown. They increased in numbers but retained the simplicity of their forefathers, wearing long beards, and disregarding education.

From this sect sprung the Siebentager or German Seventh Day Baptists. They lived at Ephrata. Some of their wooden buildings with their little windows and narrow walls still stand. These voluntary exiles in order to enjoy greater mental and moral independence,—Protestant friars, among whom were men of letters,—

lived simple and severe lives, not unlike the order founded by St. Francis of Assisi. Father Friedsam the founder possessed great natural ability and a lively imagination. In his wanderings through Germany he adopted the views of the Pietists, and resolved, in 1720, to emigrate to Pennsylvania and dedicate his life to God in contemplative solitude. Having learned the weaver's trade with the Tunkers, he removed to Conestoga and settled near Mill Creek. Becker visited this neighborhood and met their baptizer, Friedsam, who soon afterward became a minister of the new Tunker congregation. Ere long he discovered that the Tunkers were wrong in their observance of a day for Sunday, and that the seventh was established and sanctified by the Lord. Heeding his discovery, his congregation set apart the seventh day for public worship. They worked on Sundays though they were often fined for their diligence. Men and women flocked from all sides; even married women left their families to lead a more holy life, which influenced them to write a tract against matrimony, entitled, "The Penitentiary Carnal Man." In 1732 Friedsam went secretly to a cell on the banks of the Cocalico, previously occupied by a hermit. Discovering his retreat, some adherents followed, settling around him in solitary cottages and imitating his mode of life. He won over a German Reformed minister, who proved a very valuable associate. Some Lutherans were also led away, and among them was Conrad Weiser, the famous Indian interpreter. As the number of hermits increased, a conventicle and a monastic society were established. Kedar, the first convent for sisters, was built in 1735, and three years later Zion was built for the brethren. They adopted the habit of the

Capuchins or White Friars, consisting of a shirt, trousers and vest with a long white woolen gown or cowl in winter, and one of linen for the summer. For the sisters the dress was slightly changed, petticoats for trousers, and a cowl of a somewhat different form. Monastic names were given to all who entered the cloister. Though the community was a republic in form, all possessing equality and freedom, yet Father Friedsam held very despotic sway. One of the most remarkable men of this society was Israel Eckerling, or Brother Onesimus. He became friar of the brethren's convent in 1740, and supported by Father Friedsam, his word became the supreme law. Assisted by his own brothers, he sought to acquire sole control of the property of the brotherhood, and by extending its business, to increase the power and influence of the cloister. A grist mill, oil mill, woolen mill, and paper mill were erected, and still larger buildings were added. Sharon, a new sisters' house, was erected, and in 1746 a new brothers' house called Bethel was finished. This was three stories in height and contained eight large rooms. To each of these belonged six or eight small dormitories, scarcely large enough to contain a closet, an hour glass, and a sleeping bench with a block of wood for a pillow. The passages leading to the cells, and through the different parts of both convents, were barely wide enough to admit a person. The windows contained only four panes of glass, and the outer walls were shingled. Before beginning its erection a dispute rose concerning the length of the house, some desiring 66 feet, others 99, and others 100. Happily one of the number had a dream that solved the difficulty. He dreamed that the circle meant God, and the stroke man.

If 66 was selected God was placed below and man above; if 100, then man stood before God; hence 99 was preferable, because God stood above and man below. This dream settled the contention, and 99 was adopted. For a long period the hour of religious worship was midnight, and the meeting was often prolonged until daybreak, every one then going to work. At other times no meetings were held, "that all might have time to bring into practice what they had been taught." Especially among the sisters much time was devoted to music and ornamental writing. Father Friedsam was a poet and musical composer, though of a very peculiar order. For fifty years this society flourished, exerting no small influence among the people around Ephrata. An eminent writer says "this fact shows only too plainly how low must have been the state of religious and Christian life among the Germans of Pennsylvania."

The Schwenkfelders were of the smaller German sects. At no time did they display much religious activity, either in the missionary field or in polemical controversy. Thankfully enjoying the religious freedom of Pennsylvania, they lived quiet and peaceful lives, following high standards of living. A Silesian noble, Kaspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig, Counsellor to the Duke of Liegnitz, was the founder. He was a contemporary of Luther, of liberal education, and active in the service of his country. Differing from Luther, and still more widely from the Roman Catholic Church, and persecuted by both, many of the Schwenkfelders desired to leave their country. Some sought shelter in Saxony, while others were protected by Count Zinzendorf. Endeavoring to procure for them free transportation to

Georgia, he succeeded only in acquiring a grant of land. In 1734 one hundred and eighty left Berthelsdorf, led by George Wies and soon followed by Spangenberg. Changing their plan, they went to Philadelphia and settled principally on the Skippack and Perkiomen.

Not the least remarkable of the many sects were the Separatists, whose only fixed principle was to oppose all other religious associations and societies. Some not only refused to join any Christian denomination, but impelled by sectarian fanaticism, avoided all human society, and lived as hermits, exposed to constant dangers from the Indians. Others pretended to be recipients of a special divine revelation, and called themselves the inspired. Another branch professed perfection, maintaining that those who received the new birth sinned no more, consequently whatever they did was right and good. This branch called "The New Born," was founded by a Palatinate named Matthias Bauman, and flourished but for a short time in Oley township in Berks county. Another "Spiritual Society," consisting largely of unmarried men of liberal education, was founded by John Kelpius, an Austrian, who came to Philadelphia in 1694. Forty persons joined him and settled on the Ridge, then a complete wilderness. They called their society, "The Woman in the Wilderness." Ten years afterwards Conrad Matthäi, a noble Swiss, joined them, and also Christopher Witt, a famous doctor and magician.

Of the Pietists described, what shall be said? More than one hundred associations existed within a radius of fifty miles from Philadelphia. In lonely retreats they spent lives of silence and contemplation like the monks of the middle ages, forming a strong contrast to

the bustling, energetic settlers around them. What strange influences had led these truly religious people to seek the far-off wilderness and there indulge in musings so foreign to their time? A few years though were enough to bring these to an end. How different and painful might their existence have proved, had Penn attempted, as was so often done by others having the power, to constrain all into conformity with his own belief. By letting them alone the world in due time learned that theirs was no perennial fountain, but a shallow spring soon to run dry.

SECTION II.

The Provincial Period (continued).

The history of the Moravians is unlike that of many of the sects already described. John Huss, the forerunner of this society, was one of the noblest characters of all time. Persecuted in the old world, the Moravians sought an asylum in the new. Count Zinzendorf obtained a grant of land in Georgia, and in 1735 a settlement was begun. Under the leadership of Bishop Nitschmann a church was organized the following year. Ere long war between England and Spain interfered with the work, and the Moravians, refusing to bear arms, emigrated to Philadelphia with George Whitefield, the famous preacher. They bought a domain of five thousand acres at the Forks of the Delaware, and began to build a large school house for negro children. The land was purchased by Whitefield, but a question of doctrine caused a rupture, and they were ordered to leave. Happily at this time Bishop Nitschmann returned from Europe and purchased Bethlehem, an

extensive tract on the Lehigh River ten miles south of Whitefield's land, and the colony again began work. Afterward, Whitefield's land was also purchased, and called the Barony of Nazareth. Nominally, it belonged to the Countess von Zinzendorf. On this tract several settlements were organized. The expenses of emigration remaining unpaid, the brethren united in a semi-communistic association, Bethlehem forming the centre. It was a communism not of goods, but of labor. Each settler was free to choose or reject the plan, while retaining exclusive control of his own property. Participants gave time and work, receiving in return the necessaries and comforts of life. This system was called Economy and was admirably adapted to their peculiar wants. It continued for twenty years, and sufficed to defray the expenses of ordinary emigration, to furnish the colony with daily support, and to maintain a mission among the Indians, besides an extensive itinerary among the white settlers in various parts of the country. In 1762 the Economy at Bethlehem and Nazareth was discontinued on the final departure of Bishop Spangenberg to Europe, who had administered the affairs of the Moravians with great wisdom. For the next eighty years the other peculiarities of the settlements were rigidly maintained at these places, and also at Litiz, a third colony, established in Lancaster County.

In this early period one of the most interesting undertakings by the Moravians was an attempt by Count Zinzendorf to unite the German religious denominations of the Province in "the Church of God in the Spirit." Circulars were sent, inviting members of all denominations to attend a meeting at Germantown, not

for the purpose of disputing, but of agreeing, if possible, in the most important matters of faith, and in promoting mutual love and forbearance. The first synod was held in January, 1742. The most prominent sects present were the Lutherans, German Reformed, Mennonites, Tunkers, Schwenkfelders, Siebentagers, Separatists, Hermits and Moravians. When the Siebentagers received the circular "a council of war was held in the camp," and it was resolved that a brother in Zion, and some fathers should attend the synod. Curiously enough, these synodic meetings had the effect of increasing the religious warfare rather than of allaying it, for the members, instead of confining themselves to outward forms and ceremonies, burned their way into the very heart of Christianity itself. Resolutions were unanimously adopted, presenting a common belief in some of the cardinal truths of Christianity, and the conference ended in peace. Nevertheless, the waters were destined to remain not long untroubled. Prior Onesimus, the Tunker representative, treated by Zinzendorf with great consideration, desired that the next synod should be held at Ephrata, but was strenuously opposed by Father Friedsam. It was, therefore, held in Faulkner's Swamp, truly a fitting place for a body of men in such hopeless confusion concerning their beliefs. Seven synods were held ; one by one the different denominations withdrew, until finally only the Moravians were left. So ended the first attempt in the Province to establish Christian unity. It has been said that the result might have been different had more consideration been given to discussion, and to the working of the leaven of the spirit of unity among the representatives and their sects. At

the fifth synod, held in Germantown, it was declared that "Pennsylvania is a complete Babel. The first thing to be accomplished is to liberate its sighing prisoners, which cannot be done according to the common rule. Apostolic powers are required." Something more than common rules were indeed required to bring concord from such confusion; even "apostolic powers" might have proved ineffective. Yet this result was accomplished in a large measure by a slower agency. In less than half a century most of those who had differed radically disappeared, leaving to succeeding generations the older and broader currents of religious faith, untroubled by the vagaries of the "Rosicrucians," "The Hermits on the Wissahickon" or "The Woman in the Wilderness."

The Moravians were a missionary church. From the beginning they sought to Christianize the Indians, nor were their efforts unavailing. Believers in peace, like the Friends, and making their professions good by daily practice, they gained the confidence of the Indians by treating them with inflexible honesty, and thus prepared the way for religious teachings. Among the Moravian missionaries was David Zeisberger, whose intelligent and unselfish devotion to this fated race has been beautifully described by De Schweinitz. He wandered among the fierce Iroquois, and in the far west, everywhere kindly treated, for he was a messenger of good will and peace. At times, it is true, the integrity of his mission was suspected, and he was regarded merely as a courier to persuade them into parting with their lands. No saintlier spirit ever roamed through the American forests. If his missionary work did not blaze with the fiery zeal of the Jesuits among the

Hurons, and if his life was less tragic than theirs, no one can doubt that within him glowed the strongest desire for their moral elevation.

He and his fellow workers were confronted with difficulties far more serious than perils in the wilderness, though these have led many a less resolute spirit to falter and retire. The Indians were indignant over their ill-treatment by the invading race. Their early figurative expression for their homes, "night lodgings," had become literal, for they saw clearly themselves regarded with contempt, and their rights disregarded. The government endeavored to protect them from the rapacity of white traders, but every regulation proved unavailing.

"These traders formed a class of their own; bold, courageous, with a sagacity almost equal to that of the Indian, but unscrupulous and dishonest, of degraded morals, intent upon their own advantage, and indifferent to the rights of the natives." But far the greatest enemy of the Indians was intemperance, and for its introduction and awful work the whites were responsible.

Though not describing the efforts of these missionaries to convert the children of the wilderness to the Christian faith, we must linger over their first expedition to the country of the Cayugas. The party consisted of Cammerhoff, bishop of the Moravians, Zeisberger, and a chief of the Cayugas, his wife and two children. Zeisberger proposed to ascend the Susquehanna as far as the present boundary of New York. The baggage was put on board, the indispensable rifle and powder horn, the hatchet, flint and steel. Waving a last farewell to his friends on the bank, Zeisberger seized the paddle, and using it with the expertness of

an Indian, the canoe glided swiftly toward the famed country of the Iroquois.

De Schweinitz tells the story of their strange adventures. In the evening of the first day their canoes were fastened to the shore, and a walnut bark hut built, in which they kindled a fire. On the one side, wrapped in their blankets, lay the missionaries; on the other, the Indians. Similar shelters were erected every night. Near the northern boundary of the present County of Wyoming, a village was reached in which lived some Christian Indians. Here the party stopped a day to visit these "Brown Sheep," as the Indian converts were called. "The winding course of the river after leaving this village, led them through a primeval wilderness. Wooded hills stretched from the Susquehanna to the spurs of the Alleghenies, with the young foliage of early summer clothing them in a mantle of soft green, variegated by the flowers of the tulip trees and the blossoms of gorgeous forest shrubs. Sweeping around bluffs, the stream in many places burst into wild rapids, through which it was almost impossible to paddle a canoe. Ducks rose at their approach from the coves between the hills, or the startled deer bounded back into the thicket. Above their heads clouds of wild pigeons passed on their swift way, while basking upon rocks in the sun, or coiled with head erect, they saw occasionally, and one day in extraordinary numbers, that terror of the American wilderness, the mottled rattlesnake."

Through such scenes they traveled for nearly ten days, shooting game for food, conversing with the Indians, and listening at night to the chief's tales of the heroism of his ancestors. Finally the southern boundary of Lake Cayuga was reached, and advancing

along its eastern shore, they came to the spot which their guide approached with proud steps and glowing eyes. The trees all around were full of figures and curious symbols carved on the bark, telling of battles won, and other deeds of war. Every civilized nation has sought to record its chronicles in pillars of stone; the Indian, less advanced, used the forest trees to preserve his fame. In this forest metropolis the Moravians were kindly treated, and lived in the lodge of a sachem. After some days they continued their journey to the country of the Senecas, a beautiful valley, blooming like a garden. Thus far their eyes had everywhere fallen on beauty, and kindness had been lavished on them; but now their joy vanished. They had reached a village of drunken Indians, all shouting, laughing and dancing in wild confusion. Zeisberger and Cammerhoff immediately realized their critical situation. They were invited to take part in the feast. To offend might prove instant death; while to join in the revelry was contrary to their principles. The Indians pressed around with threatening looks, and insisted that Zeisberger should at least drink their health. Seeing no way of escape, he barely lifted the proffered cup to his lips, and then the Indians let him go. Rejoining the bishop, they prepared for rest; but there was none. The savages burst into their lodge shouting and singing, showing marks of fierce anger. Before completing their journey, they suffered still more severely from the drunkenness of the Indians in other places. Yet they escaped all perils, and though Cammerhoff was much exhausted, they reached Bethlehem in safety, having traveled more than sixteen hundred miles on horseback, afoot, and in their canoe.

For many years the Moravians continued their work with varying success. Intemperance and wars between the Indians and the whites were the chief hindrances. Again and again were their labors almost ready to blossom, when war suddenly cut down the plant so faithfully cultivated.

Perhaps the Moravians would have found a more congenial soil among the Germans, for after a few years they were in sore need of religious teachers. There were more than enough mystics, but the followers of Luther and Zwingli cannot be blamed for declining to partake of such nebulous food. As their governments at home had established churches and schools, these immigrants did not understand why the Province should not care for their spiritual and educational interests. In many places, what little religious light once burned, had flickered and expired. Very different were the lives of the neighboring Swedish Lutherans, who for a long period had had their regular pastors. Yet the Swedish Lutheran ministers confined their work within the narrow bounds of their own sect, while some sadly impaired their spiritual teachings, for immediately after the Sunday service they repaired to the nearest tavern and spent the remainder of the day in drinking and frolicking with their parishioners.

The religious condition of the Germans was imperiled by the rapid influx of so many without their pastors or religious teachers Still worse, some preachers were frauds, resorting to the pulpit to earn a living. Among these rogues was one Carl Rudolph, "Prince of Wurtemberg," probably an army deserter. Posing as a minister, he conducted an expedition from Georgia through the seaport provinces, cheating, steal-

ing and foraging on German settlers. In each locality displaying abundant proof of his dissolute manners, he yet found persons whom he could inveigle by his persuasive arts. Others dared to act as pastors, baptizing children and marrying people without ecclesiastical authority; of these may be mentioned parson Freymouth, who lived beyond the Blue Mountains. Finally in 1742 Muhlenberg came. Too long had the Germans of the old world neglected their children in the new. Lutheran churches then existed at Philadelphia, Lancaster, Germantown, New Hanover and The Trappe. No Lutheran pastor had ministered regularly to any of them, though Count Zinzendorf was preaching to the Lutherans in Philadelphia and was not inclined to withdraw. There was a formal meeting between these two eminent worthies of the Christian faith, which Muhlenberg has vividly described. Having gained possession of the church he began his ministry.

Perhaps in its early days the Lutheran church had a greater variety of preachers than at any other period. One of the truly good men who unwittingly plunged his church into a sea of trouble was Handschuch, pastor of the church at Lancaster. At the beginning of his ministry he lived as a bachelor in quiet retirement. Then he took a house and employed as a servant the daughter of one of his deacons. No one found fault with this, but the trouble began soon after he told her that it seemed to him God's will that he should marry her, a revelation to which she readily yielded. Nothing could be said against her except that she had formerly kept a cake-stand in a public market at Lancaster. Handschuch's people were greatly incensed; and strongly

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg

objected to calling her Frau Pastorin. Outsiders indulged in a liberal quantity of frivolous remarks, but Handschuch did not change his mind. His congregation became divided. On the wedding-day he and his bride went to the church; not one of the displeased party was present. The hilarity so common on such occasions was chilled by the social ice that had so suddenly thickened around the pastor. Handschuch and his bride, unable to endure the arctic temperature surrounding them, bade farewell to Lancaster.

During Muhlenberg's long and efficient ministry, he justly earned the title of the Patriarch of Lutheranism in America. He was unwearied in activity, and almost faultless in tactful dealing with those around him. His benign face bespoke a kindly and charitable heart, yet no one understood better than he, the need of sharp distinctions between right and wrong; between liberty based on the solid foundation of order and license issuing from irresponsible, unthinking conduct. "The Pennsylvania religion," meaning no religion, with many was the most popular; and there was much around when Muhlenberg came. The lines of religious living had greatly loosened, varying from the plain teaching of the Friends to the rankest skepticism. Muhlenberg clearly saw that the church must be re-established on stricter lines; otherwise its pure and healing waters would be absorbed in the quicksands of unbelief. For this reason he was disinclined to mingle with other denominations. Free from jealousy, recognizing truth wherever found, within the pale of any church, he yet believed that all could work more efficiently within well-defined lines than by scattering their energies over a broader surface. When, therefore, it was proposed to establish German

schools in the Province, Muhlenberg clearly saw the danger attending the experiment. He believed in education, and opposed Saur's low policy of preserving as far as possible the peculiarities of the German character. He saw the objections the Germans would raise to the system; and that the fruits would probably be very different from those which the authors desired to garner. So, too, he did not favor establishing union churches of two or more denominations. He knew these experiments often led to the most bitter quarrels, therefore he preferred that each denomination, while looking kindly on others, should remain separate, feeling sure that, by preserving the distinctions, there would be greater purity of life, greater activity in work, more harmony and more efficiency. Above all, he perceived that Christian discipline would be better observed than by trampling down these lines and distinctions. To impair them would open the way but too clearly for the abolition and destruction of all religious thought and activity.

Although the fires of religion burned freely throughout the Province, yet everywhere was seen a decline in spiritual fervor. Persons removed from their pastors, and without the vivifying influence from mutual help and example, drifted from their religious moorings. The decline was not confined to any one sect, but pervaded all. A cooling wave, everywhere snuffing out or deadening the religious light, blew over the entire American coast, including New England. Possibly this was a reaction from the moral and religious energy displayed during the early days of provincial life. At all events it came in full force, and was everywhere noted by the most thoughtful. Even in England the same decay of

religious faith was deplored by the most spiritual teachers. After Puritanism had spent itself in England there was a reaction, severe and prolonged, and all classes relapsed into greater worldliness apparently than ever.

What were the causes of this decline is a question worthy of profound study. Unquestionably prosperity in several ways blighted religious life. When the production of wheat became excessive the surplus was distilled into whiskey, which to many proved a curse. A large quantity was exported, yet the drinking habit at home increased, resulting in moral deterioration. At marriage celebrations grave irregularities occurred, and even funerals were often conducted in a scandalous and offensive manner. Drunkenness became common, and many of the newcomers were sensual to a high degree. In 1754 Muhlenberg declared that Pennsylvania had become surfeited with people of all kinds. "It teems with a wicked, frivolous rabble and vagabonds of preachers and students, and the devil is raging and carrying on his slanders and calamities against the poor Hallenses."

Nor was the decline in religious thought less marked. Here and there a person might be seen on the lonely hights of theological speculation, but he did not long attract the interest of those around him. The differences among the Pietists did not proceed from the centre, consequently they kindled no fierce conflicts for supremacy. Their beliefs were hardly more than speculative opinions, not convictions for which they were willing to sacrifice all.

Many ministers in those days received a very inadequate remuneration. Those of the Episcopal church

were paid partly by the Church of England; while Muhlenberg, for a while, was paid by the church at Halle. Some parishioners objected to an annual salary. They regarded this as an effort to put on them a perpetual tax, and they would not be thus entangled. This fact shows how cold Lutheranism must then have been; yet the people were kind to Muhlenberg, and while they did not give much money, supplied him with a great variety of food. In his diary he says that one man brought him a sausage; another, a piece of meat; a third, a chicken; a fourth, a loaf of bread; a fifth, some pigeons; a sixth, a rabbit. Others brought eggs, tea, sugar, honey, apples, partridges and the like. At funerals, marriages and infant christenings the pastor usually received a thaler, and many gifts came from their catechumens. Hired by the year, like a herdsman in Germany, when he did not preach as his flock desired, he was dismissed. For this reason, says Mittelberger, "I would rather perform the meanest herd service in Europe than be a minister in Pennsylvania. Such unheard-of coarseness and wickedness are the result of excessive liberality in the land, and the blind zeal of the sects. To many in Pennsylvania, the freedom they enjoy is more harm than good, both in body and in soul. There is a saying that Pennsylvania is 'the farmer's heaven, the mechanic's paradise, and the official's and minister's pandemonium.'" The Presbyterians paid their clergy in a more regular manner. Though in the early days the people were hardly in a condition to reward their ministers very liberally, they divided with them fairly the fruits of their labor. If pastors fared scantily, they fared at least as well as those among whom they labored so faithfully.

For a long time religious associations were without any authority to own land or burial grounds. In 1730 this right was conferred by law. Before soliciting assistance from outsiders to build a church, permission from the governor to do this was needful. No person could beg without a license from the same source. In 1766 the Lutheran church of Philadelphia desired liberty from the governor "softly to feel the benevolent and affectionate pulse of our munificent patriots, and to try the sociable and mutual charity of our fellow citizens." The Roman Catholics of Northampton County, in the following year, also petitioned for liberty to "ask assistance from charitable and piously disposed people." They humbly entreated a license for this purpose, whereby they might have the peaceable enjoyment of their religion prescribed by law, and reap the benefit of the privileges granted by the governor's benevolent ancestors.[1]

In 1741 a strong religious breeze blew over the waters. It came from the preaching of Whitefield. He drew followers from all denominations, preached in all churches, and exercised a tremendous influence. Even the journalists were so awed that they did not venture to correct the misstatements of his friends without an apology for interference. Like most reformers, he turned the force of his artillery against the pleasures and amusements of society. Whether or not people then were in a different mood from now, is a curious psychological question. His preaching produced a wonderful effect. As the churches were too small for those who wished to hear, meetings were held in the open fields, from ten thousand to fifteen thousand often

[1] 4 Pa. Archives 252-279.

attending a service. In giving an account of his preaching at Nottingham he says: "I believe there were nearly twelve thousand hearers. I had not spoken long when I perceived numbers melting; as I preached the power increased; and at last, both in the morning and afternoon, thousands cried out so that they almost drowned my voice. Some fainted, and when they gained a little strength, heard and fainted again. Others cried out almost as though in the sharpest agonies of death." One of the most eminent leaders of the Presbyterian church, Dr. Hodge, has remarked there must have been an extraordinary influence on the minds of the people to produce such vast assemblies and such striking effects from Whitefield's preaching. Much was rational in the experience of the persons thus violently agitated; much also of the outward effect was the result of mere natural excitement, produced by powerful impressions on excited imaginations by the preacher's fervent eloquence, and diffused through the crowd by the mysterious influence of sympathy.

Whitefield's preaching was so marvelous that the highest dignitaries in church and state attended. The English historian Hume said it was worth while to go twenty miles to hear him, and repeated this closing passage from one of his discourses: "The attendant angel is just about to leave the threshold and ascend to Heaven, and shall he ascend and not bear with him the news of one sinner among all this multitude reclaimed?" Then stamping with his foot, he lifted up his hands and eyes toward heaven, his eyes filled with tears, and cried out, "Stop, Gabriel, stop ere you enter the sacred portals, and carry with you the news of one sinner con-

verted to God!" Then, says Hume, he described the Saviour's love in the simplest language, and the assembly was melted into tears. Sometimes at the close of a sermon he personated a judge about to pronounce sentence. With tearful eyes and faltering speech, caused by his profound emotion, he would say, "I am now going to put on my condemning cap. Sinner, I must do it; I must pronounce sentence upon you," and in a tremendous strain of eloquence, describing the eternal punishment of the wicked, he would close, repeating the words of Christ: "Depart from me, ye cursed," etc. The difference between his preaching and that of the day may be illustrated by the reply of a ship-builder, "Why, every Sunday that I go to my parish church I can build a ship from stem to stern under the sermon; but were it to save my soul, under Mr. Whitefield I could not lay a single plank."

Whitefield was followed by the two Tennents, Gilbert and William, brothers, who possessed great learning and eloquence and were powerful religious forces. Their father believed in an educated ministry, and established a "log college" in Bucks County to train Presbyterian ministers. Gilbert's views, however, were not shared by all his brethren, and the gap continued to widen until his denomination was rent in twain. In a famous sermon preached at Nottingham, Gilbert Tennent described the ministers of that generation "as low-learned Pharisees; plastered hypocrites, having the form of godliness, but destitute of its power." Various efforts were made to unite the two bodies, and after seventeen years of difference—caused not by diversity of opinion concerning doctrine, discipline or church government, but by alienation springing from the

different views of the Whitefield revival and the education of ministers—the breach was healed.[1]

During this period the controversy occurred between the First Presbyterian church of Philadelphia, where Franklin attended, and its pastor, Hemphill, who was accused of preaching erroneous doctrines. It was the first case of pronounced heresy that had broken out within the Presbyterian fold. There was an examination with searching eyes into his sermons. Suddenly a new discovery was made; instead of preaching his own, he had been plagiarizing. Many of his attendants had listened with surprised delight to his smooth periods and graceful figures, contrasting strangely with his conversation and addresses. He was speedily retired, and thus ended a controversy which in the beginning threatened to result in a genuine old-fashioned "roasting" of Hemphill. Doubtless the ending was a great disappointment to the firemen, who thus lost an opportunity to display their zeal for orthodoxy.

The Friends had experienced their full measure of controversy in dealing with the apostasy of George Keith the century before. Thereafter their solemn, silent life was undisturbed by any knight-errant of religious disputation. If unmoved by the teaching of a consecrated educated ministry, they were at least spared the ills springing from a ministry intent on personal advancement rather than on higher aims. If during the long period of religious torpor their light was somewhat eclipsed, in two directions at least it shone clearly amid the increasing worldliness. At an early day the Friends declared opposition to the slave system. Some

[1] Nevin's Churches of the Valley No. 1 and Appendix.

of the German Friends, the simple-minded vine-dressers and corn-growers from the Palatinate, revolted at the traffic in human beings. As early as 1688 they presented an address to the yearly meeting, making known their views, but this meeting hesitated to pronounce an opinion. The members said this matter was "of too great weight for them to determine," and for several years the opinion of the Friends concerning the subject, was one of agitation and questioning. In 1700, during Penn's second visit to America, the subject was again considered at a monthly meeting in Philadelphia. His mind, he said, had long been engaged "for the benefit and welfare of the negroes," and he pressed his brethren to discharge fully their duty, regarding more especially the mental and religious improvement of the slaves. Once a month it was determined to hold a meeting for worship, especially for the negro race. In 1710 the passage of an act, prohibiting the importation of negroes under any condition, gave great satisfaction to Penn. Thus the anti-slavery feeling was making progress in Pennsylvania, while in England the current of public sentiment was setting strongly the other way. This act was indignantly repealed by the privy council; but the Assembly, undaunted by the repulse, two years afterwards imposed a duty of £20 on each slave imported. This act met a fate similar to the other. During the same year a petition was presented to the Assembly for the total abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. The subject had now become a burning one among the Friends, and at their monthly and yearly meetings it was constantly discussed, and resolutions adopted discouraging the importation and sale of slaves. Ralph Sanderford wrote a work on the

"Mystery of Iniquity" in which he declared that the holding of negroes in slavery was inconsistent with the rights of man, and contrary to the precepts of the Author of Christianity. He was followed by two powerful writers in moving public opinion, John Woolman and Anthony Benezet. In 1754 Woolman published his "Constitution" on the keeping of negroes, while Benezet was untiring in his efforts for aiding the oppressed slaves. In 1755 the yearly meeting expressed its "sense and judgment," that those concerned in importing or buying slaves ought "speedily" to be reported to their monthly meeting. Three years afterward it was declared that any who imported, bought, sold or held slaves, should not be allowed to take part in the affairs of the church. A considerable number released their slaves, and by 1774 the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania was free from the business of human traffic. During the last year of the War of Independence, the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania addressed Congress on the iniquity of the slave trade, and continued to wage vigorous war against the system until it was destroyed.[1]

The Friends strongly opposed also the rising tide of fashion and amusement; at no time was their position or practice doubtful. They did not fear to rebuke in strong terms those who departed from their ancient simplicity.

The Episcopal church like the others had crossed troubled waters; flourishing in the beginning, afterward it nearly perished. At the end of the first decade the clergy had removed to Virginia or Maryland, or died; the churches were closed, and the parishes had disap-

[1] 2 Bowden, 176.

peared. Happily in the midst of this general depression, Christ Church grew steadily in numbers and power; supported by the Church of England. Twelve clergymen of the Church of England sent by "The Society for the Promulgation of the Gospel," were allowed £50 annually, besides what they received from subscription and surplus fees. Some were itinerary missionaries, acting under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and traveled from place to place laboring faithfully to keep the church alive.

Of all the branches of the Christian church, the Roman Catholic was the only one that encountered opposition, nor was this very serious. Doubtless the first Roman Catholic settlers were attended by a priest, for in 1686, three years after the founding of Philadelphia, Penn mentions an old priest among the inhabitants. Early in the eighteenth century, in a letter addressed to James Logan, the writer complained that the government suffered "public mass in a scandalous manner," and in a subsequent letter the same charge was repeated. Indeed, a chapel was established in the city as early as 1686, and a second one was built in 1736. Watson says that it was built "for a papal chapel, and the people opposed its being so used in so public a place." Another had been built a few years before, not far from the city, on the road to Nicetown. This was probably attached to a private house, and built by the owner, perhaps for the protection of worshipers.

In 1730, Father Greaton, a Jesuit, was sent from Maryland to Philadelphia, though De Courcy, says he began in a humble chapel at the corner of Front and Walnut streets in 1703. Aided by the liberality of his hostess,

he bought a lot on Fourth Street, and erected the little chapel of St. Joseph's. The authorities were opposed to this, and Governor Gordon informed the council of its erection, and the public celebration of the mass. "Father Greaton," says Archbishop Carroll, "laid the foundation of that now flourishing congregation. He lived there until about 1750, having long before succeeded in building the old chapel still contiguous to the presbytery of that town, and in assembling a numerous congregation which, at first, consisted of not more than ten or twelve persons." The archbishop saw this venerable man at the head of his flock in 1748.

The Jesuits extended their labors to the country surrounding Philadelphia. Father Schneider, a native of Bavaria, in 1741 founded the mission of Goshenhoppen, forty-five miles from Philadelphia, where he lived in poverty for more than twenty years. Four years afterward he built a church, and once a month went to Philadelphia to hear the confessions of Germans. So respected was he, among even the Protestant Germans, that the Mennonites and Hernhutters aided in the building of his church. About the same time Father Wapler, Schneider's companion, founded the mission of Conewago; and later others established missions at various places.

The Methodists did not appear in Pennsylvania until 1767. In Wolfe's victorious army on the plains of Abraham was Captain Thomas Webb, one of the founders of Methodism in Pennsylvania. Returning with his regiment to England, he became converted under Wesley's ministry, and was ordered to duty in America. The scarred veteran appeared in the pulpit in full uniform and excited much attention. The first place of meeting

was a sail-loft in the city. In this upper room the first Methodist class-meeting was established, and here he continued his active ministrations until the arrival of Boardman and Pillmore in 1769. Soon afterward a society was formed. The first church owned by the Methodists was called St. George's, purchased for £650. Begun by a German Reformed congregation, it was sold by an act of Assembly in 1769 in payment of its debts. Boardman and Pillmore were reinforced by Francis Asbury and Richard Wright in 1771; and Wesley arrived at Philadelphia in October of the same year. At this time there were only ten Methodist preachers in America. Bethel, the first rural church, was built in Montgomery County in 1770. During the Revolution it afforded shelter to the wounded and dying soldiers of the continental army, carried there from the battle-field of Germantown. In all the eastern and southern counties Methodism was introduced between the years 1769 and 1773. The first conference of Methodist preachers convened in July of the latter year, and conferences were held twice annually afterward.

In tracing the course of religious life during the provincial period, it is quite impossible, after the most painstaking inquiry, to discover and describe all the causes of its rise, variations and decline.. Religion is such an inner, mysterious thing that by no investigation, however patient and prolonged, can its contents be wholly revealed and understood. That Penn desired above all else the religious advancement of the settlers in his Province is evident from every act of his life relating to them. Pennsylvania was indeed to be a free land, and a "holy" one. Of his failure to accomplish this noble end, beside the causes already described, were others possessing the deepest significance.

Though Penn's government at the outset was highly charged with moral and religious principles, the way was thrown wide open for any one to enter and enjoy his political paradise. To keep the religious stream pure, not too many seekers of unsympathetic views could be safely admitted. Penn, clearly seeing the danger, sought to prevent this consequence by providing a system of compulsory education, and by extending to the farthest limits laws repressing vice. Unhappily, those not endowed with his spirit, were soon numerous enough to overthrow his educational system, and to disregard his legalized moral injunctions against drunkenness, harlotry and kindred vices. Even many of the better classs coming without their ministers departed from their religious ways, and ere long were adrift on the broad current of irreligion and ignorance. The general deterioration was now rapid, and the better inclined waited long and wearily to see an effective check applied.

Had Penn lived here, his influence would have been incalculable in preserving and raising the tone of the people. As proprietary and ruler, with an unselfish character commanding general respect and reverence, his presence and influence would have been a mighty virtue-making power. This is clearly shown by the effect of his eloquent letter to Governor Evans describing the people's ingratitude. It is a sad reminder of what might have been accomplished could he have spent his days at close hand in shaping the destiny of the Province. Unfortunately, he could not remain, and from his deputies, whatever may have been their political fitness, went forth no moral, health-giving influences. They were regarded as the representatives

of interests inimical to those of the settlers, and Evans especially was a distinguished sinner, whose conduct shocked all good men. By completing the conquest of the wilderness in the eastern part of the Province, and thus assuring themselves of earning a comfortable livelihood, was aroused the spirit for money-making. With but little religious or secular instruction concerning the uses to be made of wealth, this spirit grew rapidly and dominated legislation, deadened respect for Penn and for law, and checked the growth of public spirit. It is true that a few preached and wrote, but some even of these were unworthy or inefficient. Never was a more delusive or destructive doctrine preached than this, that a country can easily and quickly assimilate all forms of a grosser or less advanced life, without impairing its own higher life. Doubtless this can be done to some extent, but the undeniable consequence of excessive immigration has been the weakening of the better elements by the admixture. The plane of society has been formed, not on a high elevation, but away down in the valley. For a brief season, the seeds planted by the earlier colonists sprang up and grew in a beautiful way, but failed to mature through lack of husbandmen possessing the same ideals and purposes.

Section III.

The Church in the Revolution.

The war wrought radical changes in many an individual and in every organized form of religion. The church reeled to and fro as though shaken by an earthquake. If some religious denominations sustained the shock better than others, all suffered. Many of the

churches were closed, and the people, left without their spiritual directors, strayed away. "The civil character of the war," remarks a religious historian, "especially in the Southern states, gave it a peculiar ferocity, and produced a licentiousness of which there is scarcely a parallel at the present day. Municipal laws could not be enforced; civil government was frustrated, and society was well-nigh resolved into its original elements." [1]

A moral force may be regarded in two ways, as progressive and resistive; in either direction it is difficult to measure its effectiveness. Many of its effects cannot be clearly segregated and put on record. Secrecy in its operations is often a most important element; to proclaim its work is to mar its worth. Carlyle says that the highest goodness "is silent or soft-voiced," even those who are helped may never know whence the strengthening breeze came. Goodness in all ages has been known only to a few; the record has been kept within the sanctuary of the soul. The great world without has gone rolling on quite unconscious of the silent, disinterested activities which, in myriad ways, have been raising and restoring mankind to moral health and happiness.

The resisting power, the effect of which in any case is the difference between what a man is and would have been, if no moral forces had existed, is still more difficult to measure. If they were withdrawn, how far would he recede? In other words, how strong are such dykes to restrain evil from making headway? Though still far behind, what moral progress has man made, this is one test; how much more laggard would he have been had these dykes not existed, this is another.

[1] Gillett.

The second test is strikingly illustrated in the times we are about to describe. The moral forces put forth from the beginning were now to be greatly weakened or wholly withdrawn, and we shall learn from their departure how great had been their power, both in assisting the moral advance, and in preventing the decline that would have set in without their presence and action.

The first effect to be noted was dissension in the churches. Some members were in favor of war, others were opposed, and this antagonism inevitably expressed itself in open divisions. Individuals might have their social and business differences without affecting the general currents of religious life; but on such a great question it was impossible for persons to differ strongly without lessening their regard for each other. A dividing stream had suddenly appeared; not some gentle murmuring brooklet easily crossed, but a chasm continuing to deepen and widen as the war-clouds deluged the distracted country. To keep alive a church organization there must be officers, and the selection of these became increasingly difficult. We shall soon see how great was the difficulty in conducting the affiairs of the college of Philadelphia. While the anti-war party was ascendent the institution was regarded as a kind of hot-bed of treason. The tension could not last long; one faction or the other was sure to take the open field and fight for supremacy. The churches, too, were cleft, and how could they flourish so long as they were sundered? Religious life weakened and perished.

Other causes, outside the churches, accelerated the movement. The issue of paper-money and the attend-

ant speculation in it loosened the moral fibres of society. The payment of debts in a heavily depreciated money, and the delaying of payments in order to sell goods at higher prices, and thus receive a larger nominal sum that was effective for debt-paying, were strange perversions of the common rule of honesty. The morals of the people rapidly hardened by such experiences. Selfishness grew more rankly than ever before. The newspapers of the period were filled with the evidences of decaying morality.

The keener political atmosphere had the same effect. Kindly feeling chilled, the disappointed felt hard towards their opponents. The managers of the State were a body of firm men who gave law to a large number who were cowed and discontented. But they did not submit serenely to political servitude. Full of anger, they impatiently waited a favorable opportunity for an outbreak. These corrupting streams all flowed in one direction—a freshet carrying away much that was noblest and best.

When men were thus crazed by fiery strife; ruled by a government strangely despotic and lax by turns; drifting along in midnight darkness, unable to plan for the future, how could religion flourish? How could any one having a rightful conception of Christianity as a moral, heaven-born power, in the presence of the tragic scenes of war, bless what he saw in the name of religion? How could he thank a loving Father for all the slaughter, suffering and woe that filled the land? No wonder the churches were smitten and fell to decay; it would be a wonder indeed had they not suffered by the shock.

Turning from the general survey to that of the differ-

ent branches of religious faith, the Friends were placed in the most trying situation of all. By adhering to the principle of peace, many were put in the uncomfortable category of suspected enemies of their country. Not a few of them did maintain their loyalty to Great Britain; and if the causes for rebelling seemed to them insufficient, why should they not have been permitted to hold their opinion? It is true that the Province was finally drawn over in legal form, though by questionable methods, to the other side, and was kept by a body of resolute men from returning. Yet every intelligent man knew when the change was effected that it had been accomplished against the wishes of many, as had that of nearly every other colony.

The peace principles of the Friends, therefore, combined with their loyalty, placed them from the start under the ban of suspicion. Their unwillingness to take the paper-money because this was an agency of war deepened the enmity towards them. Then, too, the vigor of the friends of Revolution was all the greater because they were so few compared with the entire population. It was necessary to make up by desperate work for their lack in numbers. Had the Friends been a small and uninfluential body, their attitude would have been more easily borne. It was needful to crush them to succeed; if not wholly, at least to deprive them of all political influence.

The Friends beheld the gathering clouds with no little disquietude. At a meeting of their representatives for Pennsylvania and New Jersey in January, 1775, an address was issued declaring that by repeated public advices and private admonitions the utmost endeavor had been used to dissuade the members of the society

"from joining with the public resolutions promoted and entered into by some of the people" which had increased the contention. "The divine principle of grace and truth which we profess," so the address continued, "leads all obedient to it to discountenance every measure tending to excite disaffection to the king as supreme magistrate, or to the legal authority of his government." Thus believing, they disapproved of many of the recent political writings because their spirit and temper were "not only contrary to the nature and precepts of the gospel, but destructive of the peace and harmony of civil society."

"From our past experience of the clemency of the king and his royal ancestors, we have grounds to hope and believe that decent and respectful addresses from those who are vested with legal authority, representing the prevailing dissatisfactions and the cause of them, would avail towards obtaining relief, ascertaining and establishing the just rights of the people, and restoring the public tranquillity; and we deeply lament that contrary modes of proceeding have been pursued which have involved the colonies in confusion, appear likely to produce violence and bloodshed, and threaten the subversion of the constitutional government, and of that liberty of conscience for the enjoyment of which our ancestors were induced to encounter the manifold dangers and difficulties of crossing the seas, and of settling in the wilderness."

Such was the position taken by the Friends in the contest then looming up so darkly before them. In November, 1775, an address by the Friends was presented by a deputation of ten persons to the Assembly. After setting forth the cry for an appeal to arms, and their

principles of peace, an appeal is made to that provision in the charter whereby Friends shall not be obliged "to do or suffer any act or thing contrary to their religious persuasion." The address concludes with the desire that "the most conciliatory measures" may be pursued, "and that all such may be avoided as are likely to widen or perpetuate the breach with the parent state or tend to introduce persecution and sufferings among them." Others of similar import were issued from time to time, and from the position thus taken in the beginning they never wavered, except a small number, throughout the war.

As these could not be dissuaded by the believers in peace, they formed themselves into a society and were known as Free Quakers. Perhaps they were still better known as "Hickory Quakers," or "Fighting Quakers." They were never a numerous body, but several distinguished themselves in the Revolution. Mifflin, the first governor, was one of them. They were disowned, and thus the sundering was complete. The Friends, however, did not hesitate to restore the repentant. Nor was the number small. One of these, who had joined the associators, was entreated to desist, and acknowledging his error, was at once restored. Drafted not long afterward into the military service, and unwilling for religious or other reasons to go, he paid his fine. His father and brethren dealt with him, while he defended his course. They told him that he ought neither to have paid his fine nor gone to war, but to prison; indeed, "to rot there," if need be, before either paying or going. So he was disowned. Thus the Friends were unsparing in dealing with their members, though as each meeting acted independently not all meted out the same degree of strictness or severity.

The attitude of John Dickinson was peculiar. Opposed to Revolution, when at last it came he joined in the movement, took command of a battalion and went to the front. Displeased over what he believed was unjust treatment, he resigned, but ere long proved his patriotism by joining a company as a private, and as such participated in the battle of Brandywine. A Friend and man who neither wrote nor spoke unless he had something important to say, of all the members of that immortal body, the Continental Congress, who dared defy the power of Great Britain and professed so much patriotism, Dickinson and McKean were of the six[1] who ever enlisted and fought. The rest were content to talk. Dickinson put his patriotism to the grim test of going into the field and facing the guns and bayonets of the enemy. Nor is the silence with which his conduct was regarded by his religious society hardly less remarkable than his own, for the most diligent study of its records fails to discover that he was disowned or reproved.

The Friends suffered through distraints for military purposes. Of course, all suffered in this way, though very likely those known or suspected of having no sympathy with the American cause suffered the most. When, for example, a demand was made of the people in Philadelphia for blankets, they were taken without distinction of persons, and the Friends were obliged to pass a winter without them. In the early days of the war, lead was a precious article, and the houses of Friends were stripped just as quickly as others. When some of them opened their shops on a day appointed

[1] The other four were: George Taylor, James Smith, James Wilson and George Ross.

for a fast, their houses were attacked by a rabble. Some were committed to prison for declining to engage in military service; others were fined for not accepting public office.

Whatever one may think of their belief, he must admire their religious loyalty and placid courage. Their conduct re-lights the great story of persecution for truth's sake in earlier days. The world always admires unselfish devotion to whatever cause. During 1777, from the members of one meeting alone, goods to the value of nearly £12,000 were taken because of their refusal to enrol in the militia. Many no doubt were loyalists, and with them their religious belief accorded with their political allegiance. Their opponents, knowing this, swept all together without distinction. So the entire number, save in exceptional cases, were suspected of disloyalty, if not openly charged with disaffection to the new order of things. Hard truly was their lot, for at all times the condition of the revolters, until near the close of the struggle, was most desperate, preventing them from showing any mercy toward those differing from themselves; as perhaps they would have done had their own resources been larger and their prospects less dubious.

In the summer of 1777 the revolutionary sky grew blacker than ever. The British army was preparing to invade Pennsylvania and every one felt that Washington could not long resist its advance. The revolutionists were greatly excited; they felt that, if they could do nothing else, they could at least imprison some of those who would welcome the coming of the dreaded invader. The report spread that some of the Friends were to be arrested. At last, Congress directed this to be

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done, and the Supreme Executive Council immediately proceeded to execute the order. No specific charges were made against the persons arrested, and they sent a written remonstrance to the Council against its action. "Having a just sense of the inestimable value of religious and civil liberty, we claim as freemen," they said, "our undoubted right to be heard before we are confined in the manner directed by the order; and we have the more urgent cause for insisting on this our right, as several of our fellow-citizens have been for some days and are now confined by your order and no opportunity is offered them to be heard; and we have been informed that it is your purpose to send them into a distant part of the country, even beyond the limit of the jurisdiction you claim, where we would have no opportunity of clearing ourselves of the charge or suspicions entertained against us." Other remonstrances followed, but the council was unmoved in its purpose to send the prisoners into exile unless they would sign a test of their loyalty. As they had once refused to do this, so again did they refuse.

At the time of arresting the Friends, Rev. Thomas Coombe, then officiating in one of the Episcopal churches in the city and who displayed much feeling for the crown, was also arrested. The vestry of the united churches petitioned the Executive Council for his release, because he had been arrested without knowing his accusers or having an opportunity to make his defence. This the petitioner deemed an infringement of religious and civil liberty. The council coldly disregarded the request. Another application by Colonel Cadwalader and Rev. William White was received with a different spirit. They requested that he be permitted

to go to Virginia and thence to the island of St. Eustatia. He lingered here, and in truth, never went away.

Carriages were procured for the journey of the exiled Friends and the procession was formed, guarded by soldiers. A large crowd gathered around to see this strange spectacle. Many of the on-lookers were deeply moved as they bade adieu to their old friends, snatched from them, not because they believed and acted differently from thousands of others, but as a warning to those spared to do otherwise, if they wished to escape a similar fate. Day after day the carriages rolled slowly westward. A slumbrous, golden haze filled the air, the leaves no longer stirred, for nature was beginning to work in them her wonderous transformation of color before they fell and perished. But nature had no charms for these heavy-hearted exiles. For twenty days their carriages rolled monotonously toward the Alleghenies. When they reached Winchester, a remote settlement of Virginia, three hundred miles from Philadelphia, they at last stopped to exchange their moving prisons for others, stationary, though quite as cheerless, among a strange people without any sympathy for either their principles or for their sufferings.

Not content with these arrests, Congress seized the papers and minutes of meetings, and searched for evidence against others. Nothing was found implicating the members in any way with the enemy.

The exiles, not feeling secure in their frontier home, again addressed Congress on the injustice of their banishment without a hearing. They also sent an address to the governor and Council of Virginia, asking "that protection to which the claims of hospitality and the

common right of mankind" entitled them in a country where they were strangers.

The opinion soon began to spread and strengthen that they were exiled without just reason, a view shared by some of the more considerate members of the Executive Council and of Congress. "As things have turned out," wrote the Secretary of the Executive Council, "the original arrest was thought by many not to have answered any good purpose, and detaining them in confinement not serviceable to the public cause." Congress appointed a committee to confer with some Friends who had presented the memorial of the exiles to that body. During the interview, the committee avowed "that they had no other accusation against them than the several epistles of advice which had been published." The committee, therefore, recommended Congress either to hear the prisoners in their defence, or to discharge them from custody. Early in the following year Congress voted to discharge them on taking an affirmation of allegiance to Pennsylvania as a free and independent State. This they could not do. Many, unable to comprehend the spirit and nature of the time, will regard their stubbornness as unreasonable and justifying Congress in prolonging their banishment. Suppose a Unionist during the Civil War had refused to take an oath of allegiance to the Southern Confederacy, would the Unionists of the North have regarded his act as unreasonable stubbornness? Would they not have considered his loyalty as worthy of all praise? The Friends regarded the British government as the true government; all only a few months before had acknowledged their allegiance to it, and probably more than a majority still regarded it in the same manner.

Were not the Friends, from their point of view, justified in continuing their allegiance?

Yet events that would effect their release were growing. They were obliged to live at their own expense. They boarded with the inhabitants exposed to hardships to which they were strangers. Two were taken ill and died; others sickened. When the news of these things reached Lancaster, where Congress was sitting, it was resolved to release the prisoners; and after an imprisonment of more than seven months they were set free.

As the Revolution advanced, the condition of the Friends did not improve. Fines and imprisonments for refusing to bear arms were rigorously enforced; for refusing to become collectors of taxes, an office thrust on them with much frequency, heavy exactions were demanded. Remonstrances to the Executive Council received but little attention. Heavy distraints were made, to which they could only submit.

Then came another reverse. By increasing the severity of the test oaths the Assembly shut out from teaching in the schools all persons unwilling to comply with them. This closed the schools of the Friends, and again they remonstrated. This was referred to a committee of the Assembly who required the Friends "to communicate the letters and testimonies which their meetings had published during the last seven years containing their opinions on religion and religious subjects." To this a reply was sent stating that the object of their meetings was a religious one, which "had not been perverted to the purpose of political disquisitions, or any thing prejudicial to the public safety. Our Friends have always considered government to be

a divine ordinance, instituted for the suppression of vice and immorality, the promotion of virtue, and the protection of the innocent from oppression and tyranny. It is also our firm belief that conscience ought not to be subject to the control of men, or the injunctions of human law; and every attempt to restrain or enforce it, is an invasion of the prerogative of the Supreme Lord and Lawgiver." After giving their reasons for opposing war, they remarked that "as our Christian principle leads into a life of sobriety and peace, so it restrains us from taking an active part in the present contest, or joining with any measures which tend to create or promote disturbance or commotions in the government under which we are placed; and many of our brethren, from a conviction that war is so opposite to the nature and spirit of the Gospel, apprehend it their duty to refrain in any degree from voluntarily contributing to its support. Some for considerable number of years past on former occasions have not actively complied with the payment of taxes raised for military service and duties, from conscientious motives, have now avoided circulating the currency which hath been emitted for the immediate purpose of carrying on war; although on these accounts they have been, and still are, subjected to great inconvenience, loans and sufferings."

None of these defences moved those who were holding in their hands the trembling fortunes of the State. Notwithstanding the principles of the Friends, their horror of war, their aversion to force of any kind, advantage was taken of their submissive attitude to despoil them of their goods, nor did they escape loss when within the protection and grasp of the invader. Some

of them were carried off by the Indians. Among these captives were Benjamin Gilbert and his family. They were living at the time near Mauch Chunk, in the Lehigh Valley.

During the five years he had lived there he had built, besides a log-dwelling-house and barns, a saw and grist-mill; for the forest supply of timber was abundant, and Mahoning Creek ran its strong full course unchecked by ice or drought. In the vicinity others had settled, so that the mill-stones whizzed cheerily all the year round, and the sharp, grating mill-saw kept daily company. In an evil hour this scene of peace, contentment and prosperous toil was rudely broken by the stealthy, savage intruder. Gilbert and his entire family of eleven were seized. Half a mile away lived Benjamin Peart, who also was taken with his wife and little child, then nine months old. Having bound their prisoners, the Indians plundered and burned their dwellings. The captives now started on their unknown journey over the hills of Mauch Chunk, catching glimpses for awhile of their blazing dwellings. For two months they traversed the rugged region of Northern Pennsylvania, and through the swamps and rivers of the Genesee country. Often from fatigue and hunger they were ready to faint by the way, but their ferocious captors by the threat of immediate death nerved them onward. Gilbert's health at last began to break, and the Indians painted him black as a prelude to the death he should suffer, but through his wife's intercession he was spared. After a fearful journey of fifty-four days the prisoners entered a town not far from Fort Niagara; but their sufferings were not yet over. Stones were thrown at them by the Indian women and children, and not satisfied with inflict-

ing these cruelties, they were afterward beaten with stones, and we wonder how they survived. Then a new turn was given to their sufferings. They were separated, some given over for adoption into the Indian tribe, some hired out by their Indian owners to white families, while others were sent as prisoners of war down the St. Lawrence to Montreal. One finally escaped, and through him the people of Pennsylvania learned what had become of the captives. Finally all except Gilbert, who had sunk under his sufferings, were collected at Montreal, after a captivity of nearly two years and a half, and released.

At last, with the cessation of hostilities in 1782, the heavy clouds broke; the sufferings of the Friends lessened. With the return of peace they did not hesitate to transfer their allegiance to the "powers" that were now fully and formally established. Most of their number had remained loyal to Quaker principles, at the cost of heavy suffering. If, however, they had preserved their religious principles, their political influence had been overthrown. Those in control had no kindly feeling toward the Friends, even after wholly and heartily yielding to the new order, but continued to treat them with studied coldness and disdain.

The work of rebuilding their faith and influence was now to begin, but so terribly shattered were they by the Revolution that they shrank from attempting to exert any political influence and confined themselves to a narrower sphere. Yet their religious life was still burning, in some cases dimmed by the terrible blasts which had smitten it, though in a larger number purified, brightened, and giving forth fresh evidence of its divine and enduring power.

The fate of the Episcopal Church will next be considered. Many of the members were loyalists, while the clergy were still more steadfast in their adherence to the British crown. The clergy were indeed united by a double bond, both secular and spiritual. At their ordination, they had sworn perpetual allegiance to the king. "They could not have left the obligation of the ordination oath off their consciences even if they had wished, and they did not wish." Until the appeal was made to arms, they were ready to join in addresses to the king for an adjustment of differences, but with few exceptions they never swerved from their allegiance.

Besides, many of them had not lived long in the colonies, and were largely supported by the English Church. It is not strange, therefore, when they reached the parting of the ways, that they should have turned toward the government and church to which they were bound by the ties of moral obligation and pecuniary support.

The laymen were under no such close relationship, yet many of them seem to have been strongly imbued with the same spirit, though some of the most commanding figures of the Revolution belonged to that communion,—Washington and Patrick Henry, Gouverneur Morris, Livingston, Jay, Madison and other great names. Consequently during the war many of the churches were closed, literally wrecked, and the members were scattered far and wide. The lover of his church beheld everywhere a scene of spiritual desolation.

There were in Philadelphia two characters in the church who are invested with a permanent interest, White and Duché. The one, regarding his oath more broadly than his fellows, as meaning that he must

remain faithful to the actual, justifiable state, threw in his fortunes with the new-born, struggling republic; the other, regarding his oath of allegiance to the king as binding under every circumstance, still clung to his old master, George III. Were ever two fellow-workers more unlike in their mental processes and moral courses? White was always serious; his thinking was never a mere quest of discovery, but for the purpose of reaching some important conviction, which, once reached, was steadfastly maintained. Duché swam in shallow waters, sported with many fancies, and ere long suffered the natural consequences from indulging in such waywardness.

White continued at his post and prayed for the king in the duly appointed manner until the Sunday before the Fourth of July, 1776. Soon afterward, when he went to the court-house to take the oath of allegiance, a gentleman standing there intimated to him by a gesture the danger of the step. After taking it he said to his friend, "I perceived by your gesture that you thought I was exposing my neck to great danger by the step which I have taken; but I have not taken it without full deliberation. I know my danger, and that it is the greater on account of my being a clergyman of the Church of England; but I trust in Providence. The cause is a just one, and I am persuaded will be protected."

White's position, zeal and beautiful character rendered him so conspicuous that he was chosen chaplain of Congress—a body for which, if we believe its most trustworthy secretary, there was much need of praying. He was elected at a time when the British were advancing on Philadelphia and Congress was fleeing to York-

town. "Nothing could have led me to accept the appointment," so he himself said, "but the determination to be consistent in my principles and in the part taken." He continued to serve until the British left Philadelphia, and then returned to the city to restore the wreck of his church. He was the only representative of it, and he was, to use his own words, "in a trying situation." The chief difficulty was the hot spirit of the Whigs and Tories. "With the latter, the danger was the absenting themselves from the churches in the devotion of which the new allegiance was acknowledged." The prejudice gradually wore away, and in a few months he was elected Duché's successor.

In the beginning of the struggle Duché had distinguished himself for his patriotic sentiments, and his "first prayer" for Congress in Carpenters' Hall was so eloquent that whether it ascended to Heaven or not, it certainly did spread far and wide throughout the country. This was followed by stirring discourses in the same strain. He also was elected a chaplain to Congress and held that position at the time of the Declaration of Independence. His language in these prayers beseeching mercy "on these our American states who have fled to Thee from the rod of the oppressor," had no doubtful sound. When the British army began its advance on Philadelphia he resigned his chaplaincy. Nor did he longer use any oppressor's rod. When the British army entered the city he still remained at the head of Christ Church, and the following Sunday prayed for the king as heartily as in former days. Nevertheless, arrested by order of Sir William Howe, he remained in prison one night—time enough to think still more about that oppressor's rod. Duché

announced that he had undergone a political conversion; furthermore, he succeeded in convincing Howe that he could reduce Washington's bellicose condition if given an opportunity. This, however, was to be done not with eloquent prayers and sermons, but by an entirely human, characteristic, Duché effort. He was set to the task and advised Washington "to abandon a wretched cause;" — advice that made not the slightest impression. As the Bishop of London had disapproved of Duché's former course of supporting the cause of the Revolution, he determined to visit the bishop and explain his conduct, for he had much to explain. Soon after his departure he was proclaimed a traitor and his estate was confiscated. Arriving in London, he sought the bishop. For him the interview must have been hardly more cheerful than his endeavor to convert Washington from his rebellious ways. The bishop did not look kindly on him; with all his ingenuity, he did not strengthen his position. He had gone too far, and had committed a deed that might be pardoned, but could not be forgotten. In his earlier career he had plunged into the mysticism of Jacob Boehme and William Law, and after his chilling interview with the bishop he fed for a season on the speculations of Swedenborg. No wonder, with his floppy political tendencies, combined with still stronger spiritual aberrations, that he was looked on askance, as a kind of moral and political vagrant, to be kept at a safe distance. Yet in passing judgment on his course the unusual structure of his mental organism ought to be remembered. For, assuming him to be honest in his political and religious wanderings, he ought to be regarded less as a trimmer, than as a kind of mental and

religious nomad, voluntarily preferring the free, yet uncertain, sandy paths of the desert to firm, healthy ground.

After the restoration of peace, White at once began to gather the fragments of the church, preparatory to its reconstruction. For this momentous undertaking what plan should be adopted? Three ideas were in the minds of men. "The Virginia and Maryland idea was to save the former endowments of the church, and to rescue and hold these an organization must be created which could have a standing before the law in the new government." The New England idea was to re-establish the church in its primitive completeness of doctrine and discipline and apostolic order. The idea of the Middle colonies was to organize a national church, "to be to all its members what the federal government then in process of construction would be to its citizens."

The federal idea was Dr. White's. He was now, at the close of the war, thirty-five years old; and by education and unflinching devotion to the cause of the Revolution was one of the most influential men of the day. Several informal conferences were held at his request, and in September, 1785, on St. Michael's Day, a constitutional convention was held at Philadelphia big with the fate of the Episcopal Church. There were delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina. Massachusetts sent a letter, while Connecticut, adhering firmly to the ecclesiastical idea, alone declined. The convention proceeded at once to form a constitution. It preceded the federal constitution, and was its bright anticipation. The organization was to be

national, and the states component units; its governing body was to be composed of two orders, clergy and laity; each state retaining sovereign authority and conducting its own affairs. The constitution also provided for a triennial convention, of which bishops were to be ex-officio members; for the qualifications of the priesthood; and for a liturgy, based upon the English prayer-book modified to meet the surrounding conditions. These changes were in several directions; some were changes in doctrine, some of a political character, others in form merely, while still others allowed greater liberty to the minister in selecting scriptures for public service.

Before electing bishops the convention wisely prepared an address to the archbishops and bishops of England. In this were set forth the condition of the Episcopal churches, the benefits received from the mother church, and an appeal for the consecration as bishops of such persons as the American Episcopal church might send. The English bishops did not give an unqualified answer. Some strange stories, they said, had been wafted over the sea concerning the doings of the Philadelphia convention. They had heard that the creeds of the church had been discarded, the prayer-book destroyed, and a constitution adopted granting so much power to laymen that it was possible for them to pass judgment on the bishops. They could consecrate no bishops until these difficulties were removed.

As soon as the reply was received another convention was called, to meet at Wilmington in October, 1786. A reply was prepared showing that the bishops had misapprehended the position of the laity, that the Nicene and Apostle's creeds had not been changed, and that the

English prayer-book was to remain the standard until replaced by a national convention with unquestioned power.

Meanwhile three persons had been chosen bishops, Dr. Provoost by the state of New York, Dr. White by Pennsylvania and Dr. Griffith by Virginia. Dr. Smith, who had figured so prominently in education, politics and religion in Pensylvania, and afterward in Maryland, had been chosen by that state three years before. The convention elected the first three, but passed over Dr. Smith because his career had been stormy and often criticised. He was a fiery man and had many enemies; besides distinguishing himself even in a winebibbing age by his bibulous exploits. Surely, considering the habits of the times, he must have drunk long and hard to have disqualified himself on that ground.

As Dr. Griffith could not himself incur the expense of the journey to London, and the church in Virginia was too poor to send him, he did not go. So the number was reduced to two, White and Provoost, who were consecrated at the archiepiscopal palace at Canterbury. The eyes of Duché flashed on the scene, not through any kind regard for him by the bishop, but by White's intercession. What regrets stormed into the mind of Duché when he saw his former American fellow-worker standing there in the unblemished beauty of consistent, Christian manhood, as sincere and patriotic in serving the state as he was sincere and devoted to the re-building of his church! What a contrast to his own inconsistent career, in which he had been true to nothing and had wrecked all!

Thus the Episcopal Church, torn and bleeding, yet carrying within her the principle of perpetual life, rose

from the battle-field of the Revolution, healed her wounds and put on the new and fitting garment of "The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States." Though completely severing their church politically from the Church of England little did these church founders imagine they were enshrining a principle soon to from the foundation of the national constitution. Still less did they foresee that they were building their ark so well that in it their church would float safely and securely down amid all subsequent storms, as it has done, to our day.

How very unlike the history of the Friends and Episcopalians is that of the Presbyterians! This was the militant church, the one that believed in revolution, that the Lord was "a man of war," and had fighting parsons and army chaplains. Like the other religious sects, however, "the influence of the war upon the condition and prospects of the Presbyterian church throughout the country was most disastrous. Its members were almost all decided patriots, and its ministers, almost to a man, were accounted arch-rebels. Their well known views and sympathies made them especially obnoxious to the enemy, and to be known as a Presbyterian was to incur all the odium of a Whig."

The ministers were unceasing in preaching resistance and revolution. They had not the slightest doubt that the Lord was on their side, and thus believing, they displayed splendid faith and zeal. One of their number was John Craighead, pastor of the Rocky Spring Church, of whom it has been said that "he fought and preached alternately." At the beginning of the strife he joined a company of associators raised from the members of his church, joined Washington's army and

fought at Trenton and Princeton. His friends, Dr. Cooper, of Middle Spring Church, and Dr. King, of West Conecocheague entered the ranks as volunteers to arouse the patriotism of others. During one of the dark days, when many around Chestnut Level had been drafted, James Latta, the pastor of a church at that place, took his blanket and knapsack and went with the new recruits to the field. Another clergyman, an idol of the soldiers, was Samuel Eakin, of Penn's Neck. Indeed, there was scarcely a Presbyterian minister, save those who were too old to fight, that did not take part in the War of the Revolution.

With them was a strange mingling of earthly and spiritual weapons. Joseph Patterson had just knelt to pray inside a shed when a board in a line with his head was shivered by a bullet from a rifle. Another, Stephen B. Balch, while preaching, was protected from the annoyance of royalists by soldiers under General Williams. The ministers on the frontier were obliged to go armed. Thaddeus Dod exchanged his church on the Monongahela for a fort. Samuel Doak, of the Holston settlements, hearing the sound of the enemy while preaching a sermon, paused, seized his rifle that stood by his side, and led his hearers out in pursuit of the foe.[1]

"To the Presbyterian clergy the enemy felt an especial antipathy. They were accounted the ringleaders of rebellion. For them there was often not so much safety in their own dwellings as in the camp. When their people were scattered, or if it was no longer safe to reside among them, the only alternative was to flee or join the army, and this alternative was often pre-

[1] Gillet, 191.

sented. Not unfrequently the duty of the chaplain or the pastor exposed him to dangers as great as those which the common soldier was called to meet. There was risk of person, sometimes capture, and sometimes loss of life.''

With so many ministers actively participating in the struggle, with so vigilant a search for them and their churches by the enemy, and with the destruction of no small number, the flock became demoralized and scattered. Says Gillet, the best church historian of this period: "In these circumstances it is not surprising that the course of the Presbyterian Church should be retrograde rather than on the advance. The camp, with all the safeguards that could be thrown around it, and with all the counteracting influence which the chaplains could exert, was a school of immorality, profanity and vice. Religious institutions were paralyzed in their influence, even where they were still sustained. Sabbath desecration prevailed to an alarming extent.''

Thus, at the close of the war, religion was on every side in a dying state. Everywhere the churches had been swept by the besom of destruction. In the church of Newtown only five members were left; and scores of others were in the same gasping condition. The regular ordinances had been discontinued, and the young men who at other times would have been preparing for the ministry, were in the army or engaged in secular pursuits. The meetings of the synods were disheartening; the attendance was small, and little was attempted and still less accomplished. After the closing of the war, the churches began to revive. Attendance on them increased, and the signs of a new and enduring springtime began to appear. The winter

of desolation was over, though a long time was to pass before all the demoralizing effects of war were to fade away.

The cause of the Revolution having won, a change was required in the confession relating to civil government. The idea now began to grow of forming a general synod or assembly. In short, the work of perfecting the organization was taken up and long engaged the thoughts of the leaders of the church.

The revolutionary hurricane had spared no religious denomination; for all of them this period was like a doleful midnight adventure. The Lutheran patriarch Muhlenberg had two sons, Peter and Frederick. At the opening of the war Peter was serving both Lutheran and Episcopal churches in Virginia. Fired with excitement, he gave notice to his congregation of his farewell sermon, and a great audience assembled. At the conclusion he exclaimed, "There is a time of war and a time of peace, and now the time to fight has come," and, throwing off his clerical robe, he stood before the people in the uniform of a colonel. The next day he took the field. In like manner the other abandoned his pulpit and became a distinguished participant in the Revolution. The former appears in the stern glory of a warrior at Brandywine, where with his brigade he checked the advance of the victors, administering the most severe punishment they received on that hard-fought field.

The historian of the Lutheran church, Dr. Wolff, after remarking on the length of the war, says: "Surely the agitations and immoralities of this long period, the neglect of the ordinances and the virtual suspension of spiritual activity in many communities, attended often

by the unhappy division of sentiment regarding the war, which separated families and broke up many prosperous congregations, would sufficiently account for a state of profound spiritual apathy, worldliness and disorder from which it seemed for years after the conclusion of peace impossible to rouse the churches."

The ministers in the Baptist, German Reformed, Lutheran and other denominations divided, and so did their congregations. This increased the general discord. Thus, Rev. John H. Weikel, who had charge of a church at Whitpane, usually called Boehm's church, preached from the text: "Better is a poor and wise child than an old and foolish king who will be no more admonished." He himself was full of the war spirit and was often seen practising with firearms. Not all of his congregation, however, were like-minded, and the sermon roused them to a white heat. Time widened, instead of narrowing the division. In the end, having torn by his strong utterances, his congregation into shreds, he was obliged to retire. The same thing happened in many other places.

At the opening of the Revolution Rev. Robert Molyneux, a Jesuit, was in charge of St. Joseph's Church, assisted by Rev. Ferdinand Fármer Steinmyer, who had charge of the German Catholics. During the Revolution the quiet policy which had been previously pursued was continued. There had been so much opposition to the Roman Catholics, that, as we have seen, they had moved in a very cautious manner. After the alliance with France, however, as many of the French who came over were members of that church, its ministrations became more conspicuous. Either through sympathy or policy Congress and the people

ceased their opposition to that venerable organization, and to the religion professed by "our good ally, the king of France."

A year after declaring independence, Congress attended a funeral service in the Roman Catholic church, that of Monsieur Du Coudray, a French engineer officer who had been drowned while crossing the Schuylkill. On the 4th of July, 1779, Congress, the President, and the Council of State, civil and military, and many ladies and other gentlemen, attended service on the invitation of the French minister. A Te Deum was performed, and Abbe Bandole, the chaplain of the French minister, delivered an address. A still more noteworthy service was held there three years afterward on the birth of the Dauphin of France, the son of Louis XVI. Congress and the Supreme Executive Council and many other officials and citizens were present. At a later period, in 1787, when the constitutional convention was in session, Washington with many other members attended a service. When the church had grown to full stature the restraints imposed by the British government were no longer binding, and the American people had no disposition to hinder its free course. No longer were its members among the politically proscribed, henceforth they could live inside the walls.

When Washington was elected President, the Roman Catholics presented an eloquent address, signed by three bishops, Charles Carroll and others of the laity, expressing their confidence in him and the happy results that might be expected from his administration. The loyalty, heartiness and hopefulness of the address indicated their satisfaction with the principles and results of the Revolution.

The Methodists, like the Episcopalians, were under a heavy shadow during the Revolution. The chief preachers in America in 1775 were Englishmen. Their great leader, John Wesley, issued "A Calm Address to the Colonies" in London in 1775, in which he argued in favor of the divine right of kings and of imperial taxation of the colonies. This address reached America about the time Lexington was fought, and among his followers was a weighty document. During the first year of the Revolution, Wesley wrote to the Methodist preachers in America "to be peacemakers, to be loving and tender to all, and to addict yourselves to no party. In spite of all solicitations, of rough or smooth words, say not one word against one or the other side." At that time there were five Methodist ministers in the country, but they did not adhere to this cautious policy. One of them, Rodda, joined a military company of Tories raised by Clowe, who had formerly been a Methodist minister. They tried to fight their way to the British lines, but were dispersed, their leaders arrested, and Clowe was executed. Rodda escaped, reached a vessel belonging to the British fleet and went to England.

Another, Asbury, tried to keep himself within the spirit of Wesley's advice. After spending some months in Philadelphia in 1776, he was compelled to withdraw to a more secluded place, preaching occasionally. Rankin joined the British army after their entry into Philadelphia, and subsequently went to England. Still another, Shadford, whose movements were impeded by his doubtful course, also returned to his old home. Left without any directors, the Methodist church soon became a melancholy wreck. In truth, of all the sects, its destruction was perhaps the most complete.

With the passing of the scourge of war, the sad task of rebuilding was resumed. The work was slow, for the air was filled with bitterness, disappointment and grief over the loss of wealth, prospects and dearest ones. The decay of honesty, the poisonous growth of speculation, the loose regard for obligations by individuals and the state, retarded the growth of a religious spirit and the restoration of the church. A strong flood-tide of skepticism had also set in, which had come from France. Infatuated with French political ideas, many were enchanted with the atheistic notions then prevailing among the French people. Revelation was thrown aside as unworthy of acceptance, and a moral obligation was regarded as a lighter thing than a cobweb. "The clergy were a laughing-stock or objects of disgust."

Besides, the sudden growth of political independence strongly tended to independence in religious thought. "The spirit of independence was abroad, and along with the renunciation of the old forms of government were ready to cast off the old form of faith, to repudiate a strict spiritual authority as well as an oppressive rule. With freedom of religion made a part of the organic law of the land, men advocated the broadest toleration, the utmost liberty of thought within the pale of the churches. Orthodoxy was unfashionable, beads and confessions were abhorred, and freely denounced in sermons. It was even claimed that they were outworn and were generally laid aside. Reason was made the arbiter of faith. Rationalistic methods and contrivances were applied to all phases of Christian revelation and life. The church nurtured the spirit of doubt until she became verily the bulwark of unbelief. Instead of staying the tide of infidelity and its concomitant dis-

sipation and materialism, she contributed to swell its volume. It is not without significance that along with the dark picture given of the low morality of the people, it is generally claimed that of the clergy was not much higher. Laxity of moral and religious sentiment among all classes was the feature of the age."

Years therefore must pass, a new generation grow up, before the poison of political hatred could disappear, the ruin of fortunes and families be repaired, the awful memories of the war forgotten, and society warmed into a more kindly feeling and mutual confidence. Such a change, so needful to the growth of the fair, consumate flower of Christianity, came slowly, almost as imperceptibly as the first lengthening of winter days, yet it came at last; though no one can ever reckon the years that must still be added before the church will reach the splendid height to which it would have risen had it not been overtaken by the revolutionary gale.

CHAPTER XXI.

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

Of all who came to America none displayed such far-seeing wisdom concerning education as Penn. By his "frame of government" the governor and the provincial council were to "erect and order all public schools," and to encourage laudable invention and pursuit of the useful sciences. A committee of manners, education and arts was appointed to prevent want and scandalous living and to train the youth in useful knowledge. One of the laws provided that all the statutes of the Province should, from time to time, be published in book form and regularly taught to the children. Penn believed that if the laws were needful the people ought to know them, and what better method could be adopted than to teach them in the schools? The people would thus become better citizens. By the revised constitution adopted the next year, the provincial council, with the governor, was to have the management of public affairs, including the education of youth and the regulation of manners.

In a communication to one of his friends Penn remarked that the youth must be secured in order to endear the government to the people. This was to be done by mending the way of education "with all convenient speed and diligence." Penn was also an advocate of industrial education; in truth, he was the founder of the system. Among the laws prepared in

England was one requiring children of the age of twelve years to be taught some useful trade, to the end that none might be idle, that the poor might work to live, and that the rich, if they became poor, might not want. Force was to be applied if needed to carry this law into effect; and if parents, guardians or overseers neglected to obey, they were to be fined £5 for the offence. Such were the ideas of Penn, embodied in the legislation of the Province.

The Friends were not slow to secure an institution of learning in Philadelphia. Penn instructed Thomas Lloyd, president of the council, to establish a public grammar school, which he promised to incorporate and to which a charter was granted in 1697. The William Penn Charter School, as it was called, has kept in the front rank of educational institutions to the present time; but though it waxed strong, the education of children was not generally regarded with favor, and when the fourth charter was framed not a word was said on the subject. One cannot help inquiring what had happened to make such a radical change. The system of public education had completely broken down. The last constitution was a concession or compromise. Penn was a wise statesman and well understood how to temper his opinions to the needs of the time. He abandoned a number of his ideas, not because they were unsound, but because the soil was not ready to receive them. Nearly two hundred years were to pass before his compulsory school law, adopted in 1683, could be permanently placed on the statute-book. Within twenty years after his landing, the population had become very mixed. Swedes, Germans, Dutch, Welsh and Scotch-Irish were in the Province, and it

was not easy to establish a system of instruction for so varied a body. The need of good schools was never more imperative, especially as many of the settlers had a very imperfect knowledge of the English language. Had education been compulsory, English would have become the familiar tongue within a generation. By the breaking down of the school system in its infancy, racial differences were preserved and foreign languages retained their vitality. Thus the uniting of all elements to form a strong, healthful common life, so indispensable to progress, was long delayed. This was one of the most obvious consequences of departing from Penn's system of education.

At a later day another institution was founded in Philadelphia from which grew the University of Pennsylvania. A plan for an academy was drawn by Franklin in 1743, but the project was laid aside for a time in consequence of the war between Great Britain and France. Six years afterward it was renewed, and Franklin wrote a pamphlet entitled, "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," in which were set forth the objects of the institution. A sum of money was raised by the citizens, and application was made to the common councils of the city for more. This body promised to give £200 in cash, £50 per annum for five years and £50 additional for the right to send annually to the academy a scholar from the public school. In 1753 a charter was granted to the "Trustees of the Academy and Charitable School of the Province of Pennsylvania." By a second act of incorporation, two years later, the institution became a college with the right to confer degrees. Three departments were created, known as the college, the academy and the

charity school. The first provost was Doctor William Smith. His views on education may be read even at this day with interest and profit. It is impossible, Dr. Stillé has remarked, to read his plan which was to be pursued by the college under such novel and peculiar circumstances, without being struck by the sagacity, judgment and far-reaching views of its author. It has formed the basis of our present American college system. The curriculum was to embrace Greek and Latin, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics, astronomy, ethics, history, and national and civil law. These studies were to cover three years. Doctor Smith's plan did not exist merely in his imagination or on paper, but was put into effect during his administration. Nor were the results unsatisfactory. The college quickly attained a great reputation and students came from all quarters.

The active and restless provost differed with the Friends concerning the lawfulness of war, and deplored the defenceless condition of the Province. He was truly a member of the church militant, for among his works are no less than eight sermons, the object of which was to emphasize the Christian soldier's duty and to uphold the lawfulness and dignity of his calling. Nor did the provost fear the name of "political parson," but claimed the right of "pulpit liberty" in treating of civil and religious affairs. So conspicuous were his efforts to rouse a war-like spirit that he was requested by General Forbes, at the opening of the campaign in 1758, to urge the colonies to adopt active measures for their defence. Unhappily, when the clouds of the Revolution gathered, he maintained, with the other Episcopal clergy, his loyalty to the crown;

and this was the parting of the ways. Many of his old friends deserted him, among them Franklin. Long had this great lover of the public good been Smith's efficient helper, though the estrangement had already begun when Smith showed a disposition to take the side of the proprietaries in opposition to that of the Assembly. The breach was widened by an imprudent letter which Doctor Smith wrote to the University of Oxford, protesting against a proposal to confer upon Franklin the degree of Doctor of Laws.

For a long time the school and the church were closely related. In 1694 a small congregation of Episcopalians gathered in Philadelphia and immediately organized a parish shool. Their example was soon followed by other Episcopal churches. The Swedes also maintained schools of their own. They employed as instructors clergymen of their nation who taught the children in their mother-tongue. But these schools were never well attended or regarded with much favor, and in 1759 Acrelius complained that the churches suffered for want of a better system of school keeping.

The Friends were more careful in these matters, and none of their children, as Proud says, were without a competence of plain and useful learning. By the discipline of the society every Quaker child was required to have the keys of knowledge in his hands. But their belief in church schools was precisely the reverse of that held by the other sects. They had never supported a paid minister or missionary. One of their cardinal tenets was that the inner life should guide into the way of all truth, and that education drawn from books was not needful for religious instruction. Fox was strongly opposed to any other teaching than that which pro-

ceeded from the heart, and from the same source must come the only kind of sermon of which he would approve. As the Friends were also opposed to litigation, lawyers were omitted from their list of professional men. As theology and law were thus outside their sphere of education, medicine was the only special field left to them for higher study.

The Presbyterians had a very different conception of education. Their profound belief in an educated ministry led to the thorough education of their children as far as means would permit. They were far more active in establishing schools than were the other religious denominations. Their ministers were scholarly men who believed in higher education, especially that of the ministry. For this the broadest and deepest foundations were to be laid. In many places where churches were organized, schools also were established, some of them attaining great reputation. One of the most celebrated of these was in Bucks County, and known as Tennent's Log College. Its founder was a native of Ireland, a graduate of Trinity College, an accomplished scholar "to whom Latin was as familiar as his mother-tongue." When received by the synod as a member he delivered an impressive Latin oration before that body. His motive for founding the school was to provide an educated ministry, which he saw must be furnished on this side of the Atlantic. To this work he devoted the remainder of his life. "He had," says one, "the rare gift of attracting to him youth of wealth and genius, imbuing them with his healthful spirit, and sending them forth sound in faith, blameless in life, burning with zeal, and unsurpassed as instructive, impressive and successful preachers." Besides this school may be

mentioned Alison's school at New London, and that founded by Doctor Blair at Fagg's Manor.

The Germans were opposed to educational institutions under the control of either church or state. They regarded them as political and ecclesiastical agencies that should be feared. Many of the Germans who came first had a Bible, a prayer book and hymnal, and a catechism or confession, and were accompanied by their clergyman or schoolmaster. But they did not keep pace with the Presbyterians, or even with the Friends, in educating their children. One explanation of this is that they were widely separated on farms. Their unity was also impaired by their division into many religious sects. Besides this their language isolated them, shutting them in from the social, political and business life of the Province. Yet if they had not been so deeply engrossed in felling trees and cultivating farms, they would have realized the need of unlocking the English language, of educating themselves and their children, of thus becoming better equipped to play a prominent and effective part in the work of building a state. They seemed content, however, to stay in the background, leaving the work of advancement to others. Nevertheless, they did something in the way of educating their children. The more thoughtful among the Lutherans and among the followers of the German Reformed church realized that the schools were too few and the schoolmasters but poorly qualified, that there was a lack of interest in education, and that if no change occurred there would be no religious teachers to take the place of the older men when they should pass away. Longingly they turned their eyes to the fatherland for help.

In response to an appeal Doctor Muhlenberg came, and Schlatter, by whose labors the scattered congregations of the Lutheran and Reformed churches were reorganized. Church schools were founded and for a long time they were the chief educational agencies. They varied in quality, but none of them carried instruction far. Not a single institution of worth or celebrity was founded, such as the William Penn Charter School of the Friends, or the dozen or more schools established by the Presbyterians during the same period.

Notwithstanding the lack of schools among the Germans, one educator lived among them whose beauty of life and success as a teacher have given him a unique place in the history of education. Christopher Dock was a Mennonite and the author of numerous songs which found their way into the hymnals of his church. He was called "the pious schoolmaster," for sweetness and purity filled his soul. It is related that two men, who were discussing his gentleness of disposition, decided to test it by reviling him in bitter and profane terms, but Dock only replied, "Friend, may the Lord have mercy on thee." He believed that he was divinely called to be a schoolmaster, and though he abandoned his vocation after several years to live on a farm, he afterwards returned to his old pursuit. His countrymen at Germantown desired to get a description of Dock's method of keeping school, that their teachers might profit by his great gift. To do this required no little diplomacy, for Dock was a modest man, unwilling to do anything that would redound to his own praise. At the urgent request of Saur, the Germantown printer, a friend of Dock's presented to him a series of questions

on the subject. The reluctant teacher was persuaded to reply on the condition that his answers should not be printed during his lifetime. The request was heeded and nineteen years passed before they were given to the world. They appeared in 1770 and form the earliest essay on school teaching published in America. The questions relate to the reception of children into his school, how they were assembled, how they were taught to spell and to write letters, the training of the A. B. C. scholars, "how to teach figures and cyphering," and the all important subject of discipline and punishment. One of the queries was, "How do you teach the children to live that they both love and fear you?" To the answers were added one hundred rules of conduct for children at home, in school, in the street, at meeting or church. The final precept was, "Let what you see of good and decent in other Chistian people serve as an example for yourself. If there be any virtue and if there be any praise, think on these things." Happy would have been the condition of the Germans had there been more teachers with his tact and sagacity and possessing his sweet and winning ways.

Franklin and others wished to establish schools for the Germans, who had come into the Province in vast numbers and who were painfully in need of education. As the German population by the middle of the eighteenth century comprised nearly half the entire number, it was feared that if the increase should be as rapid in the future, German would become the official language and that the government would pass into their hands. They were so numerous and the opportunities to acquire a knowledge of English so uncertain that much

inconvenience was experienced in the administration of the government. Interpreters were constantly needed in the courts, and they might soon be required in the Assembly itself to tell half of the legislators what the other half said. It was proposed to teach both English and German in the schools, and religious instruction was also to be included. To this end contributions were successfully solicited from the Society of Friends and from individuals for the propagation of the Gospel. Schlatter was given a general oversight of these schools, but opposition to them soon rose, especially from Saur, who was influential among the Germans. He was closely allied to the Friends in their anti-war principles and was totally opposed to a church clergy. His intellectual horizon was contracted, and he insisted that the condition of the Germans was not so bad as it had been reported, and that the motive for founding these schools was a political one, intended to acquire a more complete control of the Germans. In this opposition the Friends passively concurred, believing that the aim of the movement was to alienate the Germans, especially those who believed in non-resistance, and thus to weaken their political power and wrench the government from them. Doctor Muhlenberg, who was consulted, feared that the Germans would regard such an enterprise as a reproach to them. This opinion was fostered by the protests of Saur through his paper, which was read by the Germans all over Pennsylvania and the neighboring colonies. To counteract this influence Franklin at great expense set up another German press. But Saur held the vantage-ground and continued to turn the Germans against their clergy and against every one who endeavored to lead them into

orderly ways in church or state affairs. His conduct is an illustration of the havoc that can be wrought by a powerful influence turned in a wrong direction. Had Saur supported the movement it would have gained strength and the Germans probably would have encouraged the plan. But he appealed to their fears and prejudices, and, though the schools were established, they were destined to an early death. Schlatter continued in charge until the middle of 1757, when he was succeeded by Doctor Smith. From that time the system languished. The Germans lacked confidence in the trustees, who disagreed among themselves. In addition to this, the growing coldness between Great Britain and the Province and the disturbance caused by war on the frontiers led to the closing of the schools in 1763.

The Moravians were always believers in education. From the founding of their church by John Huss education has gone parallel with their religious development. In this country wherever the Moravians went the organization of a congregation was soon followed by that of a school. The zeal of the Bohemian reformer for higher education, so conspicuous in his administration of the University of Prague, descended to his followers. Their first school in Pennsylvania was opened in 1742 by Zinzendorf, whose daughter, the Countess Benigna, was one of the teachers. This was on the model of the Brothers' School in Germany. Afterwards a boarding-school was opened at Nazareth, and the first building intended especially for a school-house was erected at Bethlehem in 1745.

The number of church-schools was inadequate, and many children lived at too great a distance from them. There were large sections of thickly-settled country

without a church, persons often traveling five or ten miles on horseback or in wagons to the nearest meeting. This difficulty caused another class of schools to spring up in small communities, and before long the neighborhood schools outnumbered all other kinds. In proportion to the population the new institutions were fewest in the oldest-settled parts of the State, for many of the people moved west into the Cumberland Valley, and along the Susquehanna and Juniata rivers. These neighborhood schools were at first crudely organized and narrow in their course of instruction. They were inferior to the church-schools, for these had generally been supervised by clergymen who themselves taught or who engaged the best teachers they could find.

For a hundred and fifty years after the coming of Penn the policy of the people was to educate the children of the poor without charge, but to require compensation from those who were able to pay. There were few known departures from this policy in either the church or the neighborhood schools. Thousands of these institutions were established by the voluntary efforts of pioneer settlers. Sometimes an enterprising man, having children to educate, would call on his neighbors to co-operate with him in forming a school. A meeting of those interested would be called and a committee appointed to select a suitable building, ascertain the number of children who would attend, fix the tuition fee and employ a teacher. Women sometimes took part in the meetings. When money was needed it was raised by voluntary subscriptions. Now and then a public-minded citizen would take the matter into his own hands without waiting for the co-operation of his neighbors. "In other cases," says Wickersham,

"the moving spirit was one of the numerous peripatetic schoolmasters who wandered about from settlement to settlement seeking employment."

The provincial school-house was generally a rough log cabin, and the spaces between the logs were filled with chips of wood plastered with mortar. The floors were of earth and sometimes of timber, through which snakes often crawled. Nearly one side of the house was occupied by the chimney, and there were several windows, with small panes of glass. The furniture consisted of four-legged benches made of logs split in two and hewn to a proper thickness, and stools and tables of the same material and workmanship. The desks were placed against the wall, facing outward, and seats without backs were in the middle of the room for the smaller scholars.

The primary schools had generally a distinct religious side. The lowest primers were quite as much church-books as school-books, for they contained hymns, prayers, creeds and catechisms, as well as the alphabet and elementary lessons. The first regular branch of instruction was reading, for this was preparatory to learning the catechism and taking part in religious exercises. When writing was first introduced it was confined wholly to boys, as the acquirement was deemed unnecessary for girls. So deep rooted was this prejudice that some men have entertained it almost to the present day. Paper was costly and birch bark was often used as a substitute. Ink was made of nut-galls bruised, to which were added a proper proportion of water and some rusty nails. Sometimes an ink boy was appointed who carried the fluid in a bottle or a horn to each writer as he needed it, but the custom was

for each pupil to have his own supply. Pens were made of goose quills, and much of the master's time was employed in cutting and mending them. Arithmetic was taught, but without aid of books. The "sums" were dictated by the master and worked out on paper, for blackboards were unknown and slates and pencils did not come into use until after the Revolution. "Ciphering books" were afterward brought into use. Geography and grammar were not taught until after the adoption of the common school system.

George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, was the author of a primer or spelling-book, which was re-published at Philadelphia in 1701. As may be expected, this contained a perpetual calendar and a catechism explaining the doctrines of the Friends. Anthony Benezet, a teacher in Philadelphia, also compiled a primer, to which was added a short essay on English grammar. All through these books moral lessons were interspersed.

The spelling-book most in favor was prepared by Thomas Dilworth, an English schoolmaster. The first edition, printed at Philadelphia, appeared in 1757, and twenty-one years later the ninety-eighth edition was published. The lessons in spelling alternated with those for reading, and there were also quaintly illustrated fables and forms of prayers for children. In spelling, the terminations "tion" and "sion" were pronounced in two syllables. The Philadelphia editions contained a small elementary grammar, but in the Lancaster edition this was omitted until, so the publisher stated, "when peace and commerce shall again smile upon us, and when, in spite of Britain and a certain evil one surnamed Beelzebub, we shall have

paper and books of every kind in abundance, and science shall once more shoot up and flourish in the country."

Of other books it could hardly be expected that a people engaged in so fierce a struggle with nature would soon acquire the graces of literary accomplishment. It is true that some of the noblest poetry of the world was sung by nations in their early days. These, however, are exceptional creations. Literature has had a slow and painful growth, the result of unwearying study and meditation: that the early settlers did not at once turn a graceful sentence or produce a finished poem, is not surprising.

The first production was an almanac edited in 1685 by Samuel Atkins, "student in mathematics and astrology." It contained "both the English and foreign account, the motions of the planets through the signs, with the luminaries, conjunctions, aspects, eclipses; the rising, southing and setting of the moon, with the time when she passeth by, or is with the most eminent fixed stars." Proper attention was also given to the movements of the sun, the action of the tides, with chronologies and many notes, rules and tables, all having special reference to the region in and around Pennsylvania. The almanacs of that day were more than mere calendars, weather forecastings and accounts of astronomical occurrences. They contained poems, sage remarks and a variety of information. Franklin's Poor Richard's Almanac made him famous, and other writers were perhaps tempted to imitate him. At all events these books rapidly multiplied between the time of this publication and 1783, but none approached that of the inimitable Franklin.

No fiction deserving the name appeared until the time of Charles Brockden Brown, who wrote toward the close of the eighteenth century. Imagination could not flourish under the heavy skies of early provincial life, though some of its highest flights have, in exceptional cases, been taken under desperate conditions.

The soil was too rugged for even one little flower of poetry, but during the second generation the settlers, somewhat relieved from toil, began to cultivate buds of verse. After the almanacs, the newspapers received poetical contributions. Rhyming prospered and hardly a week passed without some rhythmical production. The earliest of these printed was "A Pharaphrastical Exposition on a letter from a gentleman in Philadelphia to his friend in Boston concerning a certain person who compared himself to Mordecai."

Aquila Rose has been named as the first poet of reputation in Pennsylvania. He was a workman in Bradford's printing office and, at the time of his death, clerk to the Assembly. Franklin said of him: "He was an ingenious young man, and of an excellent character, highly estimated in the town, and also a very tolerable poet."

More remarkable, perhaps, was Samuel Keimer. Instead of going through the laborious process of writing like the ordinary poet, he was so inspired, certainly on one occasion, that his verses congealed into cold type as they flowed from his muse. In one of his publications he promised "to present to the world for its entertainment an account of his sufferings under the care of the white negro," but as he soon quitted Pennsylvania this production was never forthcoming. If Keimer may be believed, he was well educated; but

Jacob Taylor, one of the almanac-makers, ridicules his charlatanism in the following terms: "Thy constant care and labor is to be thought a finished philosopher and universal scholar, never forgetting to talk Greek and Hebrew and oriental tongues as if they were as natural to thee as hooting to an owl." Keimer wore his beard long because Moses had somewhere said, "Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard." He tried to persuade Franklin to suffer his beard to grow in like manner. This his friend consented to do on the condition that the poet abstain from animal food. Franklin says he used to amuse himself by shaming Keimer, who was naturally a glutton. The poet promised to make the trial if Franklin would do likewise, and the arrangement was continued for three months. Franklin maintained his cheerfulness easily enough, but "poor Keimer suffered terribly" and at last broke down. He invited his friend to dine with him on roast pig, which, however, was ready a little too soon, and, unable to resist the temptation, Keimer devoured it before his guest arrived.

One poet's work has survived the wreck of time. Godfrey's tragedy, The Prince of Parthia, is a story of considerable merit. The scene is laid in Ctesiphon, and the characters are an old man, a good king, a false queen and two sons, one noble and the other wicked. In his arrangement of the scenes Godfrey displayed a clear idea of the law of contrast, which was quite unknown to the colonial poets. He was evidently familiar with Shakespeare, and the fifth scene reminds one strongly of Hamlet. He was also a musician and fond of painting. Apprenticed to a watchmaker, he devoted all his leisure hours to writing. He found

patrons among the literary people of the Province, and some of his smaller poems, published in the American Magazine, were well received. One of his critics remarked that, as a dramatic composition, "The Prince of Parthia" is defective in plot as well as faulty in style, but that it is, nevertheless, "a most wonderful production." His desire to have it performed by a company of Philadelphia players before they left the city led to its presentation in an unfinished state, and nothing was ever done subsequently toward its improvement.

Nathaniel Evans issued a volume of poems, the introduction to which was a witty eulogy of himself written by Laura. This was a pseudonym of Miss Elizabeth Graeme, to whom one of the poems was dedicated. She was a grandaughter of Sir William Keith and a woman of unusual gifts. Her friendship influenced the verse of Evans, and perhaps his life; and not the least interesting parts of his book are the addresses and replies of these congenial friends. Miss Graeme received an admirable education, and at her father's house she was surrounded by refined and literary people. In both Pennsylvania and England she won the admiration of the accomplished scholars and wits of the age. She wrote on every occasion and on almost every subject; but, though her journal, letters and other compositions were admired for their spirit and elegance, they have not survived the test of time.

The first to make a profession of poetry was John Dommett. He was fond of writing salutatory and panegyric odes addressed to the governor and to other noted men of Pennsylvania. His verses have been declared to be among "the worst produced in the Province," but, if his poetry was poor in quality, it cer-

tainly was not lacking in ambitious aim. He died at Whitemarsh in 1729, and, after his death, a eulogy appeared in the Mercury praising his wit and good humor and the fecundity of his muse. In an epitaph his character was thus described:

> "Wealthy whilst rum he had was John, yet poor;
> The cause worth but little, rich, the cause craved no more;
> Him England, birth; heaven, wit; this Province gave
> Food, Indian's drink, rhymes pent, Whitemarsh and grave."

Nearly the entire product of this long period was free from the stamp of true poetry, and only now and then a line appeared indicating genius. The people were too intent on making money and cultivating the land to indulge in poetic fancies.

In this hasty survey at least a reference should be made to the writers of hymns. The Seventh Day Baptists, or Dunkers, published a large and important collection of religious songs, some of which were written by the founder of the sect, Conrad Beissel, some by Christiana Hoehn, and others by various members of the Ephrata Community, as their society was called. These associates were strange persons, often highly educated, who chose to dwell apart from the world. Their book was the first printed in America in German type. A compositor who was setting up one of the hymns asked Saur whether he thought more than one Christ had appeared. To the printer's mind it seemed that Beissel referred to himself when writing of the Messiah. Saur wrote to the monk, inquiring whether there was any reason for such an idea, and Beissel told him that he was a fool. This impious and not very flattering language displeased the editor, and there ensued a war of

pen and type. Among other things Saur declared that Beissel's name contained the number 666, which is or the beast of the Apocalypse, and that the monk had received something from each of the planets, "from Mars his strength, from Venus his influence over women, and from Mercury his comedian tricks." As the contest continued, the Dunkers procured a printing-press of their own, and from it there poured a flood of literature, both prose and poetry, relating to music, history and theology. The books containing music for the hymns were beautifully written and illustrated with full-page decorations of birds and flowers. They were, perhaps, the last specimens of the Middle Age art of illuminating manuscript. It was fitting for this strange society to end in the new world an occupation which for centuries had employed thousands of monks in the old.

Turning from poetry to prose it may be divided into four kinds: religious, which was developed the earliest; political, which followed in Lloyd's time and related chiefly to the relations of the people to the proprietary; war literature, springing out of the French and Indian War; and lastly, the literature of the Revolution. The Friends, despite their pacific principles, were entangled in many religious disputes, nor were they slow to defend their cause. One of the most prolific writers of unfriendly ideas was George Keith, himself a Friend. He was the head-master of the public schools, nor had he been long engaged in mending the boys' grammar and pens before he undertook to mend the religion of their parents. The Friends having climbed into power, he maintained that they should throw away their ladder, and disregard many of the practices which were peculiar to their faith. He accused some of the leaders of luke-

warmness, and denounced the magistrates. In short, he was an advanced liberal. Pamphlet after pamphlet appeared from his ready pen, each growing warmer in tone, until finally a prosecution was started against his printers, Bradford and McComb. They were arrested and brought to trial. The principal evidence against Bradford was his own set of types, and the frame containing them, a potent, though silent witness, was brought into court. The jury when retiring took this frame with them, and, in their endeavor to place it where they could easily read, upset the types, and thus destroyed the testimony for the prosecution.

After a time began the publication of sermons, the first of which by Daniel Burgess was printed in 1725. Gilbert and William Tennent, Presbyterians of eloquence and scholarship, not content with preaching, published a number of sermons during their devoted ministry, and used the wider influence of the press to scatter their strong and timely words. No preachers of the time treated vital truths more fearlessly or with a sincerer heart.

Many publications of a political nature also appeared. For fifty years they were not important, but with the expansion of the Province serious questions arose. The Farmer's Letters, by John Dickinson, had an enormous circulation throughout the colonies, and contributed not a little toward promoting the cause of the Revolution. Other pamphlets also appeared thick and fast relating to the policy of Great Britain.

There appeared in Philadelphia in 1758, printed by James Chattin, a book entitled "A Fragment of the Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi, a Rabbi of the Jews. Lately discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum, and

translated from the original into the Italian Language by the command of the King of the Two Sicilies, and now first published in English. Constantinople. Printed in the year of the Vulgar Æra, 5707."

It is a very clever satire upon the incarceration by order of the Pennsylvania Assembly of William Moore, of Moore Hall, and Dr. William Smith, for having published a political paper, and is perhaps the earliest serious effort of the kind in American literature. Among the characters depicted under names more or less obscure are William Moore, Dr. Smith, Benjamin Franklin, Isaac Norris, William Masters and Isaac Wayne. Franklin, who was then clerk of the House, appears as "Adonis the Scribe" and is made to say: "If any man call me rascal in one ear I turn the other and bid him say on." Norris, the speaker, is prevented from carrying into effect the schemes of Franklin in consequence of a dream in which he sees a strange tree a little space out of the city, "strong and straight and tall," with two trunks but no leaves nor fruit. Then the chariot containing Adonis the Scribe and Masterol of the Suburbs halted and rested under this tree. "And after some time the chariot moved again, but behold! my Lord, the Judge, and Adonis the Scribe and Masterol of the Suburbs went not with it but staid behind, for their heads caught hold of the tree and they were taken up between heaven and earth, even as Absalom was taken up in the boughs of the oak, in the wood of Ephraim, save that they were not taken up by the hair."

Passing to legal literature, it was extremely rare. Doubtless this was in part a consequence of the Friends' dislike for litigation. There were a few pamphlets relating to trials, but hardly anything else appeared

worth mentioning, save the Magna Charta, to which an introduction was written by William Penn.

Of economic works perhaps the most important was by Francis Rawle, entitled, "Ways and means for the inhabitants of Delaware to become rich, wherein the several growths and products of these countries were demonstrated to be a sufficient fund for a flourishing trade." It was published in 1725, and was the first pamphlet of its kind in America. It was warmly approved by Governor Keith, who remarked favorably upon it in an address to the Assembly. The author, after tracing the decay of trade to its source, described ways and means of redress. He urged that a balance of trade was necessary to restore the Province to its former flourishing condition, and that trade, manufactures and navigation should be encouraged. The value of products was to be raised by finding new markets, and to this end the farmer must grow everything of which the Province was capable.

A subject that produced some of the best writing of the provincial period was slavery. The two leaders of that time who will be longest remembered in the crusade against this traffic, and who set the current most strongly in the right direction, were Anthony Benezet and John Woolman. Benezet was a Frenchman whom a bigoted king drove from France. He fled to England, there becoming a Friend, and then went to America in 1731, where he established himself in commerce at Philadelphia. Five years afterwards he accepted a position in the academy, and from that time all his hours were consecrated to public instruction, relief of the poor, and defence of the unhappy negroes. He had a school for children of this race, in whom he

took a deep interest. Besides learning to read and write, the girls were taught spinning and needlework, and were grounded in the principles of religion. A French traveler declares that it was a nursery of good servants and virtuous housekeepers.

Benezet possessed a universal philanthropy. He regarded as his brothers men of every country and color, and his example was a helpful influence in determining the Friends to emancipate their slaves. John Woolman was a fit companion for such a man. A missionary at the age of twenty-two, he traveled much, always on foot and without money or food. Striving to imitate the apostles, he was enabled to be useful to the poor, especially the blacks. He so abhorred slavery that he would taste no food produced by slave labor. His journal is a classic of its kind, containing the record of one of the whitest souls that ever lived. Another who should be mentioned is Benjamin Long. He was reared in Africa and afterwards became a planter in the Barbadoes. Abandoning his plantation because of the horrors of slavery, he went to Philadelphia, where he became a Friend, and during the remainder of his life he was ceaseless in preaching and writing on the abolition of slavery. His principal treatise appeared in 1737. Animated in speech, impassioned when speaking on slavery, he lived and wrought for fourscore years, seeking to remove the shackles from the slave. If his language was exaggerated, certainly his life was without stain, and his zeal for humanity boundless.

Toward the end of the provincial period a historian appeared among the Friends. Proud was born in England, not far from the city of York. In 1758 he sailed

for Philadelphia, and soon after his arrival took charge of the public Latin school of the Friends. From that time until 1780, he was engaged partly in trade with his brother, and partly, to use his own words, during "the distraction of the country, at the particular request of some Friends, in compiling and writing the history of Pennsylvania." He indulged in a little poetry of a serious order; but the work which has kept his name alive is his history of the Province from the beginning to 1755. It is written in a quaint style, and is both trustworthy and valuable. Nearly a fourth of the first volume is devoted to an exposition of the principles of Friends, followed by a description of Pennsylvania, the coming of Penn, and a general account of the principal events during the golden period of Quaker ascendency. A number of documents form the basis of the narrative. The last chapter is devoted to a general survey of the condition of the Province, an unusual feature in such works at that time.

Of Pennsylvania authors James Logan was perhaps the most accomplished scholar. He was well versed in ancient and modern learning, and was a master of Latin, Greek, French and Italian. Like Cicero, he sought to fortify his mind by cultivating the best feelings of old age, and to that end made an elegant translation of the Senectute. This was undertaken in his sixtieth year for his own amusement, and is his best known production. It was printed by Benjamin Franklin.

The Province was not a stranger to newspaper and magazine literature. The first newspaper was the American Weekly Mercury, and it appeared in 1719. The price was ten shillings per annum. Extracts six

months old from foreign papers, and two or three badly printed advertisements, formed the substance of the Mercury. One number told of an adult and a child who died during the week; even that was unusual, for some weeks passed without a single death. Nine years afterward a second paper appeared, published by the eccentric Keimer. It was called The Universal Instructor in all arts and sciences, and Pennsylvania Gazette. The German Magazine and Historical Chronicler, printed and edited by Franklin, followed in January, 1741. It contained some original matter, but was filled chiefly with public documents and the proceedings of Parliament. The American Magazine, published in the same year, survived only two months. Others were launched from time to time, but were never successful.

Among the literary men of the time Franklin occupies the foremost place, and his Autobiography is one of the few books possessing vitality. It is just as fresh and popular to-day as it was when it first appeared, while no other work of provincial authorship is familiar to the people and few are known even to scholars. It is, indeed, the one book which, like Robinson Crusoe, is read by each succeeding generation with undiminished delight, and has been republished in the United States fifty-one times. Compared with other biographies, it is one of the best, and is imperishable. Of this work an eminent scholar, Tyler, who has devoted many years to the study of American literature, has said: "At the close of our colonial epoch, Benjamin Franklin, then fifty-nine years of age, was the most illustrious of Americans, and one of the most illustrious of men; and his renown rested on permanent

and benign achievements of the intellect. He was, at that time, on the verge of old age; his splendid career as a scientific discoverer and as a citizen seemed rounding to its full; yet there then lay outstretched before him—though he knew it not—still another career of just twenty-five years, in which his political services to his country and to mankind were to bring him more glory than he had gained from all he had done before; and in which he was to write one book—the story of his own life—that is still the most famous production in American literature, that has an imperishable charm for all classes of mankind, that has passed into nearly all the literary languages of the globe, and that is 'one of the half-dozen most widely popular books ever printed.'"

If literature keenly felt the shock of the Revolution, so did educational institutions. At the outbreak, Dr. William Smith was still president of the college at Philadelphia, "a kind of pet of the proprietary family." He was disliked because of his unwillingness to support popular measures, but on all other political or polemic questions he was active, ardent and eloquent. The holder of extreme opinions, he was fond of controversy. Though the professors of the college represented various denominations, nearly all the trustees were Episcopalians, and their church was out of favor because of its open sympathy with the royal cause. The opponents of the suspected political party did not fail to see that vacancies, occurring by the flight and attainder of several members, were not filled until popular resentment was aroused by neglect. The absentees were regarded, not as guilty deserters, but as accidentally and innocently

prevented from executing their trusts, and their successors were invariably of the same party. For a long time this conduct was endured, but in 1779 an act was passed transferring the corporate powers of the college to a new institution called the University of Pennsylvania. This was organized on a catholic basis and continued until 1784, when the former act was repealed. In 1791 the two institutions were again united as a university. Twelve trustees were selected from each body and a Presbyterian clergyman was made the presiding officer. A large portion of the funds was contributed by an archbishop of the Church of England and by a dissenting minister. "On President Reed," says his biographer, "the friends of the old college bestowed the largest share of obloquy. Dr. Smith was his personal and political enemy, and a habitual contributor to the party press. That the president concurred with the majority of the Assembly is unquestionable; but, that any other motive actuated him than a fair conviction that the interests of the community would be promoted by a change in the college administration, no one pretended."

If political liberty was to exist, the education of the people, especially those who were to vote and to make the laws, was an indispensable condition. At the outbreak of the Revolution only a small number could read, write and calculate ordinary problems, "and many remained wholly illiterate." In Philadelphia were the college and Friends' public school; there was also an academy at Germantown, and perhaps half a dozen private classical schools existed in the older counties. The constitution provided for the establishing of one or more schools in each county the salaries to be paid by

the public, so that children might be instructed at little cost. The law intended also to encourage "all learning in one or more universities," but not much was accomplished in this direction. The University of Pennsylvania attracted the attention of the Assembly, more on account of its political sentiments than of its work. Applications for grants of public land to support free schools were made to the Assembly by the new German Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity in Philadelphia, by the public school at Germantown, and the college and academy. The Assembly, however, declined to make the grants because the quantity of land belonging to the State was insufficient. Yet the need of public schools was never greater. Population had flowed into the State with wonderful rapidity until the Revolution; then the war, while it was in progress, claimed all the energies of the public and education had suffered; but the time had now come for taking up the threads of order and progress, and starting on a fresh attempt to weave the fair fabric of civilization.

The Herald recommended the opening of free schools and the levying of a tax for their support. "This was the first essay in favor of education at public expense." It suggested that reading, writing, arithmetic and German should be taught, and that the children of each religious denomination should be separately instructed in the forms and principles of their respective churches.

Where the school-master was not to be found educational methods were somewhat crude, as may be seen from the following question and answer, given by the same person, for the enlightenment of those engaged in assessing property in a Township in Juniata County. The questioner asks: "How do you multyply the

parts of any Nomber insted of the hul?" To which he thus makes answer: "When the multyer is such a Nomber that aney Tow figers being multiplyed together will make the said multyplyer, it is shorter to multy the Given Nomber by one of these figers, and that Product by the other, as 5 times 7 is 35. You must hove the Multy Ply Casion table by hart." Let every one note, when reading this brilliant attempt to explain the mysteries of the multiplication table, that he did not forget his opportunity to insist mildly on civil service reform. Verily, a knowledge of the multiplication table would seem to be a necessary and modest outfit for an assessor. This probably is an extreme example. It is not surprising, however, when we remember that from early time people had been flowing into the State in large numbers. With their different languages and national peculiarities, the problem of education was one of the most difficult which they had to confront. Many of the latest comers passed on toward the frontier, and while they were amply endowed with energy they were lacking in culture. In such a mixed population schools were tardily planted and had the slowest growth.

The Revolution was not favorable to the development of literature. No works of note were produced during this time. It generated but one order of ideas and though the painting was monochromatic, yet the single color was so skillfully used under the powerful stimulus of the time that many vivid effects were produced. But a literature, viewed purely as such, did not flourish. For the wings of imagination to spread, a different atmosphere is required from that which surrounded the writers of that day. We can scarcely turn to a poem or

an essay, much less a book of this period which may be regarded simply as a piece of literature. The thoughts of men were turned to public affairs and the letters, essays and even the sermons that have escaped destruction are all heavily charged with political ideas. The most noteworthy productions are "The Farmer's Letters" by Dickinson, and Hopkinson's "Battle of the Kegs." Hopkinson was a musician, a profound lawyer, a humorist and satirist of the first water, and he had besides some knowledge of painting. Doggerel though it may be, no one can deny that "The Battle of the Kegs" is amusing. The subject of the poem is an attempt to destroy Howe's fleet. The production circulated everywhere, was read by all and thoroughly enjoyed, and has easily kept its place in the literature of the period. It did indeed start a ripple which even yet has not entirely subsided.

"The Farmer's Letters" were prepared with a high purpose by a scholar, and had a wide and profound influence. Dickinson was born in Maryland. He studied law in Philadelphia and afterward at the Middle Temple, London, that venerable school of legal learning, into which even now we can suddenly turn from the roar of the mighty city and be at peace, under the spell of great names that stimulate the rightly-trained mind to higher and serener ranges of reflection. Among those who were studying there at that time were Thurlow, Kenyon and Cowper, three men who have left enduring marks on English jurisprudence. Educated amid such associations, Dickinson's love for law and order was as natural as for the air he breathed. He loved his country, and was willing to go as far as anyone in personal sacrifice. He sought to accomplish

the great end all desired, but in an orderly way, because he believed this to be the most expedient. Harsh criticism has been hurled at Dickinson from that day to this, but time, which does so much to correct wrong verdicts, is reversing that against Dickinson. Tyler is the latest scholar to review "The Farmer's Letters" and his study of the literature of this period is free from prejudice. "To him," says this great student of American literature, "who now reads that John Dickinson, having opposed in Congress the Revolution for American Independence, immediately thereafter, left that body in order to lead a brigade of American troops against the British, it will probably seem either that he had somewhat too suddenly repented of his opposition to Independence, or else that he was guilty of conduct inconsistent with his principles. Neither inference would be correct. In truth, his conduct throughout that particular emergency was in perfect accord with all his political teachings, which involved, especially, these two principles: first, that it was the ancient and manly method of loyal Englishmen, in cases of extreme danger, to make demand for political rights with arms in their hands, and even embodied in military array against the king's troops; and secondly, that every citizen, having said and done his best to secure the prevalence of his own view, was bound to submit himself to the decision of the community to which he belonged, and help to carry it out."[1]

Two books must not be passed over without notice, Henry's Journal and Graydon's Memoirs. The former is a thrilling military narrative and has been already described, the other is sparkling in style and interesting

[1] 2 Lit. Hist. of the Rev., 27.

in matter, an age-defying book because it possesses both qualities to a very unusual degree.

The newspaper press had grown to considerable importance, and was replete with a peculiar kind of interest. Though the modern sensationalism was unknown, the newspapers were highly spiced with letters and articles coming from various sources. Many of the contributors were intelligent and observing men of the day, and their articles teem with important facts and reasonings, and often with brilliant reflections. A peculiarity of those publications was the freedom with which individuals aired their quarrels, difficulties and sorrows. Everything appeared from a disquisition on the constitution to an elaborate account of the writer's domestic unhappiness.

The newspapers were the source to which many turned for light. The editor was the adviser of the community, or at least his advice was often sought. On every kind of question he was expected to have a ready, if not an infallible answer. Many of the inquiries were from married men who were over-heated and were trying to cool off. One may not commend their method, yet still admire the ingenuous artlessness of their confessions.

One of these afflicted souls was Bobby Bohea, whose inquiry addressed to the Packet is a fair example of the inquiries that appeared for many years in the Gazette, Mercury and other papers. The writer was married and admitted that his wife was sober and industrious, kept his linen in excellent repair, and prepared his meals with perfect regularity. She also kept his house "always remarkable clean," and strictly performed her duty toward her children. "She is," he declared, "in

every other respect the most disagreeable woman living." If the maid happened to break a teacup the house was in a commotion for three or four days so that neither he nor any of the children dared open their mouths to this "immaculate woman." We are not surprised to learn that with such an unusual lack of serenity in his household, he had a baker's dozen of servants in the course of a year. "The last maid we had," he continued, "she turned away because she was so careless that she fell down stairs and hurt herself; this was deemed an unpardonable crime. Not long afterward she discharged another for wearing white stockings, imagining, "so Bobby said,'' they were too alluring for me to look at. Another because she turned her toes inward and she was afraid the children would copy her manner of walking. She sent away a very fine girl because she wore a wire cap, but most of them turn themselves away because they say she is such a cursed vixen that they would rather live with the very devil than with her.'' Wrought up with the recital of his woes, he sorrowfully adds: "My misfortune is that it is not in my power to turn myself away, or believe me, sir, I would not give a moment's warning, for she uses me, if possible, worse than her maids; and when I expostulate with her, upon her conduct, she tells me I am the happiest man in the world. 'You are blessed with a wife that does not spend her time and money in running about the town shopping, a sober frugal woman, a woman of more economy than any in the neighborhood, infinitely too good for you.' She then perhaps abuses me for half an hour without intermission, and I am obliged to suffer in silence for should I presume to reply the contest would last the whole day. I wish, Sir, you

would inform me what are the necessary steps to be taken with such a woman, for I should be much happier with one who is idle and a drunkard than with such a sober, industrious woman as my wife."

If the modern newspaper aims to present life, public and private, in its fulness, its method is radically different from that of its humbler progenitor. With it, this presentation was an accident, the work of others, and not its own. It was simply a stage on which others appeared, either masked or openly, before the public. Bobby Bohea when narrating the story of his domestic affliction had not a thought that he was acting as an annalist of his times for the instruction and commiseration of later ages.

CHAPTER XXII.

SCIENCE AND INVENTION.

CLOSELY related to education and literature are the kindred matters of science and invention. To Franklin his discoveries and inventions brought world-wide fame. In a paper read before the American Philosophical Society in 1749, his first great result was made known to the world. In this two brief suggestions were given, the power of points to draw electricity and the similarity of electricity and lightning, following the description of a splendid experiment in conducting away the electricity of an artificial thunder storm by means of a lightning rod. "If these things are so," continued Franklin, "may not the knowledge of this power of points be of use to mankind in preserving houses, churches and shops from a stroke of lightning by directing us to fix on the highest part of those edifices upright rods of iron, made sharp as a needle, and gilt, to prevent rusting, and from the foot of those rods a wire down the outside of the building into the ground. Would not these rods probably draw the electrical fire silently out of the cloud before it came nigh enough to strike, and thereby secure us from that most sudden and terrible mischief." Three years afterward, in the spring of 1752, during a June thunder-storm, the immortal kite was flown. Who does not know the story of his kite, made of a large silk handkerchief, and fastened to the top of a perpendicular stick with a piece

Benj. Franklin

of sharpened iron wire. Stealing away on the approach of the storm, not far from his house, perhaps near the corner of Race and Eighth streets, there was an old cow-shed. Wishing to avoid the ridicule of possible failure, he told no one of the experiment he was about to try, except his son, who however, was not the small boy usually represented in the pictures, but a lad of twenty-two, and one of the beaus of the city. The kite was raised in time for the coming gust, and at the end of the hempen string was fastened a common key. In the shed was placed a Leyden bottle to collect from the clouds, if they contained it, the electric ether. Under this shed stood the father and son; had any one seen them, he would probably have regarded them as a couple of lunatics, for what could have seemed more absurd to the ordinary passer-by than the spectacle of two persons flying a kite in a rain-storm. At last, a thunder cloud appeared to pass directly over the kite, yet no sign of electricity appeared, and Franklin's hopes began to fade. Suddenly Franklin observed the fibres of the hempen string to rise as the hair on a boy's head rises who is standing on an insulating stool, or sitting, though only for an instant, on a hornet's nest. With eager trembling hand he applied his knuckle to the key, and drew from it a spark, and another, and another, as many as he chose. The Leyden jar was charged, and both received the most thrilling shock ever experienced by man; a shock that might have been figuratively styled electric, if it had not really been of that character. The kite was drawn down, the apparatus packed, and the philanthopist went home exulting. Ships from the old world brought the news that the experiment suggested in his paper, of erecting

an iron rod on an eminence, had been successfully tried in France, and that his name had become one of the most famous in Europe.

Franklin's active genius was not exhausted by drawing lightning from the clouds. He invented several machines that were very useful, in short, he was always thinking and experimenting. One of his useful plans was the organizing of the American Philosophical Society in 1744. Its object was to unite all scientists, philosophers and inventors in America and Europe. A bold scheme indeed, yet stamped with the marks of its author in its practical details. At the outset its success was not great, for the circle of men who took an interest in science in the early days was limited. At an earlier period Franklin had formed the Junto, or Leather Apron Society, a kind of debating club of young men, and this formed the basis of its more ambitious successor. The society was to investigate botany, medicine, mineralogy and mining, chemistry, mechanics, arts, trades, manufactures, geography, topography and agriculture. A comprehensive scheme, besides which it was to give "its attention to all philosophical experiments that let light into the nature of things, and tend to increase the power of man over matter, and multiply the conveniences or pleasures of life." Among its members were literary men, statesmen and artists, scientists and inventors. At these meetings were read papers on government, history, education, philanthropy, politics, religion, worship and common sense. Within twenty-five years the society had drawn within its circle persons living in different colonies, in the West Indies, in Germany and Denmark, France and Great Britain. Between 1750 and 1767 other societies blossomed whose

aims and pursuits were essentially identical,—the promotion of useful knowledge. This division in the ranks of science, perhaps, was based on adherence or opposition to the Penn family. But they evinced a disposition to unite, and in 1769 were incorporated into one society under the title of "American Philosophical Society for promoting useful knowledge." Of this Franklin was elected president and continued in office until his death in 1790. When Brissot was in Philadelphia in 1788, he exclaimed of Franklin: "Thanks be to God, he still exists! This great man, for so many years the preceptor of the Americans, who so gloriously contributed to their independence. Death had threatened his days, but our fears are dissipated, and his health is restored." Two years later he recorded: "Franklin has enjoyed this year the blessing of death, for which he waited so long a time."

Another noted scientist in his day was David Rittenhouse. Beginning life in an obscure way and under adverse circumstances, in the fullness of time his intellect matured and the glory of his inventions shone across the Atlantic. Both he and Franklin were drawn into the arena of politics, lived in the same city, and were ardent patriots. Rittenhouse was a Mennonite, and early in life displayed his fondness for mathematics. So engrossed had he become in the study of optics during the French and Indian war that he wrote, should the enemy invade his neighborhood, he would probably be slain while making a telescope, as was Archimedes while tracing geometrical figures on the sand. At seventeen he made a wooden clock, and afterward one of metal. Having developed his ability in this direction, though without any instruction, he got from his

reluctant father money enough to buy the necessary tools to start a shop by the roadside for making clocks and mathematical instruments. To his trade, he gave his days; and to study, his nights. He solved the most abstruse mathematical and astronomical problems. "What a mind," exclaimed Dr. Benjamin Rush in a burst of enthusiastic admiration. Without literary friends or society, and with but two or three books, he became, before he reached his four and twentieth year, the rival of two of the greatest mathematicians of Europe, Newton and Leibnitz. His clocks became celebrated for their accuracy, and his local reputation as an astronomer was established. Dr. William Smith, the Provost of the University, was drawn toward him, as well as other scientific men in the Province. Rittenhouse took a part in determining the line separating Maryland from Pennsylvania, especially in drawing the circular boundary twelve miles from the town of New Castle. He laid out the circle, and made a number of intricate calculations. The astronomers, Mason and Dixon, who ran the line between the two states in 1768, accepted Rittenhouse's circle without change. The most famous piece of mechanism was an orrery that was intended to represent by machinery the planetary system. Similar attempts had been made previously; none were able to indicate the astronomical phenomena at any particular time. One of these inventors was Rowley, for whose machine George I. gave one thousand guineas. Rittenhouse determined to make an instrument that would be of practical value to the student and professor of astronomy. In 1770 he completed his celebrated machine. Around a brass sun revolved ivory or brass planets in elliptical orbits, prop-

erly inclined towards each other, and with velocities varying as they approached their aphelion or perihelion. Jupiter and his satellites, Saturn with his rings, the moon and her phases, and the exact time, quantity and duration of her eclipses, the eclipses of the sun, and their appearances at any particular place on the earth, were all accurately displayed in miniature. The genius shown by this piece of mechanism aroused great enthusiasm. Philosophers, statesmen and poets all united to praise the inventor. Thus Barlow wrote:

> "See the sage Rittenhouse with ardent eye,
> Lift the long tube and reach the starry sky.
> He marks what laws the eccentric wanderers bind,
> Copies creation in his forming mind,
> And bids beneath his hand in semblance rise,
> With mimic orbs, the labors of the skies."

Princeton College and the University of Pennsylvania contended for the possession of this mechanism. Princeton won, but a duplicate was made for the University, and wondering crowds went to see the machine. The Legislature of Pennsylvania viewed it in a body, and then passed a resolution giving Rittenhouse £300, as a testimonial of their high sense of his mathematical genius and mechanical abilities, besides agreeing to give him £400 more for a larger instrument.

Another scientist whose fame also crossed the Atlantic was John Bartram, a botanist. Like Rittenhouse he had no opportunity to acquire a fine education; yet by his own diligence, atoned as far as possible for the lack of instruction given by others. He probably discovered more plants than any of his contemporaries in America, and was perhaps the first to conceive the idea of having a botanic garden, for receiving

and keeping the plants of the country, as well as exotics. He traveled extensively among the fiercest Indian tribes, inspired by the zeal for his refining and beautiful study. He had an extensive correspondence with Linnæus, Gronovius, Dillenius, Fothergill, Miller, Sir Hans Sloane, and the most eminent naturalists in Europe, and was elected a member of the royal societies of London and Stockholm, and a professor of botany in the University of Pennsylvania. Presented with a gold medal by the Royal Society of Edinburgh, he also received the appointment of American Botanist to the King of England. Linnæus declared him to be the greatest botanist in the world.

Early in life his ruling passion appeared in a love for nature and her productions. The house in which he resided, was built by himself, quarrying the stone and preparing the timber by his own hands. On its completion he engraved the following lines over the front door:

> To God alone, the Almighty God,
> The Holy One, by me adored.
>
> John Bartram, 1770.

One of his longest journeys was undertaken at the request of Dr. Fothergill, of London, to the Floridas and the western part of Carolina and Georgia to discover rare and useful plants. He wrote a large volume containing the results, besides other scientific matters, and valuable facts relating to Indians. Most of the foreigners who visited Pennsylvania, after he had risen above the ordinary heights of men, paid their respects to the distinguished botanist, for he was always ready to pour out abundant stores of information. None went away without pleasure in conversing with him. One

of these travelers was Peter Kalm, sent by the Swedish government, who remarks: "We owe to him the knowledge of many curious plants which he first found, and which were never known before. He has shown great judgment, and an attention which lets nothing escape unnoticed"; yet Kalm blamed him for his negligence, because he did not record his observations.

Another eminent person was Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant .to which Hadley's name has been given. Like Rittenhouse, optics and astronomy were his favorite studies. Davis's quadrant, then in use, was a very defective instrument, for, in order to make an observation, the weather must be mild, the sea comparatively smooth, the sky clear, and the sun not too high. By Godfrey's invention the mariner required to see only two objects, the sun and horizon, which once brought into the field of his instrument, and their distances apart measured, he found his exact latitude in the pathless ocean, even amid the most terrible storm. Having perfected his improvement, James Logan secured for him a skillful person to try it at sea. As the experiments proved successful, Logan wrote to his friends in England, especially to Sir Hans Sloane, to secure for him the reward offered by the royal society. In the meantime Hadley's invention had been made known to the world, who had probably obtained a description of Godfrey's instrument through Captain Wright vho carried it to Jamaica, where, unsuspicious of piracy, he showed and explained it to several Englishmen, among whom was Hadley's nephew.

As Hadley had obtained a patent, complete justice could not be done to Godfrey. The royal society, regarding his ingenuity worthy of reward, either sub-

scribed for him as individuals or gave to him £200 from its funds. This highly useful instrument wrought a revolution in navigation. If Godfrey's mathematical genius was not fully recognized, perhaps his son the poet has shared a kindlier fate. Time alone can determine whether the utilitarian discovery of the one will survive the poetical outburst of the other.

Another invention that must not be overlooked, was by Thomas Masters, to whom the first American patent was granted. The invention for cleaning and curing Indian corn was discovered by Sybilla his wife. Penn had built a grist mill in the city on the old York Road; it did not flourish, and was a costly experiment. In one of Logan's letters he writes: "Our mill proves the unhappiest thing in the country that ever man, I think, was engaged in. If ill luck can attend any place more than another, it may claim a charter for it. I wish it were sold." The mill was run nearly six years longer, and probably Penn would have still clung to his ownership except for Mrs. Masters' invention. Her husband had come from Bermuda, and was one of the wealthiest of the early Philadelphians. His wife patented and sold "Tuscarora rice," a preparation from Indian corn somewhat resembling hominy, which she strongly recommended as a food peculiarly adapted to sickly persons. Having procured a patent, her husband set up a water-mill to prepare this product for the market. Afterward Penn sold his mill to these lucky discoverers.

Another important invention pertained to the steam engine. In 1778 Thomas Paine had bent his thoughts to the subject of the application of steam. Fitch and Fulton were both experimenting, but William Henry

of Lancaster was before them. When Fitch visited Henry in 1785 he told his guest that he himself had thought of steam navigation in 1766, and had mentioned the subject to Andrew Ellicott, and afterward to Thomas Paine. Henry tried a steamboat on the Conestoga in 1763; James Watt did not perfect the steam engine until six years afterward; while John Fitch did not try his experimental steamboat on the Delaware until 1786. In 1771 Henry invented the screw auger, a very valuable invention, that was generally adopted in England, and on the continent. His son, in describing it, says: "The day of the first trials of the screw auger on poplar, oak and hickory logs is still fully in my memory. These trials in the most part succeeded in the soft, but the temper of the auger in some instances failed in the hard wood. Reiterated experiment enabled the inventor to give a due temper, so as to bore the auger deep into the ends of well seasoned hickory logs."

In this galaxy of scientists and inventors, Logan should not be omitted. He read a number of scientific papers before the American Philosophical Society, in which his love of science was clearly shown. He experimented with the seeds of plants, and in one of his papers, "Concerning the impregnation of the seeds of plants," his experiments and observations illustrating the Linnæan doctrine of the sexes of plants are given. Logan also experimented on maize, and his results were published in Latin at Leyden and London. He also investigated "into the crooked and angular appearance of the strokes or darts of the lightning in thunder storms." Another paper contained "some facts concerning the sun and moon when near the horizon, appear-

ing larger than when near the zenith." Logan was deeply interested in Godfrey's work.

With the advance in scientific knowledge in other directions, medical science did not lag behind. The first medical school in the country was established here in 1765, as a department of the College of Philadelphia. Such a school had long been in the mind of Dr. William Shippen. First associated with him in giving instruction were Drs. John Morgan, Adam Kuhn and Benjamin Rush, while a course of clinical lectures was delivered by Dr. Thomas Bond in the Pennsylvania Hospital. During the hurricane of the Revolution instruction was suspended, but in 1783 was resumed, Shippen filling his former chair, Rush succeeding Morgan in the chair of practice, while Dr. Wistar was appointed to the chair of chemistry and institutes of medicine and Dr. Griffitts to that of materia medica and pharmacy. The professorship of botany and natural history was also created, and for this position Dr. Barton was chosen. All displayed a rare fitness for their work; but the glory of the achievements of Rush, Barton and Wistar passed beyond the knowledge of their professional brethren, and has longer survived their time.

Besides the works and men mentioned, who walked in the paths of science, a very considerable class indulged in scientific reading, speculations and experiments. An agricultural society was formed prior to the Revolution that held regular meetings, at which papers were read of varying interest and value. It was in the atmosphere to cultivate scientific studies, for they harmonized perfectly with the temper and aims of the people. At that time Philadelphia was the foremost city in America in literary pursuits and culture.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ARCHITECTURE AND FINE ARTS.

FROM a cave in a bank by the Delaware, or from the shade of a pine tree to a stately mansion, denotes an enormous advance in personal prosperity and comfort. A log cabin was the first advance, then a floor was added, afterward a window, a door, improvements were made in the chimney, then the interior was plastered, afterward other changes, until the evolution of a comfortable dwelling. Then signs of taste began to appear; and style and effect were studied as well as comfort. This was more marked in the city than in the country. Brick and stone were used as substitutes for wood, houses were of greater length and width, and two stories instead of one. When Kalm visited New York in 1740, he remarked that the walls of the houses were whitewashed and their interiors were often covered with drawings and pictures in small frames. Hangings of rich cloth were imported from Holland or from India, and were occasionally seen in the houses of wealthy merchants in the principal cities.

On the frontier, far removed from the Delaware, improvements in house-building were slower. Settlers assisted each other in doing the heaviest work, in felling trees, and in preparing and putting them in their places. Ovens were built away from houses and without a roof.

One of the more noteworthy structures in Philadel-

phia during the provincial period was Penn's cottage. It was located in the centre of a plot of ground and was two stories high with garret room. The doorway was in the centre, with a bracketed porch-roof above. On either side were rooms having a single front window while the second story had three windows in front. Probably some of the original forest trees were retained. After his house at Pennsbury[1] was built, he preferred to live there.

Of the old churches that of the Swedes is worthy of notice. Twelve years after the first party of Swedes arrived on the Delaware, a clergyman came, named Torkillus, and subsequently Campanius, who wrote a history of New Sweden. The church was established at Tinnicum in 1646; the service was Lutheran. The Indians came to hear the preacher, and wondered why he had so much to say, and stood alone, and why the others kept silent. They thought a conspiracy was brewing. Another of the Swedish preachers was Fabricius, the first minister of the church at Wiccaco. This was a block-house erected for defence against the Indians, as well as the devil, and situated near the Delaware River, in the present district of Southwark. The court at New Castle in 1675 directed the levying of a tax to pay for the church. In that day, church and state were closely related. Afterward a glebe was bought for the Wiccaco church in Passyunk. The glebe house was burned down in 1717, but immediately rebuilt. Then sprang up an agitation concerning a better place of meeting than a blockhouse; but where should the new church be located? Some of the Swedes lived on the west side of the Schuylkill; others

[1] The cost was £7,000.

along the Delaware. The residents of Wiccaco, Moyamensing and Kensington desired its erection near the site of the old block church. Finally the controversy was settled by lot. On a piece of paper was written the word, "Wiccaco," on another, the word "Passyunk." These were folded, shaken in a hat, and emptied on the ground. The first one opened bore the name Wiccaco. All opposition ceased, a hymn of praise was sung, and the controversy ended. The foundations of the church were stone, the walls of brick. The exterior was sixty feet in length, thirty in breadth and twenty in height. The building when finished cost about 20,000 Swedish dollars, and was dedicated on the 2nd of July, 1700. At that time it was the handsomest church in the Province, and was called Gloria Dei. The porches on the north and south sides were built two years afterward to support the walls. A bell was procured, and a cupola was erected on the west tower.

For the first five years in the history of the city the Friends and Swedish Lutherans were the only religious sects. The Baptists established a church at Pennypack in 1687, and the Presbyterians formed a small congregation in 1692. At what time the Church of England was organized is not exactly known, nor the location of its church. Christ church did not acquire ownership of the lot on Second Street until 1695, nor do we know whether the original church was of wood or of brick. Enlarged in 1700 and in 1720, the vestry of the latter year resolved to make a further enlargement, with a steeple or tower adjoining the west end. The addition was nearly finished in September, 1730. It was then resolved to remove the eastern end of the building, and erect a more permanent part. An organ

was imported from London in 1728 that was used thirty-eight years, and replaced in 1766. In 1753–4 the tower and steeple were completed, and a chime of bells was imported from London. The captain who brought them over, without charge, specified that they should be muffled and rung at his funeral, a contract that was more than executed, for the bells were rung on the death of his wife and on every arrival of his vessel. Over the eastern window of the wall on Second Street at the time of the Revolution was a profile bust of George II., with a crown above, carved in wood. There they remained until 1796, when they were taken down and thrown into the street.

One other church may be mentioned, that of the Lutherans, on Race Street. Begun in 1743, five years were needful from lack of funds to complete the edifice. During the interval, and even when half-finished, it was used for service. Boards were nailed across the windows, though not close enough to keep out the drifting snows of winter. The congregation formed their auditorium by placing loose boards on logs, which were their pews. Their was no stove to keep the interior warm, and for five years, in winter and summer, the church was used by the congregation. In winter the desk and Bible were sometimes covered up with drifting snow, which the minister was compelled to wipe off before he could read. The building was seventy feet long, forty-five feet wide, and thirty-six feet high, with a steeple, improperly built, that was, in consequence, taken down. Two porches were erected on the north and south sides, near the end of the building, giving to the church a cruciform shape. In 1751 the church furniture was completed by putting an organ,

one of the largest and finest instruments in America, in the gallery. For one hundred and thirty years the church was used without internal alterations, except the addition of stoves, introduced toward the end of the century, after religious people concluded, not without much debate and doubt, that it was not sinful to worship the Lord in a building comfortably warmed. The pulpit was a small queer-shaped tub with a sounding board above. The pews were square and roomy, with backs high enough to hide children and small persons from the congregation. The galleries were supported by low pillars, and the entire church had a strange appearance to other church worshipers.

Forty-seven years passed between the founding of the city and the erection of a state-house. Meanwhile the Assembly had met in private houses, school-rooms and the Friends' meeting-house. On the completion of the county court-house in 1709, the Assembly and supreme court met there. In 1729 the Assembly appropriated £2,000 for the building of a state-house, and the speaker, Andrew Hamilton, and Thomas Lawrence and John Kearsley, members of the Assembly, were appointed trustees to construct the building. Andrew Hamilton prepared the plan, which was examined by several members and approved by the Assembly. He then desired to be relieved, but, notwithstanding his request, the Assembly appointed him, with Lawrence and Kearsley, to superintend the building of the structure. It was first occupied by the Assembly in 1735, several years before its completion. In 1743 the west room was ordered to be finished as soon as possible, and in November of that year a plan for finishing the court-room and the piazzas between the main building and

the offices was adopted. The building was probably finished in 1744. As the original building had no steeple, in 1750 the Assembly ordered that a building be erected on the south side of the state-house, to contain a staircase with a suitable place for hanging a bell. When the work was well advanced an effort was made to get a good bell, around which it was directed that the following words should be cast: "By order of the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania, for the State-House in the City of Philadelphia 1752," and underneath, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." The bell proved defective, for it was cracked by a stroke of the clapper. The founders made a new mould, broke up the bell, altered the proportion of metals, and recast it. It was raised in the steeple early in June, 1753. The original English bell cost £198. It was recast by a firm of Philadelphia brass founders, for a little more than £60.

The first Continental Congress of 1774 met in Carpenters' Hall. The Carpenters' Company, for whose use the hall had been erected, was established in 1724, and thirty years afterward they united with another company. The object of the association was the improvement of the members in the trade, "to obtain instruction in the science of architecture, and to assist such of the members as should be in need of support, and of the widows and minor children of such members." Composed of master carpenters only, for nearly forty years its meetings had been held in different places appointed by the members. In 1768 the use of a lot of ground was purchased for an annual ground rent of 176 milled pieces-of-eight, fine silver. Subsequently the company sold the eastern portion of the ground on

Chestnut Street, leaving an entrance to the back part of the lot on which the hall was built. The money was raised by a loan, the building was begun in January, 1770, and though unfinished was occupied the next year. Indeed, it was not completed until 1792. One of the first tenants was the Philadelphia Library Company in 1773. During the revolutionary period important conferences were held here, and afterward the sessions of the Continental Congress.

Leaving the city, let us glance a moment at Stenton, where Logan spent many years of his life. One entered by a hall, opposite to which was a magnificent double stair-case; right and left were lofty doors, covered with fine, old fashioned woodwork. In some of the rooms wainscoting was carried to the ceiling above the chimney place, which, in all the apartments, was a vast opening, set around with blue and white sculptured tiles of the most grotesque devices. There were cupboards, besides arched niches over the mantle-pieces, show-cases for rare china and magnificent old silver. Half of the front of the house in the second story was taken up with one large, finely lighted room, the library of the book-loving master of the place. The house was surrounded with ample grounds adorned with fine old trees. A splendid avenue of hemlocks led up to the house. The Wingohocking meandered through the grounds, glistening in many places in the sun. The house was of brick, two stories high, with a pent roof, and attic. Of all the men of his day, except perhaps Dr. Smith, Logan was the most scholarly and cultivated.

Not far off was the house of Judge Chew. Though a Friend, he had no scruples concerning the propriety

of lawful war. In a charge to the grand jury of New Castle in 1741 he enforced strongly the duties of defence. The charge was published in the "Broadside" and printed in the Philadelphia journals. A local bard, full of patriotism, was thus inspired:

> "Immortal Chew has set our papers right,
> He made it plain they might resist a fight."

His country-house at Germantown was a fine stone mansion, two stories high, with a central doorway and wide entrance hall, and an attic lighted by dormer windows. On the roof gables and pediments were ornamented urns, so common in the style of building of that day. A separate house for the kitchen was in the rear, and connected with the main building by a corridor. These, with the laundry, formed a quadrangle. To this place was given the name of Cliveden. During the battle of Germantown, in 1776, this house was the chief place of defence to the British army, and prevented the defeat of the British arms. Little did the occupant suppose that his house would ever prove a fortress to the enemy.

Travelers who journeyed through Pennsylvania in the middle of the eighteenth century, often remarked concerning the large number of comfortable houses that everywhere dotted the landscape. Perhaps the German farmer took more pride in his barn than in his house; in the preservation of his cattle, than of himself, or his wife and children. Certainly, the contrast was very striking between their diminutive houses and enormous barns, and the houses and barns of settlers of other nationalities. The traveler could easily determine a German community by these infallible marks of their

thrift and taste. Generally, the first dwelling-house of the Germans was small, and built of logs, and lasted during the lifetime of the first settler, showing "that the son should always begin his improvements where his father left off" by building a convenient stone house.

Turning from the architecture of the Province to its art, what could be expected of a people in their day of struggle with the forces of nature to acquire a livelihood? Yet after clearing the wilderness, planting, reaping and gathering a store for the future, building towns and cities, emerged a taste for the painter's art. It was first evoked to preserve the faces of the admired and loved from the blight of time. Of those who handled the brush, one name rose far above the others, a solitary star. As the greatest general of antiquity sprung from the most unwarlike of nations, so the greatest painter of the provincial times was a member of the Society of Friends, which regarded the painter's art with disfavor. Benjamin West was a Friend. In his early boyhood his fondness for the brush asserted its mysterious supremacy. At nine years old he painted; and sixty-seven years afterward he pronounced some of his boyhood works superior to those of maturer years. The sight of some engravings was a revelation to him, and the gift of a paint-box was an inspiration. After going to sleep he awoke more than once during the night, and anxiously put out his hand to the box which he had placed by his bedside, fearing that his riches were only a dream. Rising at the break of day, he carried his colors and paper to the garret and began to work. Here he passed hours in a world of his own, neglecting school and everything else to continue

his secret occupation. His mother found the truant, but she was so astonished and delighted with his work that instead of rebuking him, she took him in her arms and kissed him. One of the efforts of his early years was the death of Socrates, painted for a gunsmith at the age of sixteen. The Friends, learning of his strong taste for painting, were troubled and called a meeting of the society to consider the matter. One of them, John Williamson, as wise as he was good, remarked; "It is true that our tenets deny the utility of that art to mankind; but God has bestowed on this youth a genius for the art, and can we believe that Omniscience bestows His gifts but for great purposes? What God has given, who shall dare to throw away? Let us not estimate Almighty wisdom by our notions; let us not presume to arraign His judgment by our ignorance; but in the evident propensity of the young man, be assured that we see an impulse of the Divine nature for some high and beneficient end." This view prevailed, and West was permitted to follow the impulse of his taste, though charged to redeem the art of painting from ignoble applications. His conduct in volunteering as a recruit in the French War was not to their liking, but his martial ardor was short-lived; and at eighteen he was established in Philadelphia as a portrait painter, receiving "five guineas a head."

Through the liberality of some merchants of Philadelphia and New York, West visited Italy. He painted the portrait of Lord Granham, and that nobleman's introduction facilitated his visit to England, where he arrived in 1763. His picture of Queen Philippa gained him the favor of George III., who commissioned him to paint the picture of Regulus. His Death of Wolfe

created an era in English art, for he abandoned classic costume. When it was exhibited at the Royal Academy, the multitude at once acknowledged its excellence, but the lovers of old art complained of the barbarism of boots, buttons and blunderbusses, and cried out for naked warriors with bows, bucklers and battering rams. While he was painting the picture Reynolds, the great portrait painter of the time, with the Archbishop of York, called on West to remonstrate against such a bold innovation. West replied with that characteristic good sense which marked his conduct through life: "The event to be commemorated happened in the year 1758, in the region of the world unknown to Greeks and Romans. The same rule which gives law to the historian should rule the painter." West's departure was radical. Reynolds soon admitted: "I foresee that this picture will not only become one of the most popular, but will occasion a revolution in art."

Work, wealth and honors speedily followed. Readily did people pay a thousand guineas for a painting. He succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as president of the Royal Academy, and enjoyed the best society. One of his best works is the "Battle of La Hogue." West was pains-taking in the study of situations and characters. His successful experiments to discover how a candle's rays were reflected in an old pitcher, his visit to Spithead to study the effect of smoke in a naval combat before executing the "Battle of La Hogue," are proofs of the care he used to apply the facts of nature to his art. Time, however, is the only correct test of a painter's merit. At the time of his death many of his pictures were in the national collection, admired

by thousands. Before many years had passed their lack of merit was seen, and one by one they were taken out and given to the galleries of the British colonies, until not a single picture of him whose name once filled the whole artist world, remains. A short-lived fame, yet happily it outlived himself; and thus he died amid his honors, never doubting perhaps that his greatness for all time was secure.

West had one pupil, Charles Willson Peale, who has won a secure place as a portrait painter, partly by the merit of his works and partly by the illustrious character of many of his subjects. Born in Maryland, he came to Philadelphia in the year of Independence, when he was thirty-five years old. The possessor of unusual inventiveness and skill, he was by turns a saddler, silversmith, watchmaker and carver. He served as a soldier, commanding a company at the battles of Trenton and Germantown; was interested in politics, serving as a member of the Pennsylvania convention of 1776. But painting was his chief delight, and he studied first under Copley in Boston and afterwards under West in London. He painted the first portrait of Washington as a Virginia colonel in 1772; and many portraits of the most distinguished people of his time. So well known and appreciated was Peale that his services were in constant demand, and his name is one of the most familiar in American art.

CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

GOVERNORS OF NEW NETHERLANDS AND OF THE DUTCH ON THE DELAWARE.

Name	From	To
Capt. Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, / Adrian Jorissen Tienpont, } Vice-Directors, ...	1614—	1623
William Van Hulst, Vice-Director, ...	1623—	1624
Peter Minuit, Director-General, . . .	1624—	1632
Giles Osset, Commissary, (killed by the Indians,)	1630—	1632
Wouter Van Twiller, Director-General, ...	April —, 1633—	Mar. 28, 1638
Arent Corssen, Vice-Director, . .	1633—	1635
Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam, Commissary, ...	1635—	1638
Sir William Keift, Director-General,	Mar. 28, 1638—	May 27, 1647
Jan Jansen Van Ilpendam, Vice-Director, ...	1638—	Oct. 12, 1645
Andreas Hudde, Vice-Director, .	Oct. 12, 1648—	Aug. 15, 1648
Alexander Beyer, acting Commissary, ...	Aug. 15, 1648—	1649
Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General, .	May 17, 1647—	May 31, 1654
Gerrit Bricker, Commissary, . .	1649—	1654

Captured by the Swedes, May 21, 1654.

GOVERNORS OF NEW SWEDEN AND OF THE SWEDES ON THE DELAWARE.

Name	From	To
Peter Minuit, Governor, ...	April 28, 1638—	Jan. 30, 1640
Jost van Bogardt, acting Governor, .	Jan. 30, 1640—	Oct. 15, 1640
Peter Hollander, Governor, ...	Oct. 15, 1640—	Feb. 15, 1643

John Printz, Governor, ... Feb. 15, 1643—Nov. 1, 1653
Hendrick Huygen, Commissary, 1646—
John Papegoga, acting Governor, . . Nov. —, 1653—May 27, 1654
John Claudius Rising, Governor, . . May 27, 1654—Sept. 1, 1655
Captured by the Dutch, September 1, 1655.

DOMINION OF THE DUTCH.

Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General, . Sept. 1, 1655—Oct. 1, 1664
John Paul Jacquet, Vice-Director, Nov. 29, 1655—Dec. 19, 1656
Capt. Derick Schmidt, Commissary, ... Oct. —, 1655—Nov. 29, 1655
Andreas Hudde, Commissary, . . 1655— 1659
Cornelis Van Ruyven, Commissary, ... Sept. 23, 1659—
The Colony divided into that of the City and Company, 1656.

COLONY OF THE CITY:
Jacob Alricks, ... Dec. 19, 1656—Dec. 30, 1659
Alexander D'Hinojossa . . . . . . Dec. 30, 1659—Dec. 32, 1663

COLONY OF THE COMPANY:
John Paul Jacquet . . . . Jan. —, 1657—Oct. 28, 1658
William Beekman, Vice-Governor, Oct. 28, 1658—Dec. 22, 1663
Colonies of the City and Company united, Dec. 22, 1663.
Alexander D'Hinojossa, Vice-Director, ... Dec. 22, 1663—Oct, 1, 1664
Captured by the English, 1664.

DOMINION OF THE DUKE OF YORK.

Col. Richard Nicolls, Governor, . . Sept. 3, 1664—May —, 1667
Sir Robert Carr, Deputy Governor, ... Oct. 1, 1664—Nov. 3, 1667
Col. Francis Lovelace, Governor, . . May —, 1667—July 30, 1673
Capt. John Carr, Deputy Governor, ... 1668—July 30, 1673
Re-captured by the Dutch, July 30, 1673.

DOMINION OF THE DUTCH.

Anthony Colve, Governor General,	Aug. 12, 1673—Nov.	10, 1674
Peter Alricks, Deputy Governor,	Sept. 19, 1673—Nov.	10, 1674

Re-taken by the English, Nov. 10, 1674.

DOMINION OF THE ENGLISH.

Sir Edmund Andros, Governor, . . .	Nov. 10, 1674—Jan.	16, 1681
Capt. Matthias Nicolls, Deputy Governor, ...	Nov. 10, 1674—	1675
Capt. Edmond Cantwell, Deputy Governor, ...	1675—	1676
Capt. John Collier, Deputy Governor, ...	1676—	1677
Capt. Christopher Billop, Deputy Governor, ...	1677—	1680
Capt. Anthony Brockholls, Governor,	Jan. 16, 1681—June	21, 1681

Colonial Government ceases by virtue of the Provincial Charter of March 14, 1681.

GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCE.

WILLIAM PENN, PROPRIETARY, . .	1681—	1693
William Markham, Deputy Governor, ...	April 20, 1681—Oct.	—, 1682
William Penn, Proprietary and Governor, ...	Oct. 27, 1682—Sept.	18, 1684
The Council (Thomas Lloyd, President,)	Sept. 18, 1684—Feb.	9, 1688
1. Thomas Lloyd, 2. Robert Turner, 3. Arthur Cook, 4. John Simcock, 5. John Eckley, — Five Commissioners appointed by Wm. Penn.	Feb. 9, 1688—Dec.	18, 1688
Capt. John Blackwell, Deputy Governor, ...	Dec. 18, 1688—Jan.	2, 1690

	From	To
The Council, (Thomas Lloyd, President,)	Jan. 2, 1690	Mar. —, 1691
Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor of Province, / William Markham, Deputy Governor of Lower Counties,	Mar. —, 1691	April 26, 1693
CROWN OF ENGLAND,	1693	Nov. 24, 1694
Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, Governor,	April 26, 1693	Mar. 26, 1695
William Markham, Lieutenant Governor,	April 26, 1693	Mar. 26, 1695
WILLIAM PENN, PROPRIETARY,	Nov. 24, 1694	July 30, 1718
William Markham, Lieutenant Governor,	March 26, 1694	Sept. 3, 1698
Samuel Carpenter, / John Goodson, Deputies,	Nov. 24, 1694	Sept. 3, 1698
William Markham, Lieutenant Governor,	Sept. 3, 1698	Dec. 21, 1699
William Penn, Proprietary and Governor,	Dec. 21, 1699	Oct. 27, 1701
Andrew Hamilton, Deputy Governor,	Oct. 27, 1701	April 20, 1703
The Council (Edward Shippen, President,)	April 20, 1703	Feb. 3, 1704
John Evans, Deputy Governor,	Feb 3, 1704	Feb. 1, 1709
Charles Gookin, Deputy Governor,	Feb. 1, 1709	May 31, 1717
Sir William Keith, Deputy Governor,	May 31, 1717	July 30, 1718
JOHN PENN, RICHARD PENN, and THOMAS PENN, Proprietaries,	1718	1746
Sir William Keith, Deputy Governor,	July 30, 1718	June 22, 1726
Patrick Gordon, Deputy Governor,	June 22, 1726	Aug. 4, 1736
The Council, (James Logan, President,)	Aug. 4, 1736	June 1, 1738

George Thomas, Deputy Governor, ...	June 1, 1738—	May —, 1746

RICHARD PENN and THOMAS PENN, Proprietaries, ...	1746—	1771
George Thomas, Deputy Governor, ...	May —, 1746—	May 29, 1747
The Council, (Anthony Palmer, President,)	May 29, 1747—	Nov. 23, 1748
James Hamilton, Deputy Governor, ...	Nov. 23, 1748—	Oct. 3, 1754
Robert Hunter Morris, Deputy Governor, ...	Oct. 3, 1754—	Aug. 25, 1756
William Denny, Deputy Governor, ...	Aug. 25, 1756—	Nov. 17, 1759
James Hamilton, Deputy Governor, ...	Nov. 17, 1759—	Oct. 31, 1763
John Penn, (son of Richard Penn,) Deputy Governor, . . .	Oct. 31, 1763—	May 4, 1771

THOMAS PENN and JOHN PENN, (son of Richard,) Proprietaries, ...	1771—	1776
The Council, (James Hamilton, President,)	May 4, 1771—	Oct. 16, 1771
Richard Penn, (son of Richard Penn,) Lieutenant Governor, .	Oct. 16, 1771—	July 19, 1773
The Council, (James Hamilton, President,)	July 19, 1773—	Aug. 30, 1773
John Penn, Governor, ...	Aug. 30, 1773—	Sept. 28, 1776

August 30, 1773, John Penn, who was confirmed Lieutenant Governor by the King, June 30, was awarded the title of Governor by the Provincial Council.

PRESIDENTS OF THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Thomas Wharton, Jr., ...	Mar. 5, 1777—	May 23, 1778
George Bryan, V. P., acting President, after Wharton's decease, ...	May 23, 1778—	Dec. 1, 1778
Joseph Reed, ...	Dec. 1, 1778—	Oct. 8, 1781

William Moore, ...	Nov. 14, 1781—Oct.	8, 1782
John Dickinson, ...	Nov. 7, 1782—Oct.	18, 1785
Benjamin Franklin, ...	Oct. 18, 1785—Oct.	14, 1788
Thomas Mifflin, ...	Nov. 5, 1788—Dec.	20 1790

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

George Bryan (resigned), ...	March 5, 1777—Oct.	11, 1779
Matthew Smith (resigned), ...	Oct. 11, 1779—Nov.	15, 1779
William Moore, ...	Nov. 15, 1779—Nov.	14, 1781
James Potter, ...	Nov. 15, 1781—Nov.	7, 1782
James Ewing, ...	Nov. 7, 1782—Nov.	6, 1784
James Irvine (resigned), ...	Nov. 6, 1784—Oct.	10, 1785
Charles Biddle, ...	Oct. 10, 1785—Oct.	31, 1787
Peter Muhlenberg (resigned), ...	Oct. 31, 1787—Oct.	14, 1788
David Redick, ...	Oct. 14, 1788—Nov.	5, 1788
George Ross, ...	Nov. 5 1788—Dec.	21, 1790

WILLIAM PENN'S CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.

BY HIS FIRST WIFE, GULIELMA MARIA SPRINGETT.

	Born.	Died.
Gulielma Maria	Jan. 23, 1672-3	—March 17, 1672
William	Feb. 28, 1673-4	—May 15, 1674
Mary Margaret (twin)	Feb. 28, 1673-4	—Feb. 24, 1674-5
Springett	Jan. 25, 1675	—April 10, 1696
Letitia	March 6, 1678	—April —, 1746
William, Jr.	March 14, 1680	—June 23, 1720
Gulielma Maria	Nov. 17, 1685	—Nov. 20, 1689

BY HIS SECOND WIFE, HANNAH CALLOWHILL.

	Born.	Died.
John	Jan. 29, 1699-1700	—Oct. 25, 1746
Thomas	March 9, 1701-2	—March 21, 1775
Hannah Margarita	July 30, 1703	—Feb. 5, 1707-8
Margaret	Nov. 7, 1704	—Feb. —, 1750-1
Richard	Jan. 17, 1705-6	—Feb. 4, 1771
Dennis	Feb. 26, 1706-7	—Jan. 6, 1722-3
Hannah	Sep. 5, 1708	—Jan. 24, 1708-9

WILLIAM PENN'S GRANDCHILDREN.

CHILDREN OF HIS SON WILLIAM.

	Born.
Gulielma Maria	Nov. 10, 1699
Springett	Feb. 10, 1700-1
William Penn, 3d	March 21, 1703

CHILDREN OF HIS SON THOMAS, WHO MARRIED LADY JULIANA FERMOR.

	Born.
William	June 21, 1752
Juliana	May 19, 1753
Thomas	July 17, 1754
William	July 22, 1756
Louisa Hannah (twin)	July 22, 1756
John	Feb. 23, 1760
Granville	Dec. 9, 1761
Sophia Margaretta	Dec. 25 (? 21), 1764

CHILDREN OF HIS DAUGHTER MARGARET, WHO WAS MARRIED TO THOMAS FREAME.

Thomas.
Margaret.

CHILDREN OF HIS SON RICHARD, WHO MARRIED HANNAH LARDNER.

John, born July 14, 1729, Governor from 1763-1771, and from 1773-1776.
Hannah.
Richard, Governor from 1771-1773.
William.

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