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PROCEEDINGS

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1915.

EDITED BY

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN, M. A.,

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.



VOLUME XIV.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1915.

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Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

PREFACE.

The Publishing Committee are confident that the members of the Historical Society, all of whom will receive the present volume of Proceedings, will feel entirely compensated for the long wait that has marked its issue by the charming historical "Reminiscences of Hon. Charles Miner," the author of the History of Wyoming, 1845. They cover a period of sixty-five years of our most interesting National history, written by one whose prophetic foresight anticipated many of the historic and geological developments which, since he wrote, have made the Wyoming Valley doubly famous throughout the land.

These Memoirs have also been issued separately as a Reprint, in an edition of three hundred copies, the most of which have been donated to the Society by Mrs. Richardson. These will be sold to public libraries to forward the creation of a Fund to be named "The Charles Miner Fund" for the general purposes of the Society.

These Memoirs, with the very interesting Geological paper by Professor James Furman Kemp, Ph. D.; the just and valuable paper on this Society by Dr. Thomas L. Montgomery, and the "Marriage Register" of St. Stephen's Church, Wilkes-Barré, for forty years, 1820-1860, which is published verbatim, will make a volume that will stand equal to any volume issued by this Society.

The "Westmoreland Records", a continuation of what was begun in Volume XI, will probably appear in Volume XV, promised for 1916-1917.

Kindly charge any errors to the editor. The only man who never made a mistake was translated to heaven 3,000 years ago, since which no other man has been so blessed.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
MISS MYRA POLAND,
GEORGE FREDERICK CODDINGTON,
Publishing Committee.



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REPORTS AND COLLECTIONS
OF THE
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

Volume XIV.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

1915.

REPORTS.

**Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for the
Year ending February, 1914.**

To the President and Members of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

GENTLEMEN: I herewith present to you my report for the fifty-fifth year of the Society ending to-day.

The past year has been one of progress in all the departments of our work. The membership does not grow less even if it does not largely increase. The Library and various collections have been much augmented and enriched, but the increase is not enough to meet the growing needs of students who use the Library. It is constantly the effort of the Librarian to prepare for the future, as our students come from all parts of the Eastern section of the State. It is our duty to be ready for all callers, and the material to supply searchers is limited only by the limited means in our treasury.

During the past year the Society has lost several of its oldest members and most important factors who in past years have done much to advance our purposes. Of these special mention must be made of our late officers, Dr. Frederick Charles Johnson, our Treasurer 1896-1907, and Historiographer 1907-1913, who departed this life March 5, 1913, and Sidney Robey Miner, Esq., for near twenty years, 1894-1913, our Recording Secretary, who died June 14, 1913. Full notices of these two officers appear in Volume XIII of our Proceedings. They were both men of historic tastes and habits, interested especially in the history of their native Wyoming Valley, and descendants of the earliest settlers in this historic region. We will sorely miss

their helpful interest, for both have so aided the Society that their names will be found among the "Benefactors", a list confined to those whose financial help has placed them among the \$1,000 donors to the Endowment Fund of the Society.

Our financial condition is gratifying, especially when it is compared with the amount of the Endowment of \$5,000 twenty-years ago. The Society has now an invested fund of \$55,500. Last year it was, as then reported, \$53,000, but the generous legacy of \$2,000 received by his Will from the estate of our late Recording Secretary, Sidney Roby Miner, Esq., with several Life Memberships, has increased the amount to \$55,000.

A large endowment when looked at in the gross, and apparently fully adequate to meet all the future needs of the Society—that is if the Society is merely to stand still, a stunted educational organization, and not go forward to greater usefulness.

But when it is realized that of this sum of \$55,000 fully \$20,000 has been given by individuals and families for special purposes and as such formally accepted by the Trustees, hence cannot be honourably turned aside from those conditions; and that of the balance only \$35,500 is left to meet the actual expenses of the Society, it must be apparent to the most careless observer that the Society's annual income is not equal to any actual future increase of its facilities for the public or for our members.

The \$20,000 special funds are really essential to keep up the character of the Society as an educational and public institution. Three of these funds, or \$3,500, the Laning, Woodward and Hayden Funds, were given to secure annually three addresses to be delivered before the Society by eminent scholars or speakers; addresses of history and geology. The Coxe Publication Fund of \$10,000 was given by that family to secure the publication of these addresses in the annual volume of Proceedings; the Wright Fund and the Reynolds Fund, of \$1,000 each, were donated by the two families of Harrison Wright and Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., for the purchase of special books for students—books not to be found in any library in the State outside of Philadelphia, Harrisburg or Pittsburgh. Four other funds, the Miner Fund, the Lcoe Fund, the Butler Fund, and the Hunlock Fund, were given specially for Geology, Ethnology, and

the binding of books, and not one of these Funds could have been secured except on the condition of its being so designated and so used, except the Lacoë Fund, which the Society largely created. The Andrew Hunlock Fund enables the Society to bind fifty volumes annually.

Now the annual interest from the entire Fund for 1914 is	\$2,780
The income from the dues of 170 annual members is	850
The annual appropriation from the county by State law is	200
	<hr/>
Total	\$3,750
Deducting the income from special funds of \$20,000	1,000
	<hr/>

There remains for the expenses of the Society . . . \$2,750

From this must be paid the salaries of the Librarian and two assistants, and the woman who cleans the building. The janitor work has been done for near twenty years by the Librarian.

While the Hunlock Fund is a most grateful help in binding, it covers only the Historical and Genealogical Magazines, and cannot reach the 500 volumes of unbound books thus made almost useless to the student. For the purpose of binding some of these the Librarian has made, during the past year, \$75 by the sale of duplicate books apart from the Hunlock Fund. Therefore, we really need more money for binding books. This need will be lessened when we have a fund to bind our "Proceedings" annually, thus reducing the number of unbound exchanges which come to us continually from our being obliged to exchange our "Proceedings" unbound.

Then the Society has great treasures in its collections, fully 45,000 articles and 20,000 books, a great part of which cannot be replaced. And yet we are not able financially to carry more than the meagre sum of \$10,000 of insurance on these treasures. During the present year it will be impossible, without an increase of funds, to purchase the books that are really needed for students; books which the Osterhout and Scranton Free Libraries do not keep. The Trustees have for some years annually appropriated the sum of \$200 for books, but the Librarian has not been able to use more than half this sum, because it has never been in the treasury of the Society.

The Society has never tried what may be called the popular means of securing the funds it needs by the tag system, or by employing special collectors to secure competitive gifts, or any of the customary ways of "raising money". The present funds have been secured by bringing people to the rooms and exhibiting to them the possessions of the Society, when they can fully realize that such treasures for educational purposes ought to be preserved. Even then we can only ask our members for generous gifts. Our honored member, the late Recording Secretary, has set before us a wise and generous method of help by remembering the Society in his last Will and Testament. Will not other members follow this most excellent example?

During the past month (January) by direction of the Trustees the Corresponding Secretary sent a circular letter to all members asking them to buy a set of Dr. Johnson's "Wyoming Historical Record", of which there are fourteen volumes, full to overflowing with interesting facts about the Wyoming Valley and its families. Dr. Johnson gave the entire edition of this work to this Society to be sold to create the "Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund" of \$1,000, to commemorate the founder and first Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barre, "The Mother Church" of this section. This fund is now about \$500, and if the members could learn the great interest which this work will have to them they would buy a set at the reduced price offered.

The Librarian begs to recommend, as a feasible plan to secure additions to our permanent funds, an effort to increase the Life Membership of the Society.

The Life Member Fund is permanent and now amounts to \$20,700, invested in the best securities. On the list of Life Members many of our original members of 1858, and others since deceased, have been placed by the payment of the usual fee of \$100 by the family or relatives of the deceased.

Thus ten Life Members will increase the fund by \$1,000 and twenty by \$2,000. A member can add to this list, as was done in 1907, the name of a father, or mother, or wife, or child, or deceased relative, and as the list is required by the By-laws to be published annually, it is really a "Memorial List". Will not members consider this method of assistance and act upon it?

The Act of the State Legislature authorizes the County Commissioners of each county to give to the oldest Historical Society in the county, under certain conditions, an annual sum not exceeding \$200 for actual expenses. This Society is under obligations to hold four meetings at least in the year as one of these conditions for securing this sum of \$200, which the Commissioners have regularly paid for ten years. Therefore, this Society has held during the year ending to-day four public meetings.

The first of these, the Annual meeting, was held February 11, 1913, for presentation of reports and the election of officers and members. The annual reports of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, and of the Curator of Archeology, were read and approved, as was also the report of the Treasurer for the year ending December 31, 1912, and all three were referred to the Publishing Committee. They appear in Volume XIII. The election of officers resulted in the re-election of those who served during the past year, with the one change, the substituting of the name of Mr. Charles Wilber Laycock as Treasurer, succeeding Mr. Charles W. Bixby, who, to our regret, resigned after some years of faithful service. Several members were elected whose names will appear in this report.

The following letter was received and read from Wyoming Valley Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and accepted and filed, viz. :

"At a meeting this morning of the Wyoming Valley Chapter, D. A. R., it was unanimously voted that we extend to the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society a vote of thanks for their generous permission to hold our meetings in the rooms of the Society for so many years past." Dated, January 18, and signed by the Secretary, Mrs. Blanche Overton Dreher.

Through the kindness of Mrs. Charles Abott Miner, who owns the house, a handsome room has been prepared for the Chapter in the old historic Ross house, on South Main street, which will be the permanent home of this Chapter.

At this annual meeting, Professor Charles Francis Richardson, Ph. D., Litt. D., of New Hampshire, Honourary Member of the Society, was introduced and delivered a most interesting address on "The American Newspaper as Historical Material." A rising vote of thanks was passed to Dr. Richardson for the address, which was impromptu. The

speaker happening to be in this city on a visit to relatives, voluntarily gave the Society the gist of his extensive experience in the study of the American newspaper for the past 200 years. An interesting discussion of the subject followed the address before adjournment.

The following resolution was proposed and unanimously adopted at this meeting:

“Resolved, That this Society desires to place upon its minutes an expression of the great loss it has sustained in the death of its two officers, the late Dr. Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D., and the late Sidney Roby Miner, Esq., who passed away during the year that has just closed. They both served faithfully in the office they have held so long. Dr. Johnson was a member for thirty-one years. He was a Life Member and held the offices of Treasurer for eleven years and Historiographer six years, seventeen years in all. Mr. Miner was a Life Member for twenty-one years and held the office of Recording Secretary for nineteen years. They were both deeply interested in the welfare of the Society, active in promoting its success, and generous in the gifts they left to increase the funds and the growth of the Society, and justly deserve a special mention in the records. Their names will be recorded on the list of Benefactors and their legacies will be a perpetual memory of their generosity. We most sincerely mourn their departure. We also request the Secretary to send a copy of this minute to Mrs. F. C. Johnson and Mrs. S. R. Miner.”

The Quarterly meeting for April was held in the rooms on the 11th of that month at 8 p. m., when Oscar Jewell Harvey, Esq., the Historian of Wyoming, and a member of the Society, was introduced and delivered an historical address on “The Beginnings of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania.” The paper was exterior to the speaker’s most admirable “History of Wilkes-Barre”. The thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Harvey and the address referred to the Publishing Committee. It appears in Volume XIII as the “Stanley Woodward Historical Fund” paper; the first paper under that Memorial Fund of our late President.

The Quarterly meeting of October 11th was held for the purpose of electing members whose names will appear at the end of this report.

The Quarterly meeting of December was held on the 11th of that month, when the Society was distinctly honored in

having for the speaker of the evening Dr. James Furman Kemp, E. M. Sc. D., the eminent Professor of Geology in Columbia University, New York, who gave the annual Geological lecture, illustrated with stereopticon views on "The Buried River Channels of the Northeastern States". The thanks of the Society were voted to Dr. Kemp and the paper referred to the Publishing Committee for Volume XIV. Members were also elected at this meeting, and Dr. James F. Kemp was elected to Honorary Membership.

During the past year twelve members have been added to the list of the Society, viz. :

HONOURARY.

Hon. Henry Blackman, of Bethlehem, Pa.
 Professor Charles Francis Richardson, Ph. D., Litt. D.,
 New Hampshire.
 Professor James Furman Kemp, E. M., Sc. D., New
 York.

LIFE.

Rollo Green Plumb, of Bethlehem, Pa.

ANNUAL.

Charles Wilber Laycock.
 Rev. Winfield Scott Stites.
 John M. Humphreys.
 Miss Mary Luella Trescott.
 William G. Harding.
 John Courtney Gilpin Haddock.
 Miss Martha L. Crary, Shickshinny.
 Joseph E. Fleitz.

The following members have died during the past year :

Hon. Henry Wilbur Palmer, February 15, 1913.
 Dr. Frederick Charles Johnson, March 5, 1913.
 Benjamin Reynolds, April 4, 1913.
 Miss Augusta Hoyt, May 3, 1913.
 Woodward Leavenworth, May 26, 1913.
 Sidney Roby Miner, June 14, 1913.
 Addison A. Sterling, October 5, 1913.
 Mrs. Ellen Elizabeth (Miner) Thomas, March 25, 1913.
 Dr. Alexander Gray Fell, May 1, 1913.
 Corresponding Member, Charles Edmund Dana, February
 1, 1914.

The annual volume of the "Proceedings of the Society" for 1913-1914, is now in press and will be delivered to the members in April. The last volume issued was number XII. The Editor has tried in vain to issue regularly an annual volume, his first having been brought out in 1899. The forthcoming volume will be the thirteenth in fifteen years, and this will be about the average in the future, so long as the editor has his hands so full of other work.

During the past year (1913) the Publishing Committee has issued, instead of the annual volume, a pamphlet, "History of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society". 32 mo. pp. 43, illustrated, and giving in full the bibliography of the Society, with a list of members. One thousand copies were issued and mailed to all members, exchanges and public libraries, thus especially bringing the Society to the knowledge of the outside world.

The forthcoming volume will publish no list of members except the list of "Life Members" which the By-laws require to be published annually. It also contains the Geological address delivered before the Society by Mr. Nelson Horatio Darton, United States Geologist in 1912, entitled "Some Features of the Quarternary Deposits in the Wyoming Region," fully illustrated by maps and other geological plates. It also contains Professor John Tyler Stewart's address before the Society in 1911, on "Some Modern Views of the Federal Constitution," and the address by Oscar J. Harvey, Esq., on "The Beginnings of Luzerne County," delivered 1913. Then a brief but convincing paper by Mr. William Griffith, C. E., Geologist, entitled "The Proof that Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal was First Shipped from Wyoming Valley." But the most extensive paper in the volume is "A Study of the North Appalachian Indian Pottery" by Mr. Christopher Wren, Curator of Archeology. This paper is very richly illustrated by photographs of over thirty Indian pots belonging to this Society and others on the Susquehanna water shed, some of which are unique and almost beyond belief until seen. Mr. Wren's report will give more details of this paper, which was read before the Society last December.

The Archeological Department has enough material to provide papers for years to come but this paper by the Curator will probably be so exhaustive on our local pottery as to make others on the subject superfluous. Our Indian

pots, lately added to the collection, have no superiors of the kind in the United States.

For the annual volume of 1915 we have the promise of an extensive paper by our deceased member, Professor Charles F. Richardson, Dr. Litt., on the "Hon. Charles Miner," the historian, par excellence of his time, of Wyoming, containing much reminiscences of that eminent statesman never before published. It will also contain Dr. James Furman Kemp's geological address of last October, with the rest of the Vital Statistics of St. Stephen's Parish, Wilkes-Barre. We are also promised, for later volumes, the records of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barre. It is the purpose of the Editor, if spared, to place in the hands of members, through the volumes of "Proceedings," as full vital statistics as can be procured of all the older churches of the valley, thus preserving a mass of family history which will be new to the public as it will be most invaluable.

No definite arrangements have been made so far by the Committee on Essays and Papers for papers or addresses to be delivered during the present year. Timely notice will, however, be given.

To repeat what was said in the previous report of the Librarian, if we wish to keep abreast of other Societies and Libraries, it is imperative that we make some definite and permanent arrangement to secure the issue of our annual volume bound in cloth, as was done in Volume XII, through the great kindness of Mr. Abram Nesbit. The money for binding Volume XIII, is in hand, but for the future we will need a special Fund to supply the volumes to members in the same attractive condition as Volume XII, which has called forth gratifying comments from other Societies and Libraries.

Students and visitors from all points who enter the Society rooms express frequently much surprise at the extent of the genealogical, historical and geological library; the cleanliness of the rooms, and the careful attention to their wants by the officials? The Librarian adds to the library, as the result of nearly fifty years experience in these departments, the best books to meet the public demand even beyond the limitations of the small book fund. And students rarely fail to find on our shelves the volume they seek, often after a vain search elsewhere.

The additions made to the library by exchanges with other Societies are numerous. The geological surveys of all the States, and the publications of nearly all the most important Historical Societies are quite full. The Librarian, as an expert in the literature of the various departments of the Society, holds himself always ready to the full of the inquiries of students. The wonder to him is that so very few of the residents of this entire historical centre take the trouble or the time to learn what treasures can be found here to meet their various needs.

The Society has had a number of gifts from various persons during the year. Among these are:

The old George P. Ransom "Clock", with its tin can weights filled with pebbles to wind and run the clock.

The old flax wheel used by the Captain Gallup family at the time of the massacre.

The photograph of the twin Gallup sisters, who were in Forty Fort when the massacre occurred—Mrs. Sarah (Gallup) Grub-Hoyt and Mrs. Hannah (Gallup) Skeer-Jones. These gifts, with a number of others of the same historical character, given some years ago, were presented by Mrs. Curtis Hayward and Mrs. Sophia H. Hoyt, of the Gallup family, now living in Boston, Mass.

Other gifts of value are:

The portrait of Professor John P. Lesley, the Geologist of Pennsylvania and head of the Second Pennsylvania Geological Survey, the gift of Mr. A. D. Smith.

A manuscript book of "General Quartermaster and Military Stores at Pittsburg, 1792-1800," by Captain Neville B. Craig, U. S. A., presented by his grandson, Neville B. Craig, of Philadelphia.

Two hundred manuscripts, letters and other papers, given to Mr. Hayden by Mrs. Volney L. Maxwell, Major Charles M. Conyngham, and personal letters to himself by scholars, etc., were presented by Mr. Hayden.

One copy of the Pennsylvania Gazette, being number "1556", for October 19, 1758, framed to show both sides was presented by

Four parchment deeds of 1785-1795 for Northumberland lands, given by Mr. Harry C. Mason.

One parchment deed of land of Joseph Thomas, Bear Creek, Luzerne county, 1784, given by Mr. Neifert.

The original letter by Rev. Jacob Johnson, addressed "To the People of Wilkes-Barre & the other Towns on the

Susquehanna East Branch," and dated at "Groton, Sept 4th, 1772", accepting the call from Wyoming to be the minister here; presented by Dr. F. C. Johnson. This letter is framed to show both sides.

Twenty-five volumes and two hundred and fifty pamphlets, the latter Dr. Johnson's own publications and donated as part of the material for the Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund; given by Mrs. Frederick C. Johnson.

Forty volumes of the Second Pennsylvania Geological Survey; given by Mrs. Charles D. Foster.

Two full sets of the same, 120 volumes each; given by Mrs. Charles A. Miner.

Among the additions to the library by gifts, the following are worthy of special mention and the giver's name follows the titles:

The Yeager, Buffington and Creighton Families of Pennsylvania, by Hon. James M. Yeager, D. D., the author.

The Old North Trail, by Mr. Walter McClintock, the author. Bucks County History, given by Mrs. William P. Ryman.

American Association for the Advancement of Science, 10 volumes; Elliott's Journals of the Federal Convention, 3 volumes; Diplomatic Correspondence of the U. S., 7 volumes; presented by Gilbert Todd McClintock, Esq.

Blackman's History of Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania; McAlarney's History of the Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg; Paxtang Sesquicentennial of the Presbyterian Church, and Volume VI, Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, 4 volumes; given by Mrs. F. C. Johnson.

Mumford's Memior of the Family, given by the author.

The Hamiltons of Waterborough, given by the author, Mr. Samuel King Hamilton.

The Rockafeller Association and Genealogy, given by Mr. F. W. and Miss Grace F. Rockafeller.

History of Newton and Ranson Township, Luzerne County, by the author, Mr. James B. Stephens.

Charles Wilkes' United States Exploiting Expedition, 1838-1842, 6 volumes; Brown's Genesis of the United States, in all 8 volumes, given by Mr. R. V. Norris.

Hayden's Luzerne and Lackawanna Counties Family History, 2 volumes, and Bradsby's History of Luzerne County, given by Miss Elizabeth Loveland.

Hon. Henry W. Palmer's "Fifty Years at the Bar and in Politics," presented by Mrs. H. W. Palmer.

Ricketts' Check List of Philatelic Publications, by Mr. William R. Ricketts.

During the past year the Corresponding Secretary has received 600 communications, has written 225 letters, and sent out fully 1,000 other pieces of mail, all of which indicates the amount of labour which the work of the Society entails upon its staff. This includes 500 of the pamphlets, of which 1,000 were printed, authorized by the Trustees last year. This pamphlet was sent to every member of the Society and to many of our exchanges and libraries whither we send our annual volume, and has thus kept the Society in the front with many persons who until then only knew of our existence. It also included the circulars about the Johnson "Wyoming Historical Record," from which twenty replies only have been received, increasing the Fund to \$500.

The response to this appeal has been disappointing, as the "Memorial Funds" to the Rev. Jacob Johnson should have interested all who received benefit from the results of his ministry here, so far-reaching was his work in the Gospel throughout this valley.

During the past year the Society has received from all quarters 1,000 books and pamphlets—the latter greatly reduced by reason of the discontinuance of the numerous agricultural pamphlets from the Government, 2,000 of which the Society returned to the Department last spring. The additions to the library were as follows:

Books accessioned, 817; pamphlets and unbound books, 200; total 1,017.

	Books.	Pamphlets.
From the United States we have received	362	25
Pennsylvania	20	11
Canada	20	20
Exchanges	80	25
Purchase	61	—
Gifts including 22 volumes of our local newspapers	85	15
	628	75
Miscellaneous	189	125
Total	1,017	1,017

Respectfully,

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

**Report of the Curator of Archeology for the Year ending
February 11, 1914.**

*To the Officers and Members of The Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a.*

In the year just closed the Archeological Department of our Society has been more than usually fortunate in adding valuable specimens to its collections.

The large A. J. Griffith pottery bowl, having a capacity of thirty-four quarts, the fragments of which have been in our cases for over fifteen years, has been restored to its original form during the past summer, which is equivalent to our securing a complete new specimen from our local field.

The Christopher Wren clay jar, with a capacity of forty-six quarts, which was found on the Shawnee Flats in the spring of 1913, has also been fully restored by Miss N. Louise Baker, an expert in this line of work, from Philadelphia.

We have secured, by purchase, this year two fine vessels, one from Northumberland, Penn'a, and the other from Pike county, Penn'a, which had gone as far estray as Boston, Mass., but are now again back home.

It does not seem to be an overstatement to say that we have in our collections many times the number of whole specimens of pottery ware of the Northeastern United States, which includes all of the New England and Middle States (but excluding the typical ware of the Iroquois country of Central York) to be found in any single collection.

Most of our vessels are illustrated in the paper "On North Appalachian Indian Pottery," by our Curator of Archeology, in Volume No. XIII, just published.

We have also secured during the year from Messrs. Edward Tilghman and Carleton George, of West Pittston, Penn'a, the greater part of a very large Steatite Bowl, measuring twenty-six inches in length, found on Scovell Island, in the Susquehanna river, at the upper end of Wyoming Valley.

When we know that the usual length of these bowls is about six inches, it will be seen that this specimen, among its kind, may be compared to a "Super-Dreadnought" among the naval vessels of the world. This bowl is also illustrated in Volume No. XIII.

Other Archeological specimens of lesser importance have been added to our collections during the year, which cannot all be enumerated in the absence of a complete list of accessions.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Plymouth, Penn'a, Feb. 11, 1914. Curator of Archeology.

Treasurer's Report,

Of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,
Year Ending December 31, 1913.

RECEIPTS.

Cash balance, January 1, 1913	\$ 383.01
Membership dues	870.00
Income from investments	2,580.83
Investment account, investments paid and new subscrip- tions	4,508.81
Life Memberships	100.00
Luzerne county appropriation	200.00
Overdrawn in bank	41.89
Total receipts	<u>\$ 8,684.54</u>

PAYMENTS.

Amount invested	\$ 4,500.00
Salaries	2,630.35
Incidentals	220.00
Telephone	36.50
Interest on Special Funds	1,022.75
Books	100.00
Sundry expenses	175.04
Total	<u>\$ 8,684.54</u>

SECURITIES IN HANDS OF TREASURER, DEC. 31, 1913.

BONDS AND STOCKS.

Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 6%	\$ 500.00
People's Telephone Co. 5%	1,000.00
Frontier Telephone Co. 5%	1,000.00
Scranton Gas & Water Co. 5%	5,000.00
Wilkes-Barre Company 5%	1,500.00
Muncie & Union City Traction Co. 5%	1,000.00
United Gas & Electric Co. 5%	1,000.00
Columbia Power, Light & Railways Co. 5%	1,000.00
Webster Coal & Coke Co. 5%	4,000.00
Canton-Akron Railway Co. 5%	1,000.00
Minneapolis Gas Light Co. 5%	1,000.00
Spring Brook Water Supply Co. 5%	11,000.00
Plymouth Bridge Co. 5%	6,000.00
Sheldon Axle Co. 5%	2,000.00
Indianapolis, New Castle & Eastern Tr. Co. 6%	1,000.00
Twenty shares stock Hazard Mfg. Co. 6%	1,000.00
Total bonds and stocks	<u>\$39,000.00</u>
Seven mortgages, 6%	\$13,200.00
One mortgage, 5½%	2,700.00
	<u>\$15,900.00</u>
Total investments at par value	<u>\$54,900.00</u>

C. W. LAYCOCK,
Treasurer.

**Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for the
Year ending February, 1915.**

*To the President and Members of the Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society:*

GENTLEMEN: On the fifty-seventh anniversary of the founding of this Society I present you with the fifty-sixth annual report, giving the transactions of the past year, with suggestions for the future which dawns on us to-day. This Society has been for so many years going forward in all its branches that it is somewhat difficult to bring before you any other report than one of progress, for which we have great reason to be very thankful. It is that which should stimulate us to advance with unfaltering steps to greater achievements than the past can show.

It is very hard, when prosperity surrounds us, to make our foundations so solid that failure is made impossible. The law of this State which grants us an honourarium from Luzerne county every year bases the gift partly on the condition that the Society hold four meetings during the year. In the past this Society has held as many as six and eight meetings during the year. But it is found sufficient to confine the meetings for business to four. When we are rich enough to take up the social features, for which we have had for some years past a regular committee, which has never acted from want of funds, we can make a social meeting most profitable, as is done annually by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Annual meeting of February 11, 1914, the first of the year, was marked by the presence of Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S.T.D., who, as Vice President, presided in the absence of the President, and who at its close made a few eloquent remarks of congratulation and commendation on the years of work of this Society, the last words the Society was to hear from his lips, he having died during the following summer. The regular election of officers for the year took place at this meeting, in which all the officers of the past year were re-elected excepting the late Sidney R. Miner, Esq., for years the Recording Secretary, who died June 14, 1913, and Mr. Charles W. Bixby, Treasurer, who declined re-election. Instead, Mr. Samuel Cogswell Chase was elected

Recording Secretary and Mr. Charles W. Laycock, Treasurer.

At this meeting the following resolutions in honour of Mr. Miner, approved by the Trustees, were unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, Our deceased Recording Secretary, by his last Will and Testament, has bequeathed to this Society a gift of two thousand dollars, to be added to our funds for general purposes, therefore

Resolved, That we recognize with sincere gratitude the generous action of our friend in so liberally remembering the Society by the legacy which we have received from his executor and which we have already securely invested in perpetuity in mortgage, and have given to the gift the name of the donor.

Resolved, That the name of Sidney Roby Miner shall be placed on the list of the Benefactors of this Society as a continual memorial of his long and faithful services, of his great and untiring interest in the Society and of his liberal gift.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to Mrs. Sidney R. Miner, with an expression of our deepest sympathies and that they be recorded on the minutes of the Society."

At this meeting the Annual Reports of the Corresponding Secretary and of the Treasurer were read, as was also the report of the Curator of Archaeology and referred to the publishing committee.

The first quarterly meeting of the Society was held April 24, 1914, to hear the "Memoir of Hon. Charles Miner, the Historian of Wyoming," prepared by the late Francis Charles Richardson, Ph. D., and read by George R. Bedford, Esq. Mr. Richardson was the great son-in-law of Charles Miner and an honorary member of this Society. The memoir was referred to the publishing committee to appear in the forthcoming volume, XIV, during the present year.

The second quarterly meeting was held October 9, 1914, called to make some changes in the by-laws of the Society, which was done.

Mr. Hayden offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Article 2 of the by-laws be amended in the second paragraph so as to read: 'As no meetings of the Society are required to be held during the summer months, any application for membership made between April 15th and October 1st, may be placed on the roll by the majority approval of the Trustees.' Also Article 6 to be so amended as to read: 'Resident members shall pay upon admission the sum of \$5.00, being the dues for the ensuing year, and after the next annual meeting the sum of \$5.00 each year, excepting that persons elected after October 1st in any year shall be exempt from payment of dues for that year.'"

Article 20, last line, substitute the word "five" for the word "seven", so as to read "five members shall constitute a quorum."

The Fourth Quarterly meeting was held in the rooms December 12, 1914, when fourteen members were elected, and Thomas Lynch Montgomery, Litt. D., State Librarian, and an honorary member of the Society, gave an address on the "Development of Historical Societies in the United States", in which he spoke words of the highest praise about the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society of Wilkes-Barré. A vote of thanks was given to Dr. Montgomery and his address was referred to the Publication Committee.

The committee appointed at the last meeting to prepare resolutions on the death of the late Vice President, presented their report, which was unanimously approved, as follows:

"WHEREAS, our Heavenly Father has removed from this life our deceased member, the Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D., Vice President of this Society, it is hereby

Resolved, That we place on record in the minutes of the Society an expression of the great loss sustained by us in this bereavement. Dr. Jones was for forty years, from 1874 to 1914, the beloved Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Wilkes-Barre; for twenty-eight years, from 1887 to 1914, President of the Board of Trustees of the Osterhout Free Library, to which institution this Society is indebted for its handsome and permanent home, and for thirty-three years our First Vice President. So deeply was he interested in the welfare of the Society that he was rarely absent from its meetings, often present when suffering, and frequently presiding in the absence of the President. Always active in promoting

its success, so wise in judgment and with such unusual executive ability that we will find it hard to fill his place.

“Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with his afflicted family and that a copy of these resolutions be sent to them and also be published in the daily papers of this city.”

This evening we have the privilege of listening to a chapter from the yet unpublished third volume of Mr. Harvey's unsurpassed History of Wilkes-Barre, which the author has very kindly consented to read for our entertainment and instruction.

Now, gentlemen, let me set before you something of the condition and real needs of this Society. If you have read the Annual Report for last January, in Volume XIII, you will find it already and clearly stated, except the few additions of the past twelve months.

As you were told by Dr. Montgomery last December, “few Historical Societies (outside of the State Societies) in the land surpass, if they equal, this Society, either in its collections or in what it has accomplished. It stands high and is recognized as a first class Society in those branches which are its specialties.” The great question now is how best to keep it at its present standard. We have added very little to the cabinets this past year, but in the financial condition we are somewhat better. We have increased the Funds by \$1,300, making the Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund nearly \$800, and the Frederick Charles Johnson Fund \$500. We have had very little money for books this past year, only \$100. We have added to the Library 850 volumes, many of which have been secured by the system of exchanging with public and private libraries and the various Historical and Scientific Societies in the United States. These additions are most valuable for our special work in History and Geology. During the coming year this system will be more extensively carried out if time and strength continue. In the binding of our unbound books the same thing has occurred with only \$50 annually from the Hunlock Fund with which to bind our Historical Magazines. We have had bound fully 300 volumes, and paid for them by selling the many duplicate books that annually come to the Society, thus securing fully \$250, so that our library has altered its appearance greatly to one more attractive, not only in mater-

ial but in beauty. We still have several hundred books that await binding and cannot well be used until they are bound. But arrangements have been made with the binding firm of Raeder Company to bind 100 volumes with the annual volume which issues this Fall and at the same price of 40 cents per volume, of which 400 volumes are bound at once and in the same style as Volume XIII, which you received last year. Thus by hard work we have made up very much of what was sorely needed and which had long been undone for want of money. We accepted from members, or others during house cleaning time all the printed books, pamphlets, magazines and other rubbish they would otherwise throw away or sell to the paper mills, which destroy it to make over the paper on which it is printed. These books or pamphlets or files of old newspapers are sold to other libraries or booksellers, to be placed in other libraries. Last year a full set of the Transactions of Mining Engineers were sold for \$40 cash. The publishers having brought down their price from \$200 to \$50. I have sold, also, other sets of duplicates at prices a little less than sold by second-hand dealers, and put all money thus secured in the binding fund. Therefore, when you want to get rid of historical and scientific publications or periodicals to make room for other books, kindly send them to the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, to be used in the best way for its library.

Permit me now to present something about the financial condition, with as little repetition as possible of last year's report, as both reports will be published in our fourteenth volume, now in press.

It does not seem necessary to repeat what we said in last year's report about Special Funds. The Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund, then reported as having reached the sum of \$500, has during the past year reached \$800. All who have secured sets of the "Wyoming Historical Register," which is the basis of this Fund, have been greatly pleased with the purchase, as the work is so rich in local history that no one can read it without pleasure and profit. While your libraries may be full you will not regret the money paid for this most interesting publication, when you recall that the person whom we honour by the Fund was the founder of all the Christian services and influences exerted in the Wyoming Valley from its first settlement in 1769 to 1794, the first settled Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in

Wilkes-Barre, and one whose name is worthy of the highest honour. Fifteen sets are still in hand awaiting purchasers. Of course, it goes without saying that every copy of the "Proceedings" of this Society sold adds to the special funds as the property of the Society, hence whatever is received from any source by sale of these Proceedings goes by right to the Johnson or other unfinished Fund, so that the Jacob Johnson Fund has already received over \$100 from this source.

In the early days of the Society, Wilkes-Barre was a small town, with not business enough to keep men occupied all the day. Leisure was a common property of the man of business. Meetings of the Society were easily held in the day time. When the present Librarian visited the annual meeting, 1880, the town had only 23,000 population. The Society met in an old hall then over the Miner's Bank. We had no invested Funds. Only two of the members then present are alive to-day. In 1887, with a population of 34,000, it was very much the same. In 1893, by the sale of our lot, which was located where now stands the city hall, we acquired Funds of \$5,000. In 1895 it was increased by Life Members to \$8,000. To-day the Endowment Funds amount to \$56,000. Of the members, one hundred and eighty in number, in 1886, only twenty-five survive. Thus the Society has been obliged to keep pace with the many deaths and the large increase of population, now seventy thousand. With this increase came an equal increase in business activity. We had then seven banks. Now we have over twenty, and with this increase of financial business the people are realizing more and more that "time is money" and demand compensation for work done, which thirty years ago was done for the pleasure and gratification of friends.

Doubtless all who are here to-day recall the fact that until some fifteen years ago the best citizens, when elected to the position of President or Director of one of our city banks, gladly accepted the office, which carried with it no higher emolument than the honour it conferred. To-day, every such office carries with it a monetary compensation, which not only is remunerative but which entails personal responsibility, and hence is financially appreciated. Let us apply this to our Society work.

In 1880, with such men in charge as Dr. Charles F. Ing-

ham, Dr. Harrison Wright, Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., all more or less men of leisure, it was apparently easy to secure annual reports of work done in the Society, with no thought of compensation. With five Curators, each rendering an annual written report, such as are published in Volume II of our proceedings, the personal element was recognized and appreciated. But with the growth of population and equal growth of enterprise in this city, the personal element began to disappear, and from 1886 to 1894 few written reports on the various departments were rendered by the Curators. In publishing Volume IV of the Proceedings only one could be found, that of Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., who died 1895. Since then the Curator of Archaeology alone has sent in annually his report of the department and the work done, and the Curator of Geology has made an index of the minerals in his department. We have now four Curators in care of the departments of Geology, Archaeology, Paleobotany and Paleozoology, for each of which departments we have splendid collections worth enlarging, enriching and reporting.

As time is money, especially to men, who through the day are occupied with exacting duties in business, it would be a very great advantage to the Society if we had the means with which to pay each Curator or his assistant (which he is allowed to appoint) on making an annual report of something done, a fee or an honourarium of \$25 to \$50. This would carry with it a sense of obligation *to work*, and the annual report would bring with it an interest on the part of members and the public in the collections of the Society. And unless something like that is done the Society may as well consider its collections as completed. The Librarian spends most of his time in building up and keeping up the Library; and the Ethnological department, with its Curator, who annually sends in his written report, is so carefully attended to that these two departments are open and accessible to the public and attract thousands of visitors annually. An honourarium would surely be acceptable to students in these departments, and with our Wyoming Seminary, Wilkes-Barre Academy, and Wilkes-Barre Institute, to say nothing of our splendid Wilkes-Barre High School, assistant Curators who are studying science could be easily secured by the attraction of an honourarium to increase the student's financial happiness.

Of course, this plan would require additions to our Endowment Funds. But when it is a question whether we will secure that addition or virtually close up the exhibition of our splendid scientific collections as completed, that question comes home to every member of the Society, especially to those whom God has blessed with money, more money than they can spend on themselves, and money which in its power to educate is a trust for which every man who possesses it must answer.

The most important feature of the Society are these collections comprising 45,000 things, of which 12,000 are geological (minerals, and coal fossils), and 26,000 Indian artifacts, which are largely local, and Indian pottery unsurpassed. Shall we let them stand still unimproved or unincreased, or shall we continue to make them the very important feature which they have always been to students and visitors?

During the past year the following persons were elected to membership in the Society :

LIFE MEMBER.

Irving Stearns Shoemaker.

ANNUAL.

James Seymour Brace, Bloomsburg.

Henry C. Carr, Scranton.

Samuel Cogswell Chase.

William Henry Dean, EM., AC.

Miss Helen Dougherty.

Charles K. Gloman.

Lyman H. Howe.

Horace Edwin Hayden, Jr., M. A.

Benjamin W. Jenkins.

Harry E. Jordan.

Robert VanA. Norris, Jr.

Samuel T. Nicholson.

Philip S. Rice.

Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Son.

Theodore Constant VonStorch, Jr., Scranton.

Isaac Thomas.

The following members have died during the past year :

HONOURARY.

Charles Francis Richardson, Ph. D., Litt. D.

LIFE.

Edward Welles, d. March 8, 1914.
 Miss Lucy W. Abbott, d. December 3, 1914.
 Mrs. Mary D. (Fell) Derr, d. May 6, 1914.
 Henry Harrison Harvey, d. February 4, 1915.

ANNUAL.

Luther Curran Darte, d. May 1, 1913.
 George H. Flannagan, d. January 10, 1915.
 John Courtney Gilpin Haddock, d. December 20, 1914.
 Theodore Constant VonStorch, Sr.
 Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D., d. June 17, 1914.
 Moses Waller Wadhams, d. January 10, 1915.

Added by election	16
Lost by death	10
	—
Gain	6

**Report of the Curator of Archeology for the Year ending
February, 1915.**

*To the Officers of The Wyoming Historical and Geological
Society, Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a.*

GENTLEMEN: In submitting a brief report of the Archeological Department of our Society for the year 1914, it may be said that the general public has shown the usual interest in our collections by about the same number of visits to our rooms as in former years.

During the past year our rooms have been visited by several professional Archeologists from a distance, among them Prof. G. B. Gordon of the University of Pennsylvania and George H. Pepper of the George G. Heye Museum of New York City, who spoke in complimentary terms of the different collections in our cases, and especially of the number and variety of our collection of Indian Pottery of the eastern United States.

Following the example of a number of the States, in the spring of 1914, the Governor of Pennsylvania appointed a Historical Commission, with the object of giving more attention to historical matters and the formation of a State Museum, somewhat on the lines of The Smithsonian and National Museum at Washington, D. C., and including the handiwork of the American Indian, within our borders.

In the formative period of our Nation, no State made more history than our own or is richer in historical matter than Pennsylvania. In objects suitable for forming a State Museum, in the way of early farming implements, household utensils, furniture, etc., we are also very rich, both in the home-made product and such as were imported through Philadelphia, the metropolis of the country, at a time when the most distinctive types of European furniture, etc., were being made.

These things are becoming more scarce, and there will never be as favorable a time as the present for collecting them into a permanent depository. Other parts of the country are eagerly buying them up, and when they once get into a Museum they are lost to us forever.

We sincerely hope that our State Museum will grow to be a credit to our great State of Pennsylvania.

The year 1914 has not been entirely barren in securing desirable additions to the collections of our own Society.

Respectfully submitted,

Plymouth, Penn'a, Feb., 1915. CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Curator of Archeology.

Treasurer's Report,

Of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,
Year Ending December 31, 1914.

RECEIPTS.

Membership dues	\$ 870.00
Income from investments	3,199.25
Investment account, investments paid, etc.	2,156.96
Life Memberships	200.00
Luzerne county appropriation	200.00
F. C. Johnson Fund	501.00
Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund	517.77
Total receipts	\$ 7,644.98

EXPENDITURES.

Overdraft January 1, 1914	\$ 41.89
Salaries	2,681.00
Incidentals	120.00
Telephone	37.50
Interest on Special Funds	523.50
Books	100.00
Sundry expenses	133.39
Binding account	100.00
Balance, Check account	\$ 393.63
Savings account	3,514.07
Total	\$ 3,907.70
Total	\$ 7,644.98

SECURITIES IN HANDS OF TREASURER, JULY 1, 1915.

BONDS AND STOCKS.

Pacific Gas & Electric Co. 6%	\$ 500.00
People's Telephone Co. 5%	1,000.00
Frontier Telephone Co. 5%	1,000.00
Scranton Gas & Water Co. 5%	5,000.00
Wilkes-Barre Company 5%	1,500.00
Muncie & Union City Traction Co. 5%	1,000.00
United Gas & Electric Co. 5%	1,000.00
Columbia Power, Light & Railways Co. 5%	1,000.00
Webster Coal & Coke Co. 5%	4,000.00
Canton-Akron Railway Co. 5%	1,000.00
Minneapolis Gas Light Co. 5%	1,000.00
Spring Brook Water Supply Co. 5%	11,000.00
Plymouth Bridge Co. 5%	6,000.00
Sheldon Axle Co. 5%	2,000.00
Indianapolis, New Castle & Eastern Tr. Co. 6%	1,000.00
Twenty shares stock Hazard Mfg. Co. 6%	1,000.00
Total bonds and stocks	\$39,000.00
Six mortgages, 6%	\$11,200.00
One mortgage, 5½%	2,700.00
Two mortgages, 1915, April, 6%	3,700.00
Total	17,600.00

Total investments at par value \$56,600.00

C. W. LAYCOCK,
Treasurer.

**Funds Participating in the Income and Investments,
July 1, 1915.**

GENERAL FUNDS.

1.	Colonel Matthias Hollenback Fund, General	2,000.00
2.	Dr. Charles F. Ingham Fund	500.00
	(Minimum \$1,000.)	
3.	Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund, General	800.00
	(Minimum \$1,000.)	
4.	Fred Morgan Kirby Fund, General	1,000.00
5.	Abram Nesbitt Fund, General	1,000.00
6.	Captain L. Denison Stearns Fund, General	1,000.00
7.	Dr. Lewis H. Taylor Fund, General	1,000.00
8.	Edward Welles Fund, General	1,000.00
9.	Life Membership Fund	21,000.00
10.	General Fund	4,300.00
11.	George Slocum Bennett Fund, General	1,000.00
12.	Sidney Roby Miner Fund, General	2,000.00
13.	Dr. Frederick Charles Johnson's Fund, General	500.00
	(Minimum \$1,000.)	
		\$37,100.00

SPECIAL FUNDS.

1.	Colonel Zebulon Butler Fund, Ethnology	\$ 1,000.00
2.	Coxe Family Publication Fund	10,000.00
3.	Horace Edwin Hayden Fund, Geological Lectures....	1,500.00
4.	Andrew Hunlock Fund, Binding	1,000.00
5.	Ralph D. Lacoë Fund, Paleozoology	1,000.00
6.	Augustus C. Laning Fund, Historical Lectures	1,000.00
7.	Sheldon Reynolds Fund, American History	1,000.00
8.	Hon. Stanley Woodward Fund, Historical Lectures..	1,000.00
9.	Dr. Harrison Wright Fund, Heraldry	1,000.00
10.	Hon. Charles Abbott Miner Fund, Geology	1,000.00
		\$19,500.00
23.	Total	\$56,600.00

EXPLANATION OF THE SPECIAL FUNDS.

It will be noticed that of the "Invested Fund" of \$56,600, reported on page 32, fully one-third, or about \$19,500 is marked for special purposes, leaving only \$37,000 for general purposes. This is fully explained in Volume XII, page 20a. It is briefly referred to here for the benefit of members.

These Special Funds are all of private origin, given only for the purpose specified in the gift, hence could not be used for the current expenses of the Society, for which the remainder, \$37,000, is not sufficient if the Society expects to grow in usefulness.

Fund No. 1 was given by the heirs of Colonel Zebulon Butler exclusively (as a Memorial to that distinguished officer), and designated for the Ethnological department of the Society.

Fund No. 2 was given by the Coxe family of Drifton exclusively to provide for the annual Publications of the Society and cannot be diverted to other uses.

Fund No. 3 was created by Rev. Mr. Hayden to secure an annual Geological address before the Society.

Fund No. 4 was given by Mr. Andrew Hunlock to meet the very great need of binding books.

Fund No. 5 was created by the family of Mr. R. D. Lacoë and the Society to provide for the large Lacoë Paleozoic collection presented by that gentleman.

Fund No. 6 was given by Mrs. George Cotton Smith in memory of her father, Augustus C. Laning, Vice President, 1861, to provide annually an Historical address before the Society.

Fund No. 7 was given by the immediate family of Shel-

don Reynolds, Esq., President, 1895, to establish a Memorial library of rare American history.

Fund No. 8 was created by the sons of our honoured founder and President, Judge Stanley Woodward, also to provide an annual Historical paper to be read before the Society.

Fund No. 9 was the gift of the relatives of Harrison Wright, Ph. D., to whom the Society is so deeply indebted, to create a Memorial library of English heraldry and genealogy.

Fund No. 10 was designated by the givers, the family of Hon. Charles A. Miner, so long a Trustee of the Society, for Geological purposes.

All the rest of the Funds of the Society are devoted to general purposes and contributed as such by individuals, except the Life Member Fund, which is created by the Life Members fees, all of which are invested.

There are other needs for which members are urged to contribute to meet the growing work of the Society, the only organization of its kind and importance in the State outside of Philadelphia. Why cannot members mention in their Wills gifts for the increase of these Funds and so perpetuate their own names by useful giving that will live after them?

BURIED RIVER CHANNELS OF THE NORTH-EASTERN STATES.

BY JAMES FURMAN KEMP, E. M., Sc. D.
Professor of Geology, Columbia University.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.
DECEMBER 12, 1913.

(HAYDEN GEOLOGICAL LECTURE FUND.)

Introduction: The home of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is in one of the most famous of American valleys. The Society is appropriately named, since few places combine history and geology to so great a degree. With the historical incidents of the early colonial days everyone is familiar. The men and women now in middle life recall in very many cases the little volume "Gertrude of Wyoming," which lay on the parlor table or on the "what-not" in the parlor corner during their childhood days. The stories of Indian massacre, and of inter-colonial rivalries and jealousies were learned by us both at home and in school. And when, in later life, we began to travel and after passing over the wild mountains of the Pocono ridge, first looked from the car windows upon this smiling valley, we did not wonder that the early settlers pushed through the encircling wilderness to establish their homes on its fertile meadow.

The student of geology, on the other hand, learns early of the names of William Barton Rogers, of the first State Survey, and his helpers, whose work received all too little recognition in the final reports; of Peter Lesley, who sought to give every man his due in the volumes of the Second Survey; and of Charles A. Ashburner, Frank A. Hill, A. D. W. Smith and others who gathered and recorded the data for plotting the wonderful folds in the strata deep beneath the waters of the Susquehanna. Nor are we unmindful that anthracite, the smokeless fuel of the Eastern States,

to which we owe our clear skies and bright sunshine, was first discovered just about a century and a half ago at the mouth of Mill Creek, within the limits of the present city of Wilkes-Barré, and that its great reserves are in the Wyoming Valley. The coal seams are not only the foundation of a great industry in themselves, but are also the support of many tributary ones in transportation and manufacturing. The geologist finds here a place where his branch of science has been pre-eminently applied to the solution of problems in mining and in other branches of engineering. As time passes we are learning that geology can be of greater and greater service in these respects. More and more the records of careful observers are used to prevent mistakes and accidents; and more and more the general science itself profits from the exact data which are furnished by the work of the engineer. The address which I have the great honor and privilege of presenting to you to-night is in far the largest part based upon the results which have been accumulated in engineering enterprises, and I have selected the subject because it seemed to be specially appropriate to these surroundings.

The Wyoming Valley. The shafts which were early put down in the Wyoming-Lackawanna basin revealed an impressive thickness of glacial drift above the bed-rock. Many bore-holes were therefore sunk in order to guide the engineers in the location of the mine workings. Two episodes within less than two years served to emphasize the importance of these precautions. One was the discovery of the Archbald potholes,¹ on the eastern side of the basin and ten miles northeast of Scranton, the first in February, 1884, and the second in May, 1885. The coal seams which was being mined at Archbald was cut out by these elliptical holes some 30-40 feet below the surface of the bedrock and its place was taken by a mass of sand and boulders. No seri-

¹Charles A. Ashburner. Description of the Archbald potholes, etc. Annual Report for 1885. Geol. Surv. Penn., pp. 615-636, 1886.

ous accident followed the discoveries, but in December, 1885, when the workings at Nanticoke unexpectedly tapped the buried channel of Newport Creek, the results were more serious, and the accident generally known as the Nanticoke disaster resulted. The cave-in took place despite precautions in the way of drill-holes, which had been previously bored and which in all human foresight seemed adequate. The studies of Mr. Frank A. Hill² then revealed the buried channel between Wilkes-Barre and Pittston and led to the preparation of a small map. In March, 1897, another cave-in took place in the middle of the valley at Wyoming, and soon thereafter Mr. William Griffith brought together all the available results of drillings up to and including 1900. With most commendable public spirit Mr. Griffith constructed the model now in the possession of the Society and prepared the map whose reproduction, reduced in scale, appears in the "Proceedings" for 1900, opposite page 27. By this useful work, Mr. Griffith placed not only the residents and mining operators of the valley under a great debt, but made as well a distinct contribution to science, of which we who live at a distance are profoundly sensible. I need only say, since the facts are generally known to the members of the Society, that the model brought out a very interesting feature in the outlines of the bed-rock. While it was the custom earlier, as it is yet, to speak of buried channels as if the depressions had been all worn by running water, Mr. Griffith's model made clear the fact that the channel had been over-deepened so that it is a basin, with its lowest point near Plymouth. In this section of the valley, however, borings were not so numerous as in other portions.

The deepest part stood on the 250-foot contour, whereas the bed-rock where the Susquehanna leaves the valley is at the 350-foot or 100 feet higher. We are, therefore, con-

²Frank A. Hill. Description of the Buried Wyoming Valley between Pittston and Kingston. Annual Report Geol. Surv. Penn., for 1885, pp. 637-647, 1886.

fronted with a difficulty in explaining the over-deepening by water, and would have to appeal to potholes or the scour at the foot of temporary waterfalls unless we could find some other agent.

During the past and present year Mr. N. H. Darton, of the Bureau of Mines in Washington, has taken up the subject anew with the purpose of bringing the records up to date. Mr. Darton has added recently a thousand new borings to those previously plotted. In the large way they corroborate the earlier outlines and definitely circumscribe a depressed area just south of Plymouth, where the bed-rock stands at the 250-foot contour, while the surface is on the 520-foot. Some 270 feet of gravel and sand thus lie above the coal measures. Mr. Darton's map, in a somewhat excessively reduced scale, appeared with his comments in the *Journal of Geology* for September-October, 1913, page 559, but we note with satisfaction that it has now been reproduced on a larger scale in the publications of the Bureau of Mines. The profile brings out the fact that the bed-rock forms a series of basins from northeast to southwest, with the deepest one near Plymouth. Mr. Darton, doubtless with entire justification, explains this profile as the result of sub-glacial erosion, and adds new and important evidence to the accumulating mass which is gradually convincing us in America that glaciers erode the bottom of their valleys, quite in opposition to our old beliefs.

The local conditions, therefore, reveal to us that beneath the rivers of to-day, the bed-rock lies deeper than we would have naturally inferred, and that in instances it is deeper than water alone could have worn it. We may raise the question as to whether the same evidence has been developed in other places, and may take the cases up in two groups, the first group to contain the instances of over-deepening, which must be explained by the action of ice; and the second, the ones which are clearly the result of running water. We may also follow the old channels cut

beneath the sea, so far as we have the data, and finally draw a few inferences as to the ups and downs of the continent in the times leading to the Glacial epoch, and since the retreat of the ice.

Ogdensburgh, N. J. Many members of the Society will recall the little town of Ogdensburgh in northwestern New Jersey. It is situated on the west bank of the Walkill river, which is at this point only a small creek. A deposit partly water-sorted left by a local glacier in the waning stages of the continental ice sheet, crosses the valley from east to west and serves as the embankment by which the New York, Susquehanna & Western Railroad reaches the far side at a height of 100 feet above the stream. The Walkill has breached the deposit at its western extremity. A short distance to the south of the embankment an inclined bore-hole has been drilled which passed through 371 feet of sand, boulders and loose deposits before it reached the bed-rock. The vertical thickness above the point of intersection of the bedrock was 325 feet. The hole begins in grassy meadows 300 yards from the nearest rock, and it reveals a veritable canon beneath the present surface. At this point the Walkill flows at 570 feet above tide and the distance along its course to tidewater is about 75 miles. The old bed-rock, therefore, in an interior valley, is thus about 250 feet above tide. We have additional borings in the valley of the Walkill nearly 60 miles to the northeast, which reveal the bed-rock at or just below sea-level, as I shall later make clear. In the intermediate stretch none are recorded, but the river's course is at times much choked with drift and water-sorted sands. The well-known "drowned lands" south of Goshen are traversed by the Walkill and are a remarkable old lake bottom.

Some two miles north of the deep boring at Ogdensburgh the Walkill passes through a narrow gorge at Franklin Furnace and leads one by this fact to infer that at the bore hole the bed-rock valley has been over-deepened by ice-action. The great terminal moraine lies much farther to the

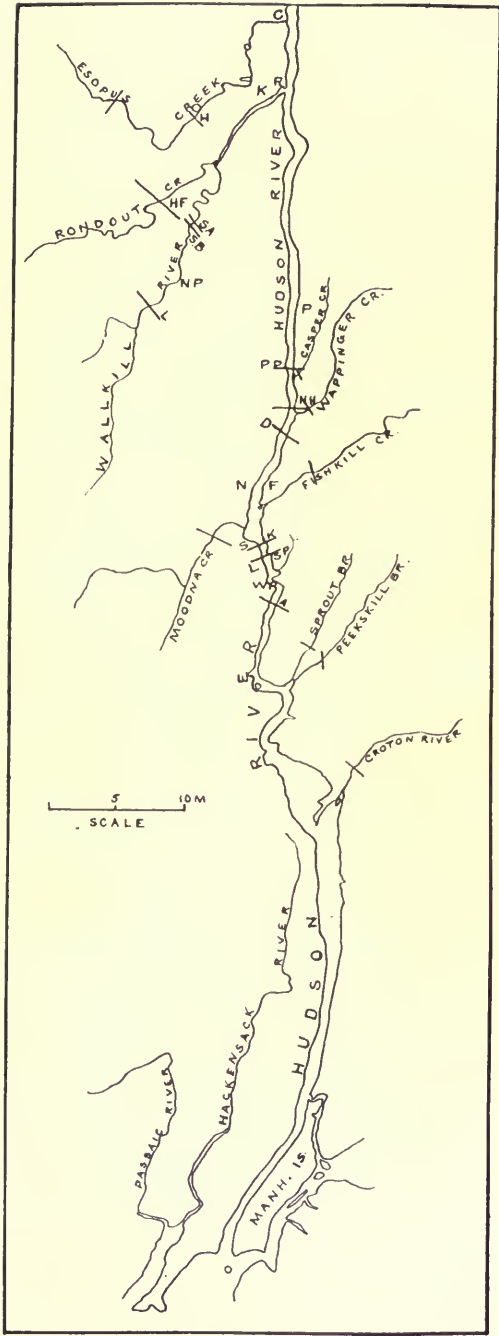
south than Ogdensburgh and at its site the ice sheet was still vigorous. In time we may hope for additional records; at the moment the one bore-hole is our sole resource and is a rather small foundation for extended inference. We can only say that for this great depth beneath the surface, erosion by ice seems the best explanation.

The Valleys of Seneca and Cayuga Lakes, N. Y. In central New York some extremely significant evidence has been known for years past and has given ground for inferring the over-deepening of several old valleys of lakes by the continental ice sheet. As we all know there are in this portion of New York numerous long and narrow lakes which run roughly north and south and lie in valleys with steep rock walls. Their elongated form long ago suggested for them the expressive name of the "Finger Lakes". Seneca and Cayuga are the largest and are the ones which give us the most significant cases for our present purpose. Over twenty years ago Dr. D. F. Lincoln,³ of Geneva, N. Y., a very keen observer and interpreter of topographic forms, described the character of the valleys and brought out the fact that while the surface of Cayuga Lake stood at 378 feet above tide, it was 435 feet deep, and that Seneca, with its surface 441 feet above tide, gave soundings of 618 feet. Thus Cayuga's bottom was 57 feet below the sea-level and Seneca's 177 feet. Dr. Lincoln realized that some loose deposits probably covered the bed-rock but he had little or no data to satisfactorily indicate the amounts. Dr. Lincoln explained these deep valleys by glacial erosion, a view which met much opposition. Two years afterward the late and greatly lamented Professor R. S. Tarr,⁴ of Cornell University, first took up the theme, and during the following twelve

³D. F. Lincoln. Glaciation in the Finger Lake region of New York. *Amer. Jour. Sci.*, Oct., 1912, 290-301.

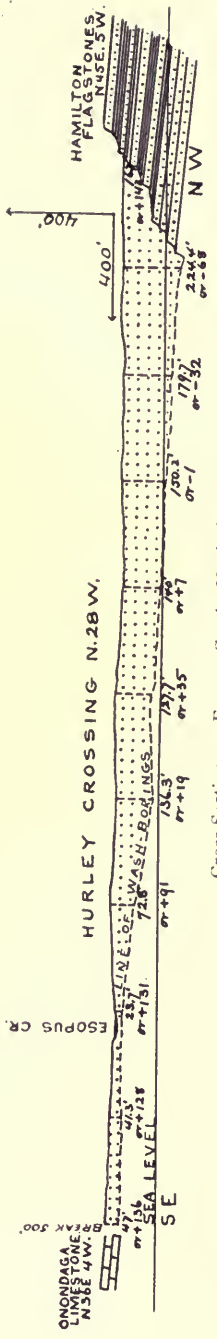
⁴R. S. Tarr. Lake Cayuga, a Rock Basin. *Bull. Geol. Soc. Amer.* 5, 339-356, 1894. Hanging valleys in the Finger Lake region of central New York. *American Geologist*, May, 1904, 271-291. Glacial Erosion in the Finger Lake Region of Central New York, *Journal of Geology*, 14, 18-21, 1906.

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THE HUDSON RIVER, WITH ITS TRIBUTARIES.

Fig. 1. General map to show the locations of the crossings tested. A. Arden Point; C. Catskill Village; D. Dauskammer; F. Fishkill Landing; H. Hurley; H.F. High Falls; K. Kingston; L. Libertyville; L.S.P. Little Stony Point; N. Newburg; N.H. New Hamburg; N.P. New Paltz; P. Poughkeepsie; P.P. Peggs Point; R. Rondout; S.A. Springtown A; S.B. Springtown B; S.K. Storm King; W.P. West Point. From the American Journal of Science, October, 1908, p. 306.



Cross-Section on Esopus Creek, Marked "II".

or fifteen years contributed several papers upon it. Professor Tarr in time secured borings which revealed the bed-rock at 100 feet below tide when tested beneath Ithaca, which is situated at the southern end of Cayuga Lake. Again, beneath Watkins at the southern end of Seneca Lake, the bed-rock was found about 640 feet below tide.

Now, if water had excavated these extraordinary depths we would need a continuously deepening gorge either to the valley of Lake Ontario, or to some other tributary of the ocean, so as to permit the water to run down hill. We should need also a corresponding elevation of the land to give the necessary grade. We might admit, perhaps, some warping of the crust of the earth since these supposed drainage times which might readjust old relations and depress old channels abnormally, but when all the possible explanations are reviewed and checked by the corroborative or opposing evidence, Professor Tarr fell back on sub-glacial erosion as the one deserving the greatest confidence. Ice can, of course, conceivably scour out the underlying rock in times of cold without regard to water-levels and run-offs. It is, therefore, a possible agent for over-deepening channels as compared with running water. Its action, moreover, might be local and not demand such uniform conditions over wide areas.

The Valley of the Hudson River. In New York City we have been apprehensive for years past regarding an adequate water supply for the city's needs. Situated, as we are, partly on three large islands, with deep waterways between and partly on the mainland upon a narrow prong which stretches from the remainder of the State southward, between Connecticut and New Jersey, we have been compelled to go a hundred miles to the north in order to secure a new source of supply. A long and large aqueduct has therefore become necessary, whose line lies across the courses of the Hudson and two smaller rivers, besides a number of creeks. Since it was necessary to maintain, so

far as possible, the head of water for utilization in the city's tall buildings, the valleys of these large and small streams have been crossed by pressure tunnels. They have furnished an unusual and interesting type of tunnel in that the bursting pressure is from the inside, whereas ordinarily in tunnels we have to resist a crushing pressure from without. At the crest of the great Ashokan dam the water stands at 580 feet above tide. It is not tapped off at this height, however, but farther back and from the bottom of the reservoir. The water is to be siphoned off by shafts and tunnels through the bordering wall of rock and allowed to spurt up in large fountains in small side basins before it starts on its long journey to the city. By this arrangement stagnation in the depths of the reservoir is prevented and the water is well aerated before passing into the aqueduct. Fifty feet of head is used to make the fountains possible.

The maps which I will use with the lantern exhibit the Hudson and those of its tributaries which have furnished us with data. We note first that the borings across Esopus creek, made to explore a site for the dam of the great reservoir, revealed a buried channel outside the present stream, which now flows in a rather deep post-glacial gorge. Where the present stream has its bed-rock channel at 320 feet above tide, the pre-glacial Esopus stood at 240 feet or 80 feet lower. Farther down-stream, where the creek flows in a broad alluvial valley, the creek bottom now stands at approximately 150 feet above tide, but the old bed-rock channel off to the northwest is 68 feet below tide, a difference of 218 feet. In one of the small tributaries off to the south, at a little hamlet called Kripplebush, we find the present brook at 350 feet, and the bed-rock channel at 80 feet, a difference of 270 feet. On Rondout creek, at the village of High Falls, the creek is now at 160 feet above tide, while the bed-rock is ten feet below tide, a difference of 170 feet.

Along the Walkill river we have three sections. The one

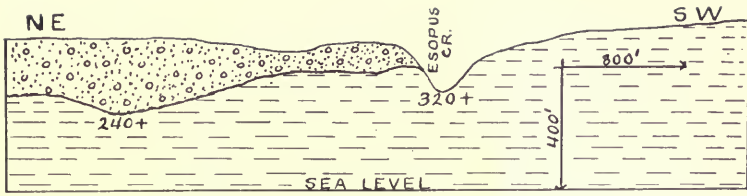


Fig. 2. The Esopus channel. The bed-rock is the Hamilton flagstones and shales.

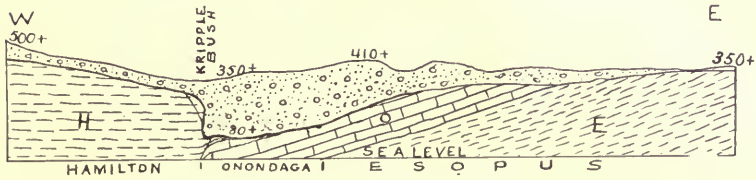


Fig. 3. The Kripplebush channel along a fault between the Hamilton flagstones (H) and the Onondaga limestone (O). E is Esopus shales.

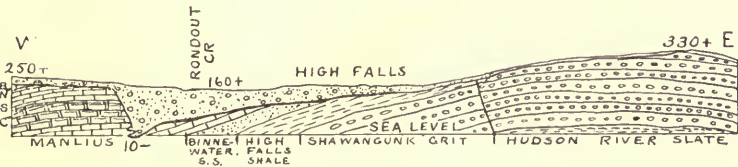


Fig. 4. The Rondout channel.

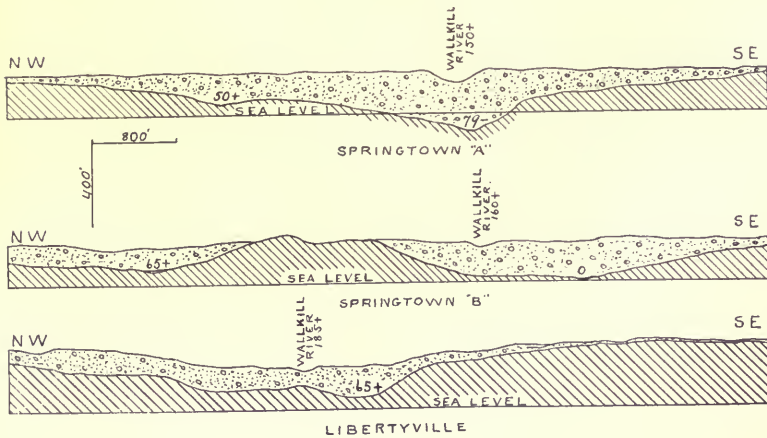


Fig. 5. Crossings of the Wallkill river near Springtown and Libertyville.
Figs. 2-5, inclusive, from the American Journal of Science, October, 1908,
pp. 307-312.

farthest up-stream, *i. e.*, to the northwest, has the bed-rock at 120 feet below the present stream. Six or eight miles down-stream the difference is respectively 160 feet and 229 feet, the last-named standing 79 feet below tide. All these tributaries from the west bank unite in the testimony that their ancient bed-rock channels as they approach the Hudson stand at depths below the present tide level. While they are still 12 to 18 miles or more from the large river, the bed-rock may be 69-79 feet below its surface. At the Hudson the bed-rock channels are presumably not less than 100 feet lower than sea-level.

We have data on the east bank as well but based upon smaller creeks. The bed-rock of Caspar creek, just at its mouth is 67 feet below tide; Wappinger creek's old-time bottom is 50 feet below; and Fishkill creek, several miles from the river, is 40 feet below.

Regarding the bottom of the Hudson above the Highlands we have only wash-borings reinforced by one or two diamond drill cores. Wash-borings can come to rest on boulders and give no reliable depth to bed-rock. They do show, however, that the bed-rock lies at least as deep as they extend, and they revealed a depth of between 220 and 230 feet, of which from 60 to 75 feet may be river water and the rest is silt and gravel. One diamond drill boring two or three miles below Poughkeepsie found the bed-rock 223 feet below the river's surface, which is, of course, tide level.

The strangest and most surprising experience of all has been met at the place where the aqueduct crosses the Hudson from Storm King Mountain on the west to Breakneck Mountain on the east. The crossing is at one of the narrowest places in the river's course. The rock on either side is a hard granite, the best and hardest rock between Albany and the ocean. Of all places in the entire valley it is the one where we could expect a reef and relatively shallow bed-rock. But the results of the drill have shown that in the middle of the river the bed-rock lies lower than 768 feet

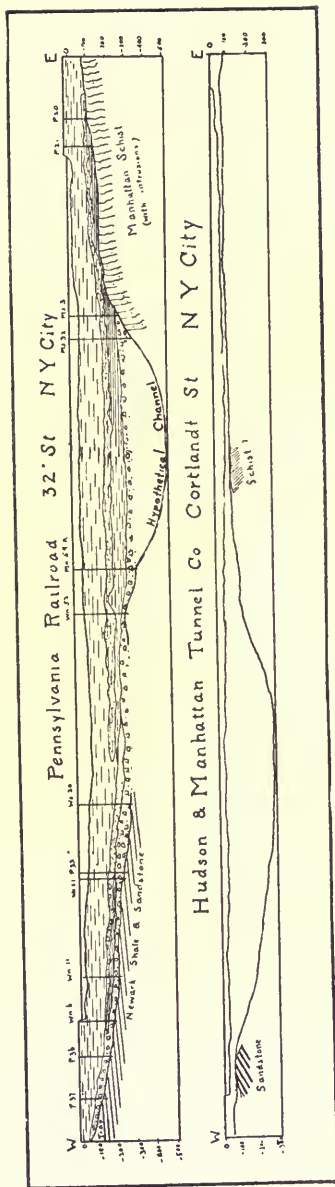
below tide. On the other hand two slanting diamond drill holes from the sides of the river and all in the solid granite have crossed at 995 feet. The bed-rock, therefore, lies somewhere between these two, probably from the general profile of the sides, at about 800 feet.

These results are quite extraordinary in that so far as our rather limited data go, the old bed-rock seems to drop within a distance of 15 miles or less from minus 223 feet to more than minus 768. The peculiar features are still further emphasized when one learns that in the Pennsylvania tunnels opposite 33rd street, New York City, one hole near the middle of the river found the bed-rock with diamond drills at a maximum depth of 301 feet. The next hole to the east is 1,100 feet away and caught the bed-rock at 287 feet. To the west another hole at 200 feet distant reached the rock at 260 feet. There is thus an unexplored width of about 1,100 feet in the middle of the river, which has bed-rock on the east and at 287 feet, and at the west end at 301 feet.

If, now, we think the bed-rock channel is purely the work of flowing water, and if it lies at, say, minus 800 feet, at Storm King, 55 miles above the Pennsylvania Railroad crossing, then there must be a deep and narrow gorge opposite New York City and within the unexplored 1,100 feet. The gorge must be 500 feet at least deeper than the last record of its banks.

We have followed out the contour of the land surface to see if we could discover any post-glacial warping which might have depressed the Storm King area and left the New York City area relatively unchanged, but there is no evidence of such a change. On the contrary, the post-glacial deltas rise slowly but steadily from New York to Albany.⁵

⁵J. F. Kemp. Buried Channels beneath the Hudson and its Tributaries. *Amer. Jour. Sci.*, Oct., 1908, 301-323. The Storm King Crossing of the Hudson river by the new Catskill Aqueduct of New York City. *Amer. Jour. Sci.*, July, 1912, 1-11. G. S. Rogers, The Character of the Hudson Gorge at New York City, *School of Mines Quarterly*, 33: 26-42, 1910.



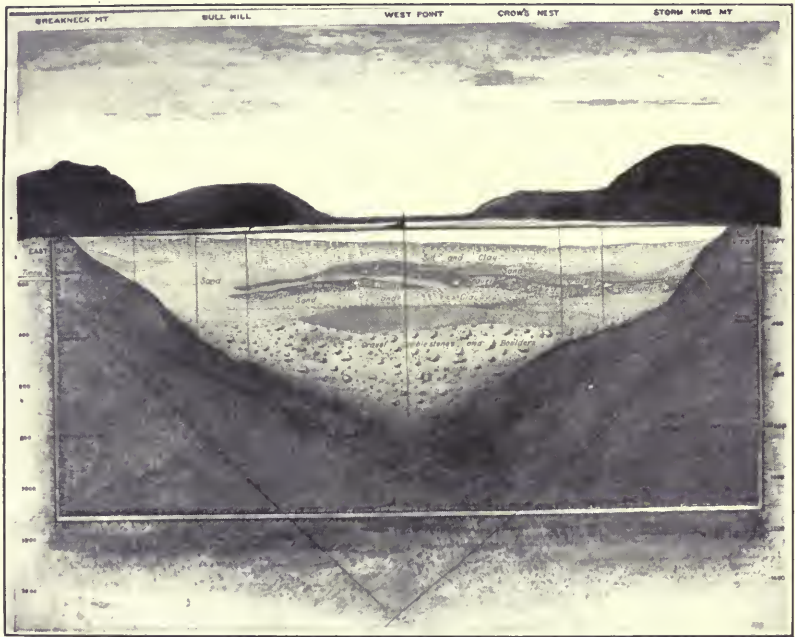


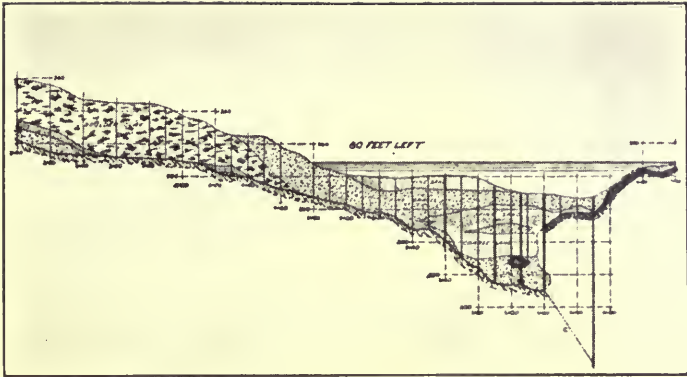
Fig. 6. Cross-section of the Storm King Crossing, plotted from the available data. The vertical scale is five-thirds the horizontal. From the American Journal of Science, July, 1912, p. 3.

If we conclude that there is no gorge then we must find some agent which could have over-deepened the bed-rock channel in its up-stream portion and have then risen as it approached the sea. The only agent is ice. It would seem as if the portion of the great ice sheet which lay in the valley of the upper Hudson on approaching the narrow pass through the Highlands became compressed into a relatively small cross-section and deepened its bottom to an extent of approximately 500 feet. The work was done on hard granite, in which the deep tunnel of the aqueduct, now completed at 1,100 feet beneath the river, shows there were no important faults or similar lines of weakness, for while there are two small faults near the east bank, their prolongation upward carries them into the mass of Breakneck Mountain. If we admit that the glacier over-deepened its channel in the Highlands of the Hudson, it must have then with waning thickness and strength lost its power to erode as it approached the sea. Its channel must have grown shallower. The terminal moraine is about ten miles south of the Pennsylvania tunnels. As earlier stated, the power of glaciers to erode the bottoms of their channels has been a much discussed point in America, and until recent years scarcely any of our geologists were prepared to admit its truth, while many were strongly opposed to it. Knowing the bed-rock conditions in the Wyoming Valley and the rock rim which surrounds its depressed center the members of the Society can appreciate the claims which ice presents for favorable consideration. Comparatively soft coal measures were the strata to be eroded here, whereas in the Hudson Valley we have at Storm King the hardest reef in the river's whole course to the sea after it leaves the Adirondacks. We may, however, let this particular matter rest for the moment while we review a few cases in New England.

The Nashua River, Mass. For the data which have become available in New England we are again indebted to engineer-

ing enterprises and, as in the case of the Hudson, to plans for the water supply of a great city. With Boston's recent growth in population the same problem of increasing the city's supply has arisen as in New York. The Nashua river, a stream about forty miles back from the sea, has received careful study at the hands of the engineers and especially from the geologist, Professor W. O. Crosby, in association with them. The Nashua river rises in the region just north of the city of Worcester and flows north for about 30 miles across the boundary into New Hampshire, where it empties into the Merrimac river at the town of Nashua. Explorations near the town of Clinton, Mass., incidental to the construction of the large Wachusett dam, have given some extremely interesting records, which fortunately Professor Crosby⁶ has published. The glacial drift is abundant in this region and rests upon bed-rocks which are slates and schists penetrated by massive granite and diorite. The site of the main dam crosses a marked valley where the river flowed upon a belt of schists between hills of granite. The wing-dams, however, spread laterally across the drift-covered schists on the one side of the granite and across the diorite on the other. From behind the dam the water was to be tapped off by a tunnel through the diorite and granite of the eastern bordering hills. The river flowed at very nearly 290 feet above tide. The hills on each side reached heights respectively of 480 and 530 feet above tide, or roughly 190-240 feet above the river. Explorations with the drill brought out some very interesting information. The bed-rock beneath the river was found at a minimum elevation of 210 feet above tide, or 80 feet below the surface of the stream. Its old channel before being filled with drift was a narrow gorge. As the drillings were extended over

⁶W. O. Crosby. Geological History of the Nashua Valley, during the Tertiary and Quaternary Periods. *Technology Quarterly*, 12: 288-324, 1899. Geology of the Wachusett Dam and the Wachusett Aqueduct Tunnel, etc. *Technology Quarterly*, 12: 68-96, 1899.



Buried Channel of the Nashua River near Clinton, Mass.



Site of the Wachusett Dam on the Nashua River near Clinton, Mass.

the hill to the westward, in connection with the wing-dams and dikes, a still earlier channel of the river was found in an old gorge with a bed-rock bottom at 96.5 feet above tide and beneath 272.5 feet of drift. The bottom of this gorge is at least 115 feet lower than the bed-rock of the present river's bed. It is quite evident, therefore, that the pre-glacial Nashua flowed at a much lower level than its later representative and that the latter was deeper down than the present stream.

The Pre-glacial Merrimac River, Mass. When Professor Crosby found himself once started upon the trail of buried stream channels, he could not, of course, be content with these revelations near Clinton, nor could he reconcile himself to the unnatural course of the Nashua north to the Merrimac and then almost back again on its course to Lowell. He therefore secured the records of borings in and around Lowell, from the authorities of the Lowell water-works. The Merrimac at Lowell drops 35 feet from an elevation of 92 feet above tide at the crest of the dam which furnishes water power to the city's manufactories. The river bottom is on visible bed-rock. On the north side of the river above the dam and on a broad terrace there were 169 driven wells which gave a maximum depth to bed-rock of 95 feet, thus almost reaching sea-level and indicating an old buried channel. On the south side of the river similar deep borings were discovered which revealed the bed-rock at not more than 19 feet above tide and failed at other times to find it at all at the depths of the wells.

Professor Crosby then sought to trace the buried channels toward the sea along the general course of the present Merrimac, north of east to Newburyport, but finding the topography against this course, was driven by the open drift-filled valleys to the unanticipated conclusion that the pre-glacial Merrimac flowed southeast from the site of Lowell into Boston Harbor. It would then have taken its line in a broad open valley which, even now, despite the filling of drift

disguising the bed-rock characters, can be recognized as of a size out of all proportion to the stream now occupying it. We are not surprised to find Professor Crosby remarking under the stimulus of this discovery:

"We cannot, of course, suppose that these facts are unique, but they must be typical of the entire region. And it is interesting to reflect that the removal of the mantle of drift, which now smothers and blots out the pre-glacial topography of southeastern New England, would reveal completely and deeply entrenched drainage systems—a peneplain traversed in every direction and at frequent intervals by deep, narrow and intricate gorges, or, in other words, a youthful topography of far more rugged, picturesque and difficult aspect than that which the ice sheet has left us."

The Charles River, Mass. Public improvements within the city limits of Boston, and in particular the dam across the tidal Charles river, which has made a former unsightly series of mud-flats and salt marsh practically an attractive lake, led Professor Crosby⁷ again to investigate the bed-rock conditions of this stream. In his work he was aided by the studies of one of his students, Mr. F. G. Clapp⁸, who, in the early days of agitation for the improvement had described the geological history of the river. The Charles river rises to the southwest of Boston and flows in a sinuous course north around the western limits of the city and finally east between it and Cambridge. Apparently, however, the pre-glacial Charles was a western tributary of the pre-glacial Merrimac. The Merrimac seems to have held a course southeast to the sea across Cambridgeport, across the Back Bay and South End districts of Boston proper, and finally across Dorchester to the sea. The bed-rock along this line has been found at progressive depths up to 214 feet beneath tide.

⁷W. O. Crosby. A Study of the Geology of the Charles River Estuary and Boston Harbor, etc. *Technology Quarterly*, 16: 64-92, 1903.

⁸F. G. Clapp. Geological History of the Charles River. *Technology Quarterly*, 14: 171-201, 255-269, 1901.

Conclusions. Undoubtedly if we had detailed records of borings in the valleys of other streams, similar depths to bed-rock would be the result. We can only hope that as interest increases in the subject or as public works are projected for other cities along the hard-rock coast of the northeast, we may secure in time additional details. These records, as Professor Crosby remarked, cannot, of course, stand alone. If the coast line ever was elevated at New York so that water could flow to the sea three hundred feet below the present level, and more than two hundred feet at Boston, the same relations must prevail generally. The depth at New York, we must realize, may be nine hundred or a thousand feet, if the gorge exists in the unexplored quarter of a mile beneath mid-stream. We are certain, however, that a depth of three hundred feet exists and in the light of our present evidence are disposed to refer to glacial over-deepening the great depth of probably eight hundred feet, forty miles up-stream. This conclusion is strengthened by the extraordinary depths in the valleys of the "Finger Lakes", where, as you will recall, at Ithaca, the bed-rock stands at one hundred feet below tide, three hundred miles from the sea, and at Watkins where it is at the extraordinary depth of six hundred feet below tide. The depths of bed-rock at Wilkes-Barré while not so great are yet from the completeness of the drill records of even sharper definition in their significance. For the Storm King crossing of the Hudson, for the Finger Lakes and for Wilkes-Barré we cannot well escape glacial erosion. For the other moderate depths and especially the one thus far actually demonstrated opposite New York City, where we deal with hard strata and near the terminal moraine, the action of flowing water is sufficient and is in accord with the narrow gorges and with general experience.

Flowing water at these depths implies in the pre-glacial times elevation of the land to a position at least more than three hundred feet above its present relations with the sea.

In other words, the sea would retire to a point beyond the fifty fathom line of to-day. A broad belt of the present sea bottom would therefore become land and across the belt the rivers would wind their way to the ocean. The fifty fathom line is very nearly one hundred miles from Sandy Hook and does not quite reach the edge of the so-called "continental shelf." We may, perhaps, profitably digress for a moment to explain the character of the sea-bottom immediately off our coast and thus make clear the meaning of the term "continental shelf."

Sub-marine Channels. As the soundings of our Coast and Geodetic Survey were first taken for the pilot charts and then were extended by deep-sea observations, the necessary data were given for studies of the sea-bottom. We soon realized that from the actual shore the bottom sloped gradually outward for ninety to one hundred and twenty miles in our latitudes and attained a depth of about a hundred fathoms. For instance, one hundred and twenty miles south east of Sandy Hook we find the 600-foot line. Within a little over twenty miles farther the bottom has dropped to 6,000 feet, and at forty miles additional it is 9,000. Still farther out but at a gentler slope it reaches 12,000 feet. There is thus a pronounced escarpment of about one mile in vertical height and, farther out, there is a gentler slope involving another vertical mile. Beyond the foot of the gentle slope the bottom is very even. Inside the 100-fathom line the bottom has a gentle upward slope to the actual beach. The portion between the escarpment and the land we call the continental shelf. It is the principal home of those forms of marine life which live on the sea-bottom and its past extended or shrunken representative is the chief source of our evidence regarding the succession of marine life upon the earth. Comparatively few fossils and sediments represent the great depths of the salt water.

Before the year 1863 the late Professor James D. Dana had recognized the presence of a marked depression in

the sea bottom of the continental shelf, opposite the mouth of the Hudson river. His observations found record in the first edition of his "Manual of Geology," p. 441, 1863, the text-book upon which, for forty years after its issue, almost all American geologists were trained. In 1869 Professor Dana⁹ detected an old river channel beneath Long Island Sound on the south side and traced its probable course across Long Island at Mattituck into Peconic Bay. The channel is not very deep, as its bottom is in the extreme about 150 feet below the surface, but it is one of the minor features corroborative of elevation.

In 1885 and in 1891 the subject of the submarine channel of the Hudson was taken up again by Mr. A. Lindenkohl of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Mr. Lindenkohl had more numerous soundings than were accessible to Professor Dana and described the off-shore channel as follows: "It begins about twelve statute miles southeast of Sandy Hook. It extends south until at a distance of twelve miles, opposite Long Branch and eleven miles from the shore, it is 90 feet deeper than the normal sea-bottom, which is itself 90 feet below the surface. The channel then bears off to the southeast and at fifty-three miles from Sandy Hook it is still 90 feet below the normal sea-bottom, which is here 180 feet from the surface. The channel thus gives soundings of 270 feet." At ninety-one miles from the Hook, Mr. Lindenkohl considered it to have practically disappeared, as the soundings in the channel were 246 feet and on its banks 234 feet. The general width of the channel had been throughout its eighty miles of extent about a mile and a half and its banks therefore had very flat slopes. They and its bottom were shown by the lead to be a slate-colored

⁹James D. Dana. Trans. Conn. Acad. Sci. 2: 42-112, 1870. All Professor Dana's older papers are summarized in one on "Long Island Sound in the Quarternary Era, etc." Amer. Journ. Sci., Dec., 1890, 425-437.

clay with fine sandy grit. In his later paper Mr. Lindenkohl announced that at a point six miles beyond the obscuring of the channel, or ninety-seven miles from Sandy Hook, it reasserts itself in a gorge or canon, which it maintained to the continental shelf, a distance of twenty-three miles. From the depth of 246 feet below the surface, as last given, it reached an extreme depth of 2,844 feet, when the sea-bottom on its banks was only about 420 feet. That is, we find at the edge of the continental shelf a canyon nearly 2,500 feet deep. At the point of maximum depth the gorge was three miles wide.¹⁰

In January, 1905, Dr. J. W. Spencer published the results of additional studies fortified by more soundings which he had found in the charts of the hydrographic office and in British charts. By means of them he prolonged the submerged gorge, described for twenty-three miles by Mr. Lindenkohl, to seventy miles, and to depths of 9,000 feet, where the nearest soundings of the banks gave 8,112. Professor Spencer¹¹ compares these depths with other great submarine canyons described by him and others, and after discussing all the possible causes of the Hudsonian gorge concludes that it must be explained by an elevation of the continent and neighboring sea-bottom of 9,000 feet so as to admit of river erosion. The amount involved rather staggers us, but we may consider at all events that some rather large amount is necessary.

In the case of the Hudson, we have thus two very peculiar phenomena—a very steep gorge in the sea-bottom opposite its mouth, and a deep gorge in the bed-rock of its channel

¹⁰A. Lindenkohl. *Geology of the Sea-bottom in the Approaches to New York Bay*. *Amer. Jour. of Sci.*, June, 1885, p. 475, and *Report of Coast and Geodetic Survey for 1884*, Appendix 13.

Notes on the Submarine Channel of the Hudson River and other evidence of Post-glacial Subsidence of the Middle Atlantic Coast Region. *Amer. Journ. Sci.*, June, 1891, 489.

¹¹J. W. Spencer. *The Submarine Great Canyons of the Hudson River*. *Amer. Jour. Sci.*, Jan., 1905, 1-15.

75 miles north of Sandy Hook. It is not surprising that we inferred a very deep gorge opposite New York City until the borings of the Pennsylvania tunnels were reported and made us all a bit wary of too positive conclusions.

Professor J. W. Spencer has carried his studies of submarine channels all along the eastern coast and has remarked the similar sub-marine gorges which have been discovered on the eastern border of the Atlantic.¹² His studies lead to the conclusion that sub-marine channels in the flat part of the continental shelf and embayments or indentations in its outer slope exist opposite the mouths of all our large rivers. There is much reason for the conclusion, and we can only hope that more detailed soundings will in time give us completer records.

From all these lines of evidence we are led to infer that in the late Tertiary the continent was relatively elevated above the sea. The buried channels on the present land lead us to believe that it rose with reference to the sea, in the times just preceding the advent of the continental ice-sheet. Based on glacial phenomena of one sort or another, it was formerly customary, and is, indeed, still, to infer an elevation of 3,000—4,000 feet. The elevation was considered by its advocates one of the causes, if not the chief cause, of that extraordinary event, the production and advance of a continental glacier. We must, of course, always realize that the elevation of the land meant the retreat of the sea and that several thousand feet of elevation would expose a goodly section of the continental shelf. We certainly are forced by our buried channels, allowing for the remoter ocean's retreat, to infer an elevation of at least 300 or 400 feet, and the indented continental shelf calls for much more. Prof. Spencer does not hesitate to face an

¹²J. W. Spencer. Submarine Valleys Off the American Coast and in the North Atlantic. Bulletin Geological Society of America, 14: 207-227, 1903.

uplift of 9,000 feet,¹³ and in earlier papers of even more¹⁴ but other geologists have felt conservative about these extreme amounts, and even if unable to suggest another explanation, are unwilling to admit them. Some have considered as an alternative proposition, the withdrawal of the oceanic water to the southern hemisphere in sufficient amount to expose the shallower sea-bottom in the northern. In the explanation of the continental ice sheet, as we all know, still others have invoked the aid of astronomical changes or shifts in the position of the earth's axis and therefore migration of the polar regions southward; of changes in the composition of the earth's atmosphere which would facilitate radiation of the sun's heat into space; in fact, we may almost state that no other great question of geology has proved so elusive and so difficult upon which to secure general agreement. We may, however, stand firm upon the position that the buried channels, presumably of the Pliocene or closing Tertiary epoch do demonstrate an elevation of the land with respect to the sea of not less than 300 to 400 feet. We may also conclude that in connection with aqueducts, bridges, piers and other work of the civil engineer and in connection with mines, which may work from beneath upward through the bed-rock where a cap of sand and gravel conceals its depths, explorations will furnish us many more corroborative records as the years pass.

¹³American Journal of Science, Jan., 1905, 13.

¹⁴Bulletin Geol. Soc. of America, 14: 221, 1903.

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CHARLES MINER



LETITIA MINER

REMINISCENCES OF HON. CHARLES MINER,
1780—1865.

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF WYOMING", 1845.

BY CHARLES FRANCIS RICHARDSON, PH. D., LITT. D.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 24, 1914.

SKETCH OF THE AUTHOR.

Charles Francis Richardson, A. B., A. M., Ph. D., Litt. D., author and educator, to whom we are indebted for the following "Memoir of Hon. Charles Miner", was born at Hallowell, Maine, May 29, 1851, and died of pneumonia at Sugar Hill, New Hampshire, October 8, 1913.

He was the son of Dr. Moses Charles Richardson and his wife, Mary Savary (Wingate) Richardson.

He was educated at Dartmouth College, where he took his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1871 and his Master of Arts in 1874.

In 1878 he published the pioneer Primer of American Literature, which is still in good demand. His other books are "The Cross" (poems) 1879; "The Choice of Books", re-issued in England and translated into Russian, 1881; a "History of American History", 1886-1888; in two volumes, the sub-title of the first volume being "The Development of American Thought" and of volume two "American Poetry and Fiction". Also a romance entitled "The End of the Beginning", 1896, and "A Study of English Rhyme", 1909, privately printed for the class room use.

He edited the "College Book" with H. N. Clark, 1878; Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans", 1897; Poe's "Complete Works", 1902; "Daniel Webster for Young Americans", 1903, and was associate editor of "The World's Best Poetry", 1904.

On July 3, 1912, he delivered a splendid address entitled "To the Dead", at the annual exercises of the "Wyoming Commemorative Association", at the Wyoming Monument near Wyoming, Penn'a. At the annual meeting of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, February 11, 1913, he gave a most interesting extempore address on "The Newspaper as Historical Material", which, as this Society has 1,500 volumes of local and other newspapers, was most suggestive.

In recognition of his literary works he was honored in 1895 with the degree of Ph. D. from Union College, and from his own Alma Mater, Dartmouth, that of Litt. D., 1911.

Dr. Richardson married, April 12, 1878, Elizabeth (Miner) Thomas of Wilkes-Barré, a granddaughter of the Hon. Charles Miner, the subject of the following memoir.

PREFACE.

In his later years Hon. Charles Miner spent much time burning letters and papers, and some have since been lost, notably a large part of his *Autobiography*, but a good number have survived, in the care since his son William P. died, of his grand-daughter, Mrs. Anna (Miner) Oliver, who has diligently typewritten all the most important ones—no small task when the ravages of time and illegibility are taken into account. It has been the plan of this memoir to let these manuscripts tell their own story as far as possible. As it has been prepared not only for the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society but for Mr. Miner's descendants, it has seemed proper to print some details of especial interest to the latter, such as somewhat free extracts from his love-letters to his wife. Also, at this late date, there has seemed no impropriety in publishing letters marked "confidential". Only modesty caused those to his wife to be so guarded, and those from his friends had immediate bearing on their own political interests, now matters of history. Indeed, without these letters the story of his life could hardly have been told.

The sketch was practically finished, as far as the manuscripts were concerned, with only some points to elucidate and annotate, chiefly with regard to the years in Congress, when the work fell to my hands.

The difficulties of tracing out the history of "a Bill" through the various official publications of the House in early days, with their omissions, lack of complete indices, etc., are great, so if error should be found, I beg that I, alone, may be held responsible.

ELIZABETH (MINER) RICHARDSON.

REMINISCENCE OF HON. CHARLES MINER

OF WILKES-BARRÉ, 1780-1865.

PRINTER, EDITOR, AUTHOR, MEMBER UNITED STATES
CONGRESS AND STATESMAN.

I am about to try to tell some parts of the story of a life of singular range and usefulness.

Charles Miner was one of the most original and influential of the Pennsylvania editors of the first third of the nineteenth century. He was an early promoter of the anthracite coal trade, and of canals, as a part of internal improvement. As a State legislator his influence ranged between fields as widely apart as compulsory vaccination and the regulation of bank currency. He made the first persistent, long-continued effort on the floor of the House looking toward the final extinction of slavery. Like the Sage of Monticello, he diffused moral and political advice, while at the same time concerning himself with the material welfare of State and Nation. Like Franklin, by his essays he made sounder the life of his time. He wrote, from original investigations, the standard history, never to be displaced, of the Wyoming Valley, the massacre of July 3, 1778, and the long-disputed land-claims of Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Finally, and most enduring of all, he coined the phrase most current to-day on the lips of thousands of Americans—"to have an ax to grind".

Charles, the youngest of four children, was born in Norwich (now Norwich Old Town, two miles from the river settlement), Connecticut, on the first day of February, 1780.

The Connecticut Miners were descendants of Thomas Minor, or Mynor, a native of Chew Magna, Somerset, England, born April 23, 1608, the first of the family to

emigrate to the new world. According to a quaint "Heraldicall Essay upon the Surname of Miner," a copy of which (now in the Historical Room, Hartford, Connecticut) was procured about 1683 by Thomas Minor from his cousin William, of Bristol, England; "Edward the third going to make warre against the French took a progresse through Somersett, and coming to Mendippi Colles minerrarii, Mendippe Hills in Somersett where lived one Henry Miner, his name being taken rather *a denominatione loci et ab officio*, who with all carefullness and Loyaltie having convened his Domesticall and Meniall servants armed with Battle-axes profered himself and them to his Master's service making up a compleat hundred. Wherefore he had his Coat armoriall." In the course of this genealogy of the family Miner, it is interestingly said of a Fifteenth century William, that he "lived to revenge the death of the two young Princes murdered in the Tower of London, upon their inhumane unckle Richard the 3rd. It was said of this William Miner that he was Flos Militia, the Flower of chivilarie."

The writer of the "Essay", which abounds in the punning intricacies and polyglot excursuses common to the literature of the seventeenth century, says at the end: "I shall be very much beholden to the Learned reader who if he can give more satisfaction in this essay would for the honour of Antiquitie (who now lyes *in profundo Democratis Puteo*) mend the Errata Chronologicall and see if he can derive the surname from a longer time; it being supposed that Henry Miner's name before the King's progresse in Somersett was Bullman, but how certain however I know not; but leave it to some other whose experience and learning exceeds mine."

Thomas Minor came to Charlestown, Mass., in 1629; lived at Hingham from 1636 to 1645; removed to New London, Conn., in that year, with the second Governor John Winthrop's colony of Massachusetts Puritans; and was

Magistrate, member of the General Court, and trusted by his fellows in many ways. A final move, in 1652, was to Pawcatuck, now Stonington, in the same State, where he built a house at Wicketaquoc Cove; took part in the organization of the town; twice acted as a commissioner to treat with neighboring Indians; and served as lieutenant in the militia. The miscellaneous character of his usefulness may be illustrated by an entry in his diary for April 24, 1669—in the usual affluent orthography of manuscripts of the time: "I was by the Towne & this yeare chosen to be a select man the Townes Treasurer the Townes Recorder The brander of horses by the Generale Courte Recorded the head officer of the Traine band by the same Court one of the ffouer that have Charge of the milishcia of the whole Countie and Chossen and sworne Commissionor and one to assist in keeping the Countie Courte." Before his death he had selected from his own fields a granite stone for his grave, in the burial-ground near his home; and the horizontal bowlder, with its inscription legibly recut, tells the visitor that "Here lyeth the body of Lieutenant Thomas Minor, aged 83 years. Departed 1690." Near by, a monument commemorates, at greater length, the services of Thomas Minor and three of his associates in the first days of the town.

Thomas Miner's son Clement was the father of Clement, whose son Hugh was the father of Seth, who was born in New London in 1742, removed to Norwich; was a carpenter by trade; was for some years keeper of the jail; and served as orderly to Jedediah Huntington at Dorchester Heights, when the colonials were besieging the British in Boston. He lived to see his sons Charles and Asher well established in Pennsylvania, and died at Asher's home in Doylestown, in that State, in 1822.

Charles Miner, in the fragments that are left of his *Autobiography*, which he called "Foot-prints of Charles Miner on the Sands of Time," says:

"According to the family records I was born on the first

day of February 1780, in the City of Norwich, Connecticut, of course in the midst of the Revolutionary War. Too young to recollect the events of that great struggle; but its conclusion, the parade, the musick, the thundering of cannon on the declaration of Peace, I well remember." Anything he may have said in the *Autobiography* of his education is lost, but in a letter of date July 17, 1859, in answer to an invitation to be present or to send a letter at the two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Norwich, he wrote that he was too old to come, and then went on to give a series of pictures hung in his gallery of memories: He says, "Affection for Norwich is twined with every fibre of my heart. Having emigrated to Pennsylvania while yet a boy, my *time* of observation is limited, and my *scene* of observation, to little more than the old Town or round the Square, fitted, rather, to amuse the grand-children, than impart instruction or pleasure to the present generation." * * *

[Perhaps one pretty, characteristic story which has amused the grand-children may be inserted here: Returning to Norwich after forty years he said he knew the old house on the square was no longer standing, but he would just walk out and see if the brown thrashers' nest was still there!] " * * * But to the school. The old Brick School House [Norwich-old-town, still in use] at the bottom of the lane, below the spacious new jail, knew no recess. * * * Newcome Kinne awakened a high degree of emulation, especially in writing, a *sampler* was pasted up before six or seven scholars, near the ceiling, on fine paper, on a double arch sustained by Corinthian columns. * * * Within each half arch, near the upper part, in fine hand, a poetical quotation, as suggested by fancy, probably from 'Hannah Moore's Search after Happiness,' then highly popular. Beneath, in larger hand, successive lines in beautiful penmanship, filling the whole. The *Piece* painted in water colors—The pride of mothers—master and scholars. * * *

The obedience fair. Teachers capable and attentive. Discipline preserved without undue severity. Pleasant were our school hours."

This, with some time at the "Lathrop School on the Plain" seems to have been the extent of his "schooling"; but life is always a school and he was always a scholar. After leaving this school he worked for some time at the printers trade in the office of the *Connecticut Gazette and Commercial Intelligencer* at New London.

"After going into the office of Messrs. Hubbard and Bushnell for eight or ten months, I too, at the tender age of thirteen was sent willingly as an apprentice in the same office [with his brother Asher who was apprenticed to a Col. Green.] I remained with them a year, when my feeble health gave way, and Col. Green, my excellent and beloved master, took me home. * * * The moment health sufficient returned I repaired again to New London to attend the Bookstore, and learn book-binding, with Thomas Green, a Brother of Samuel. Soul-stirring incidents began to arise. Two French Frigates * * * came into the harbour for loads of timber. The officers purchased books and paper at our store. At night the sailors of both vessels all with red caps, to the number of some hundreds, would come on shore, accompanied by flags and musick. Parties from the town with the American flag would join them, and with the whole march from street to street singing the Marsellaise Hymn * * * making vows for Liberty or Death—denouncing the Tyranny of Great Britain, whose vessels were then giving no little interruption to our commerce. The people were wild with enthusiasm. * * * I may as well tell the anecdote here. Having learned, however imperfectly, the tune of the Marsellaise Hymn, it never was forgotten. Near forty years afterwards Dr. [Thomas] M[iner] told me at Wilkes-Barre he was going to visit a patient, who had been a member of the National Convention; having voted for the Death of Louis, he had become an exile. I

went with him. Scarcely raising his head from the pillow he feebly replied to the enquiry of the Physician; and his pale cheeks told of extreme debility rather than acute disease. Speaking cheerily I told him he should have pleasant companions, and be out in the open air, see the bright sun, hear the birds sing and sing himself. He shook his head. Telling him I thought there were tunes that would arouse and do him good (I confess it was not very good manners) * * * I struck up, as well as I could,

‘Ye sons of France, awake to glory
See what myriads bid you rise!’

What a metamorphosis! Rousing instantly, he sat up, his eye flashing fire, he drew on his cap, and taking up the note, made the room ring again. I hardly expected ever to hear that electrifying hymn sung by one of the original actors in the scenes that gave it rise. * * ** *

“Many persons from Norwich emigrating and preparing to emigrate to the Susquehanna, my father thought it best for me to go out and look after his lands, to settle—to sell—to do what should seem most judicious: all this while Brother Asher, regularly bound to a seven or eight year apprenticeship to Master Green, was laboriously, but cheerfully, pursuing his course, making himself truly a man of business, not only acquiring his profession, but what is quite as necessary to success in life and only to be attained by long continued discipline—steadiness—the habit of application, method * * *.

“Preparatory to my Susquehanna journey it was thought proper that I should be taught surveying. To this end I was sent to Lebanon [Conn.], and placed in the family and under the tuition of Ebenezer Bushnell of whom I have

*Jean Francois Dupuy, a native of Bordeaux, France, who emigrated from there to the Island of San Domingo, where he became a wealthy planter; during the uprising of the Blacks on that island he escaped to Philadelphia, stripped of his fortune, and came to Wilkes-Barre about the year 1796 and lived in a house on the corner of Northampton and Franklin streets, where he died in the year 1836.

spoken as printer of a Paper * * * at Norwich * * *. It was the winter of 1798-9 and we were getting things in readiness to depart for Susquehanna * * * and on the 8th of February 1799—I being 19 years old the first day of that month—we put our horse to the sled, bade farewell, and set our faces westward ho!

“I have frequently quoted some beautiful lines of a Spanish Poet on leaving home; sweet from the flowing harmony of the numbers; ‘tender and true’ for the sentiment.

‘Hushed be the winds, be still the waters motion!

Sleep—sleep—my bark in silence on the main,

So when to-morrow’s light shall gild the ocean,

Mine eyes once more shall view the coast of Spain:

Vain is each wish, my last petition scorning

Fresh blows the gale, and high the billows swell:

Far shall we be before the break of morning,

O then, forever, Native Spain, farewell.”

The lands to which the youth so cheerfully set out were on the Wyalusing in what was then called Usher, in Luzerne county, but is now Jessup township, Susquehanna county, near Montrose. The journey thither—“strange to say without being stopped for traveling on the Sabbath”—was marked by as many hardships as were met by far-western settlers fifty years after; and the task of settlement was a rough struggle with virgin forests, wild animals, and scanty facilities. “On the 12th of February, 1799,” he wrote, “in company with Captain Peleg Tracy, his brother Leonard, and Miss Lydia Chapman in one sleigh; Mr. John Chase, of Newburyport, and myself in another; I set out from Norwich, Ct., and arrived at Hopbottom, [Luzerne county, Pa.,] the 28th. The snow left us the first night, when we were only twelve miles on our way and we were obliged to place our sleighs on trundle-wheels.” Miss Chapman’s cheering helpfulness impressed him—“our cheerful, undaunted female friend; through the patience-

trying journey of sixteen days never a tear, a murmur, or a sigh." He found himself "one of a perfect live stream of emigrants bound for different positions on the Susquehanna waters. At night, spreading the beds and blankets on the floor in front of a huge fire, a circle of twenty or thirty men, women, and children, boys, girls, and dogs, would lie down in the confidence of company and the security of innocence."

Taking up two "lots" at first he cleared four acres and sowed them with wheat, which he harvested in the fall; but while it was in stack it was destroyed by bears. The place was afterward known as Miner Hill. On the other lot he built a bark cabin, and commenced chopping; but, being unaccustomed to the business, made slow progress. He soon cut his foot, and was taken to a Mr. Whipple's, where he was cared for during several weeks. "When he got well, his taste for farming subsided," says a son of Mr. Whipple, "and he began to think he had mistook his calling."

He never regretted, however, his experiences in what he used to call "Nature's Beech-wood Academy," when, as the *Autobiography* records, he started in the thick woods, with one eight-penny bill in his pocket, to become the artificer of his own fortunes. "It is probable that a large portion of the young men from New England who went out to settle in the then west and who are now [1844] emigrating to the far west beyond the Mississippi, should they relate their adventures, would present kindred histories of buoyancy of spirit amid privations—the surmounting of difficulties and at the same time the hardly-thought-of evils of an empty purse." Among his privations he never counted the fact that the camp-provisions were "chiefly Indian meal stewed in maple sap;" for he was a compatriot of Joel Barlow.

As for the "maple sap" part of his meal, he certainly had earned it, for sugar-making was one of the chief works

of the young wood-cutter and farmer. Having "gone shares" with a certain Joe Sprague, who lived in solitude, with twelve or fourteen miles of wilderness separating him from the nearest humanity, young Miner, according to his own narrative, "took a horse load of [sugar] down the Tunkhannock, peddled it out, a pound of sugar for a pound of pork, seven and a half pounds for a bushel of wheat, five pounds for a bushel of corn; saw the Susquehanna; got a grist ground; returned, and with Mr. Chase made knapsacks of coarse shirts; filled them with provisions, and, each taking an ax on his shoulder, took the bridle path by Mr. Parke's, and thence, fifteen miles more or less, arrived at the forks of the Wyalusing. I do not think a line drawn due south from Binghamton to Tunkhannock, near forty miles, would have cut a laid out road, or come in sight of a house or cabin on an earlier date than the preceding summer."

The snow was his book, the wolf and wild pigeon his companions, and the stars his philosophers and friends:

"From Joe Sprague, I remember distinctly, I learned something besides sugar-making; he formed for me a map of the country, on the snow, including the lakes, the St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi, showing me what part was in our territory and what belonged to Great Britain and Spain; and he used to tell me that I swore never to cease my efforts until those rivers and lakes should be made the boundary of the United Staes. Half is accomplished; let the other be. * * *

"As it was impossible to sit in the hut, after everything was in order I would wrap myself in my blanket and go out and sit on the rocks, rendered bare and warm by the constant fires, and look at the stars, and listen, not unfrequently, to the distant howl of the wolf or the cry of the catamount. Where my thoughts wandered you may easily guess; brought up with great tenderness, the contrast was sufficiently obvious to be felt as well as seen; yet I do not

remember, even for a moment, of indulging either sorrow or despondence. A lively hope, a firm resolution to do something and be somebody, a just ambition, inspired me, and added hope to gild the future with rays of sunshine."

"The snow was now departing, and the wild pigeons came, not in flocks—not in floods, but in a perfect deluge; the whole heavens were dark with them; the cloud on wing continuing to pass for an hour or more, and cloud succeeding cloud. There were not millions but myriads, confirming the account of Audubon of the countless multitudes of these birds that formerly visited Kentucky. Towns were built by them for five or six miles in length along the Meshoppen—every branch and bough of every tree holding a rude nest." * His grandson, Isaac M. Thomas, and Mr.

*THE PASSING OF A RACE.

[From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1914.]

The death of a single bird in a public zoo is usually of but passing importance, but there will be historic interest in the death of Martha, the veteran passenger pigeon in the zoo at Cincinnati. Martha is twenty-nine years of age and is claimed to be the last of her race in the United States. With her death that class of wild pigeon will become extinct.

Within the memory of the present generation there were millions of these wild birds flying at will through the country from the Gulf to the Lakes. Through Ohio and Indiana there were vast flocks of them, their numbers being countless. Ravenous, after one of their flights, they played havoc with many crops, and hunters employed nets, firearms and other devices to slaughter or frighten them away.

As their numbers became reduced they were hunted with great zeal and supplied material for most appetizing pot pies. They traveled in great flocks, were able to cover great distances in a flight and because of their migratory habits were given their name. In size and color they were much like the domestic pigeon seen in most villages and cities. On the wing they could distance the domestic pigeon.

Because of their numbers, their slaughter was ruthless, and they rapidly decreased in numbers. Gradually the flocks became fewer and of less numbers, and finally they ceased to travel. When they became scarce a few were secured for the zoo at Cincinnati. Gradually they have died, and the veteran bird, now weakened and near death, is claimed to be the sole survivor known of the millions seen only a few years ago.

In the country where the numbers were the greatest the final extinction of the race will be seen. The rare event of the extinction of a race will take place at the Cincinnati zoo.

W. H. Sturdevant, both can remember when these pigeons still came in clouds, and is it not pathetic that, through man's cruelty it is doubtful if even one of them is living to-day? Similarly some years later, 1804 or 1805, he describes the shad coming up the Susquehanna to Wilkes-Barré: "They came in myriads, and attained, at that distance from the ocean a fatness and flavor unknown in the lower part of the river. Every family put up a barrel or two, they were cleaned and cured for domestic use [and] a luxury once a day the whole year round * * *. Let us take our boats, skiffs and canoes, row and paddle up the River and across above the sand-bar, to the landing on Col. Dorrance's farm a little below and opposite Mill Creek. Dorrance himself will be there, and Pettibone, and Shoemaker if he be not engaged alone. * * * Mr. Shoemaker, the Lawyer, the Blacksmith, the Printer forgot everything except to hold the head line close to the bottom." Having divided their spoil they loaded their boats and "return to Wilkes-Barre and moor them, with their treasure, feeling that without watching they will be safe. * * * Old Mr. Hess * * * used to say, after the canal was made, the dam erected in the River and the shad stopped—It was all folly and wickedness * * * for God made the Rivers, and broke down the mountains so that the shad might go up, and boats * * * go down free; and man impiously thinking himself wiser had undertaken to mend God's work, but had marred it." Returning to his clearing:

"It was interesting to observe that wherever the fire ran out of the fallow, destroying the timber sometimes, though rarely, the denseness and dampness of the forest preventing its extending far, the next season myriads of raspberries would spring up, thick as it was possible to grow, and ripen as if the earth had been one mass of raspberry seed. * * * The remark was universal that wherever a windfall had occurred * * * the new timber that sprung up was never like that which preceded it. * * * Where

Mr. Hyde cleared a field of white pine of very large growth, the soil was found filled with yellow pine-knots, where not a yellow pine was then known. It seemed abundantly evident that it was a law of nature to supply successive crops of timber, differing in kind. The extent, too, to which the earth was literally saturated and crammed with seeds of various trees and plants seemed marvelous. It could not have been that they had lain dormant for ages. Where a well was dug, the earth brought up, from no matter what depth, almost immediately sent up a thick covering of white clover."

The necessity of expecting and enduring hardship, in his later opinion "perhaps had a good effect in establishing a constitution thought to be delicate and inclined to consumption." Like Bryant and Emerson, an apparently fragile youth lived to a good old age and in his case certainly, there was an anticipation of the open-air sanitarium advocated by Oliver Wendell Holmes as far back as 1844. When by day one carries flour, meal, pork, salt, chocolate, a brass kettle, an axe, and a gun, and by night sleeps on pine boughs, neurasthenia and tuberculosis "depart, excede evade, are off, erump." "Was it," he asked in a memorandum written long after, "a time of suffering? No, no! of pleasurable excitement; of hope, health, and mutual kindness. Novelty gilded the scene. There was just enough of danger, toil, and privation to give life a relish."

His favorite lot, Number 39, was in a region surveyed under both Pennsylvania warrants and Connecticut land titles, and was under settlement, as rapidly as possible, by claimants representing both States. "No road," says the *Autobiography*, "had been laid out east or south within fifteen miles of me, nor nearer than ten miles on the west; and the preceding year, 1798, not an inhabitant existed within a circle of ten miles, my cabin being the centre; so that I may claim to have been one of the first settlers in Susquehanna County."

To the boy it seemed a veritable earthly paradise: "In the beech, maple, ash, bass-wood, and wild-cherry lands the earth was free from every hurtful reptile or noxious thing. From having been covered annually for centuries with the fallen leaves the ground was soft and elastic to the tread; springs were abundant, the waters gushing sweetly from the hills. Everything wore the air of newness and virgin freshness as it came from the hands of the Creator. Man, for good or evil, had as yet scarcely scanned it, and it lay outspread before us in all its original purity and beauty. It seemed as if it had been a retiring grove for the repose of Deity, an appurtenance to Paradise, containing himself in its shade, beneath the lofty trees of his own creation."

In the summer of 1799 he visited as much of his land as possible, made some sales, and became acquainted with nearly every inhabitant within ten miles of his cabin. The rough life was diversified by an occasional debate with the supporters of the Pennsylvania claims, one of whom averred that "he was never so posed in his life; a young fellow there, with tow trousers and bare feet, had every fact and date at his fingers' ends, and gave me more trouble in the contest than I ever met in my life." More romantic diversions were such as the escorting of a young woman "over thirteen miles through the wilderness without a horse, she riding the only one we had; I, like a page, coursing my way on foot by her side."

Returning home to Connecticut for a little time in the autumn, his companion was an Enoch Reynolds, who, in the course of "a new path, near twenty miles without a house," enlivened the distance "with tales from Shakespeare, plays with which he was familiar, and I had never seen. Old Lear and his heartless daughters, who had

'tied

Sharp-tooth'd unkindness like a vulture, here,'

the bloody Richard, the revengeful Othello; above all, the

madcap Petruchio, taming his rampant bride, pleased me much; and I said to myself, 'I'll have that book.'"

The next year his brother Asher "who nearly always had money to lend," to whom Charles, without a penny in his pocket, had cheerfully written: "Come out, and I will set you up," went to Wilkes-Barré, some eighty miles from the lot 39 settlement; and there, and elsewhere in Pennsylvania, made his home for the rest of his life, marrying Mary, daughter of Thomas Wright, long and widely known as a daring real-estate operator, whose grand-daughter, Letitia Wright was to be Charles' wife a few years later.

When, a lad in the north of Ireland, Thomas Wright consulted his schoolmaster as to emigrating to America, he received the reply: "Yes, go, Thomas, you may eat white bread in your old age." Accordingly he came over and became a school-teacher in Dyertown, Pennsylvania, married a Miss Dyer, manufactured iron in New Jersey, "and in 1790, having part in a contract to clean out obstructions in the upper part of the Lehi, he removed to Wilkes-Barré, opened an extensive apartment of goods, purchased farm after farm, took up from the land office large bodies of land—indeed became as bold a speculator as those hard speculating times produced. * * * He would, as he rode his rounds, meet a neighbor, and purchase his farm without alighting from his horse. In this dashing mode of doing business, though often successful, he sometimes got sadly left. [In this way, too, he became a Connecticut claimant by purchase, as shown in the *History of Wyoming*, Page 440.] Passing through the swamp * * * between Wilkes-Barré and Lehi he met a Jerseyman coming in with a load of hollow ware of iron, some pots, but chiefly, Tea-kettles—without examining an article, he purchased the whole and sent in an order for payment. When he returned, behold the kettles had no hollow in the spout and were worthless! No one laughed more heartily, or told the tale more merrily than Mr. Wright. * * * He was now

commissioner of the County, proprietor of the newspaper establishment, had a store in town and one at his Iron-works at Bloomsbury."

In 1795 he built the mill, which, later bought by his son-in-law, Asher, has come by inheritance to his great-grandson, Colonel Asher Miner and his brother. As the enthusiasm of land-speculation grew upon him his free-hearted way of doing business led, as might be easily foreseen, to his being later unable to pay for land he desired, or even to pay the taxes on what he already had, so that eventually he was obliged to sell land. One farm at the junction of the Lackawanna with the Susquehanna, at Pittston, went not for the usual "song" but for a corn-barn full of brooms, which, says family tradition, voiced by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Ellen Miner Thomas, the rats ate, the land being called "the broom farm," because of this fact. And so "Old Tommy Wright," as he is familiarly known in her family, having eaten his "white bread," became again a poor man, or would have done so but for his son-in-law, Asher's business prudence. Generous to a fault, as many of this type are, it was his "pleasure to call in a poor acquaintance, or even stranger passing by :—'Come in, John, it is past noon—I know you must be hungry; and we have a slice of bread and bacon waiting in the cupboard for you.'"

Of his death the *Autobiography* gives an interesting account: "But we must attend the closing scene. Aged 76 or 7 he felt the near approach of death—Asher wrote his will and was made sole executor. [A very old copy apparently in Asher's writing, is owned by a descendant, Mrs. M. C. Thornhill, Atlantic City, N. J. In this will he gives to Charles Miner "as a matter of my attachment and esteem \$100: To his wife Letitia \$50. when she shall 'come to age," and to their children Ann and Sarah each one good cow and six sheep.] Having disposed of everything judiciously to suit him he bade Bob his black servant, to brush up the carriage, and have it brought under his

window, he being raised up to see that it was fit to go to his funeral. The well-brushed harness was brought into his room for the like purpose. He sent for his best esteemed friends Judge Fell and lawyer Bowman to come and superintend the burial, and departed, not as if it were a matter of fear, terror or regret—but as retiring from a scene where he had performed his part, ‘enjoying the goods the gods provided’ or to rest after a long journey, with the most perfect self-collection and placid composure.”

Asher, like Charles, learned the printers trade in Norwich, and bought of his father-in-law the Wilkes-Barré *Gazette* founded in 1797, which, under the later name of the *Luzerne County Federalist*, and the *Luzerne Federalist*, was to become a political and local power in the hands of the two brothers. For this enterprise a printing-press of Asher’s had been transported by Charles in a sleigh on his return from Norwich, and deposited in Wilkes-Barré, Charles repairing once more to Lot 39, to cut and clear as many acres as possible for incoming settlers. Indeed, in one instance he went so far as to set out an apple-orchard, from which, some forty years afterward, the then owner sent him some excellent fruit. “So,” he felicitated himself, “you will see I remembered, before it was written, the advice of Sir Walter Scott ‘to be sticking in a tree when you had leisure, for it would grow while you slept.’” This farm is now, 1915, owned by Dr. Norris, of Philadelphia; the orchard has recently had to be cut down, having become affected with the San Jose scale.

Thus, in the pioneer’s union of incessant activity and mental serenity, the time went on,—“in active exertion, surveying a little, clearing patches of land on different lots, and selling, chiefly on credit; but receiving enough to render me, in my simple mode of living, independent; paying, when I boarded abroad from my proper home at my bark cabin, a dollar a week.” Bread, when he “kept himself,” was baked from pounded green corn, mixed with stewed pumpkin; while venison and occasionally a young bear provided

the luxuries. The *Autobiography* tells the usual story of the primitive honesty of isolated humanity: "The two years I was in the beech-woods I never knew or heard of a door being fastened, or an article of property being lost, although things were frequently left exposed in the woods. Our blankets, tools, beds, and cooking-kettle,—our plates and bowls were made of bass-wood,—were left for weeks at the cabin, without a thought of fear."

Meanwhile his spare time was devoted to the militia, in which he did good work (ranking as corporal), having had some previous training at Norwich. Later, in Wilkes-Barré, he was first lieutenant of the "Wyoming Blues." To the end of his days he believed in the militia as an almost necessary foundation of good government; and doubted whether the Revolution itself would have succeeded, or even been attempted, without it. But, living in the Quaker State, he declared it to be a sacred duty to recognize the scruples of those who objected to bearing arms.

Two years were spent in what he called "my beautiful Usher," in constant health and happiness, and with a valuable accumulation of experience, but with meagre financial results, which he grimly summarized as follows: "Cash, \$8.00; notes, \$203.00, for which I never received a cent, the purchasers having lost their land; due from Thomas Wright, \$55.00 for a horse; due from Asher, \$10.50; total, \$276.50."

In the first year of the new century, "being of age," says the *Autobiography*, "I became a citizen of Pennsylvania. My purpose now was to associate myself with the press, if possible;" but after settling the poor finances of clearings, the need of earning his living, turned him to school-teaching for six months, in Wilkes-Barré, where he boarded with his brother Asher.

In retrospect he writes: "It would be superfluous to say that Wilkes-Barre has wonderfully changed since it first met my view. The ferry was kept opposite Northampton

street, in front of Mr. Butler's. Starting from the ferry, and going up that street (towards Easton) to Main Street, there was on the left hand only one house, that of Mr. Dupuy. Turning up Main Street to the Public Square, there was, on the left, only one house, the tavern, now occupied as such. Turning northwesterly along the Public Square, to Market Street, and thence down to where the bridge now stands, there was not a house on the left. Neither the meeting-house nor the court-house [afterwards erected in the Public Square] was then built. Franklin Street, on which are the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, was not then laid out. From the Public Square to the river, on the right side of the way, was the building now [1844] Cahoon's store, then occupied by Joseph Wright, Esq. The house recently occupied by Col. Lamb, at the corner, my brother had obtained of his father-in-law, part as a gift and part as a purchase, where he resided and had the printing-office. A small one-story house stood on the lot now occupied by the large hotel of Col. Dennis of which I shall speak presently; and at the corner opposite Mr. Hollenback's large brick building was a tavern owned by Thomas Wright and kept by Mr. Hurlbut, not long since sheriff. * * * The town plot was yet covered with pine and oak bushes." Mr. Miner soon afterward rented the one-story house and lot mentioned above,—seventy feet front and a hundred deep, for twenty dollars a year, with leave to purchase for \$200. "If it were now [1844] without buildings it would bring nearly \$100 a foot." * * *

"* * * Reviewing the vast improvement in our beautiful Borough, with so much pride and satisfaction, I could not help detaining you a moment to show what it was since my remembrance. Though out of place one thing I will say here. Not a building ought to be allowed to be erected, in the thickly populated part of the town, that is not fire-proof. The steep roof—which cannot be walked on—covered with pine shingles, which, in two summers become

like tinder, to catch and kindle every spark of fire, ought to be repudiated—done away with, and roofs nearly level formed, covered with zinc, having trap doors, like the hatches of a ship, perfectly water tight, substituted in their stead. A neat railing round the roof would be ornamental, while for airing clothes, or affording a pleasant view, it would be useful and agreeable * * *.

“But the portraiture and sketches illustrative of men and manners as they appeared in Wilkes-Barre forty years ago, are not yet half finished. Nearly a dozen of the elder personages, Gen. Lord Butler, Judges Hollenback, Davison and Fell, Lawyer Bowman, Capt. S. Bowman, Sheriff Dorrance, Nathan Palmer, Prothonotary, and others, I have sketched elsewhere and may possibly append the brief but pretty accurate pictures, to these memoirs. Familiar to many of my readers they are now omitted or postponed to make way for a view of more youthful society.

“The songs of the day, especially of the young ladies, return with their sweet cadences to the ear, and demand notice.

“Miss Lydia Butler’s song, ‘Alloway House,’ has been mentioned, Miss Nancy Butler’s (afterward Mrs. Robinson) favorite had this chorus:

‘See content, the humble gleaner,
Takes the scattered ears that fall
Nature all her children viewing
Kindly bounteous, cares for all.’

“Miss Stevens (afterward Mrs. Dana) sang to us:

‘At the close of the day when the hamlet is still
And mortals the sweets of forgetfulness prove,
When nought but the torrent is heard from the hill
And nought but the nightingale sang in the grove!’

“Miss Letitia Wright, ‘Ye banks and braes of bonnie Doon’ with an artless sweetness, extremely pleasing. Miss Mary Wright (Br. Asher’s wife):

'As Cupid in the garden stray'd
 And sported by a damask's shade
 A little bee unseen among
 The silver leaves his finger stung.'

Which beautiful Anacreontic, by the way is, in my opinion, a better translation than that, by Moore.

'Cupid once upon a bed
 Of roses laid his weary head
 Luckless urchin not to see
 Within the leaves a slumbering bee.'

"But we have hardly leisure now for criticism.

"Miss Maria Hodgkinson (since Mrs. Overton) sang with unsurpassing (*sic*) sweetness 'The Vale of Avoca.' 'There is not in the wide world a valley so sweet,' which gave us all double pleasure, for we applied the line to our own loved Wyoming.

"Brother Asher never pretended to sing unless the chorus to 'Adams and Liberty' or 'Hail Columbia' on the 4th of July, and as for myself, with snatches of a line or two, of almost every song I had heard, "Tom Bowling' was the only one I could sing, when there was no escape, and that I never got through with correctly * * *." Then follows a description of men of business, commissioners, lawyers trooping out to the river bank to play base ball, or trying to see who could go straightest, blindfolded, from Anheuser's store to the broadside of the church: "Poor sinners that we were, not one in ten could reach the church.

"It was not the fashion of the day and place for the young men to herd by themselves, drinking, smoking or gambling. I never knew an instance among our young men of one going into a tavern to ask for a small glass or a large one. The first thought of amusement for the evening brought with it the enquiry where shall we meet the girls—do they take tea at Mr. Carpenter's, Mr. Brown's, Mr. Lathrop's, Mr. Nevin's of Mr. Huntington's—If at neither let us gather them together."

Self-education of the best kind was meanwhile eagerly pursued, for Ebenezer Bowman, who had the best library in town, "opened it without reserve" to the young man, who "found it an ocean of sweets, an incomparable treasure, what my soul longed for, without knowing the object that would satisfy it. I read, I devoured; and thenceforward through life have been a hard student, appetite increasing with gratification." Macpherson's *Ossian*, then deemed a genuine epic, specially delighted him; and as he trudged to his school-house,—on what was afterwards known as Hibler's hill, near the present Vulcan Iron Works, a mile and a quarter below the Public Square,—with his dinner in a basket and a translation of Homer's *Iliad* under his arm, he longed for noon with "an infinitely greater desire" for the tale of Troy divine than for the sandwiches and cheese. "I love Hector, and never read the line 'Troy charged the first and Hector first of Troy,' but my heart almost leaped from my bosom." More practical, though not more enthusiastic, was a thorough reading of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, for which he paid six dollars and a half of his scanty money. In after times, "when brought in conflict with learned and ready opponents, the knowledge obtained from Blackstone was a signal success."

The terms of tuition in his school, for pupils all the way from the ABC children to young men of his own age, were fifty cents a quarter per scholar—that is, for a term of twelve weeks. One of his pupils, it is said, was little Letitia Wright; another like himself, was afterwards in Congress: Amasa Dana, of New York, "a gentleman of talent and virtue," but unfortunately "a Loco of the purest of Van Buren water."

His heart, however, was ever in journalism; and having proved himself, in his brother's office, a quick and accurate compositor and a paragraphist whose work was read and copied, he was admitted as partner in the concern, and on Monday, May 2, 1802, the *Luzerne Federalist* appeared

with the names of "A. & C. Miner" as editors and proprietors. A manuscript note, not in the *Autobiography*, explains the circumstances: "[Asher] requiring some assistance, I gladly aided him through the winter, in the course of which my early acquired knowledge of type-setting came in excellent play, and I would compose my journeyman's days work, by pretty close application; and work the Press with my brother, pulling and beating [illegible] alternately. But I was ambitious to become an editor, and write for the paper. At length, with some misgivings whether it would do, Asher admitted an article, the first you will observe, ever printed of my composition, and lo! before a week elapsed, it came back in a respectable daily print of Philadelphia. This matter of approbation, so pleasing to my vanity, so grateful to my pride, removed every doubt, and henceforth my contributions were made welcome."

A few fleeting admirations for other girls are recorded in the *Autobiography*; but he seems to have half fallen in love with his future wife when she was only three years older than Dante's Beatrice at the poet's first sight of her. Of his first meeting with Joseph Wright, after Asher's marriage to his only daughter, Charles says: "I of course was charmed with him;" and adds "This is a capital beginning for a Yankee boy, thought I; isn't there another for me? But Mary was an only daughter, and she was a favorite child. But there was running about a pretty, merry, pouting-lipped granddaughter, bright, laughing and forward as a universal favorite and pet could be, aged not quite thirteen, of whom I may speak hereafter."

About two and a half years later, on January 16, 1804, came the greatest external event in Charles Miner's life; his marriage to Letitia Wright, the "merry * * * granddaughter" of Thomas Wright. Many years later her daughter Ellen used to tell of the little girl-wife playing with her dolls, and hiding them behind the door if she heard

any one coming, but forty-eight years of unvarying happiness followed, as is attested by every memory of their children and associates, and by his numerous letters, still carefully preserved,—from which frequent citations will be made in that portion of this memoir devoted to his congressional career.

The patience and courtesy of the young couple (Charles was twenty-three and Letitia fifteen) were certainly strained to the utmost, though they never gave way, by the fact that, within three or four months after their marriage, Mrs. Miner's father and mother came to live with them. Joseph Wright was himself only between thirty-five and forty years old, and, according to the hearty testimony of his son-in-law, "highly intelligent, and of manners wonderfully pleasing," a good talker, reader, and singer, and an honest magistrate; but unfortunately addicted to liquor. The *Autobiography*, by what it says and does not say, sufficiently indicates the strain put on the young couple for many years; but endurance, by no means unfortified by real affection, triumphed.

He speaks of "our very small and inconvenient abode—small you may suppose for two families, when I paid but twenty dollars a year rent. Letitia and I could not help it but took the matter as philosophically as possible. * * * Letitia was to me all that my heart and my judgment sought for; they were her father and mother; and that decided the matter." And on Mr. Wright's death, more than twenty years later, his son-in-law wrote in real distress from Washington " * * * Poor Father, and yet, all his good qualities—his fine literary tastes—his love for the children—his readings to Sarah—his attachment to me, all come over my heart."

The only peccadillo time has preserved is a story of his early married life which he tells with pride: "But our society, rarely exceeded in virtue, was not without its shades of evil. Card playing had crept in among us * * * a set of jovial fellows used to take a *Tiff*, that was the

cant word, and I, who just knew the Queen of Hearts from the Jack of Spades, took a hand." One night the fascination was stronger than usual "and it was late breakfast time before we sallied out. For myself, with compressed lip, and more shame than my pride would be willing to avow, I marched for home uncertain whether I should find Letitia in tears, or prepared to give me a lecture on my evil doings. 'What did I care, was I not a man, independent, who had a right to call me to account? I'd let the world know—I was master of my own actions'—and so stepped into the door. Lo! there were neither frown nor tears. A smile of cheerfulness and welcome (I won't answer for the smile in the heart) bade me good morning. The table was set with more than ordinary care—the cloth whiter—the coffee clear as amber, and not a word or allusion to where I had been. * * * The discretion—the good sense—the tact on the part of my very young, but very good wife were admirable; and after sleep and time had restored the proper tone, I resolved, no formal pledge, but made up my mind never so to offend again, and never have."

"The year 1804 was especially memorable to me for four circumstances. Married, January 16th. In May brother Asher and I dissolved business connections, I purchasing the establishment and becoming sole proprietor of the *Luzerne Federalist*. On the 24th of October new and tenderest sympathies were awakened by the birth of a daughter whom we named Anna Charlton, after my beloved Mother, and Nov. 3 the death of that Mother, of whom I have often spoken, and of whom it is impossible for me to speak without emotions of deepest veneration and love. It is balm to my heart that I never purposely offended her; I caused her no sorrow, I awakened in her bosom no pain (I do not mean to exempt myself from the trifling forwardness of a petted child, or that I sometimes lingered longer with my playmates than the allotted hour) unless by leaving her when duty demanded of me to seek my fortune from home, and leave her. She died of consumption aged 60 years.

“Asher [grandfather of Charles A. Miner] with his growing family (he having two children, and as I dandled them both on my knee, loved them then and love them still, I cannot refrain from saying, the oldest was Anna Maria, the amiable wife of Dr. Abraham Stout, the other Thomas Wright, named as you may suppose after his grandfather; now, I need hardly add, Physician of Wilkes-Barre, whose skill and success give him a just fame which needs no compliment from my pen to enhance) Asher had wisely, and with that enterprise that distinguished him, cast about for some mode of extending his business. * * * His mind turned to Doylestown * * * [and] after visiting the place he resolved to try the experiment, removed, established the *Correspondent* * * * mounted his horse and rode with true Yankee perseverance, to every town and village soliciting subscriptions * * *. Business flowed in upon him * * * and placed Asher in a position of entire comfort, with a fair prospect of independence. In parting with him allow me in justice to add; his business habits, his methods, his prudence, were of especial use to me, although I never attained to the perfection that distinguished him. * * * His judgment was sound, his morals pure, all his affections kindly, his habits and manners agreeable. Confidence and good will, the esteem of manhood, as the love of childhood, flowed uninterruptedly between us, and we separated with regret from motives solely prudential.”

The name of the *Federalist* was changed to *Luzerne Federalist* and *Susquehanna Intelligencer*, and, with Charles as sole editor and proprietor, was published at two dollars a year, plus fifty cents for delivery by post-riders, payment being largely in goods which were collected along the Susquehanna river for a hundred miles and brought home by boat, often by the proprietor himself. A little advertising and some collateral book and pamphlet printing eked out the revenues of the office; the first book issued being the poems of Samson Occom, the Indian taught by Eleazer Wheelock, whose preaching in England was so decisive a

factor in the collection of the funds used to establish Wheelock's Indian charity school, out of which grew Dartmouth College.

That Mr. Miner was a kind employer, successful in winning affection in the printing office, is plain, for on one occasion he received a communication containing this unique tribute: "May God bless you and keep you, is the undying wish of your devil"!

The *Federalist* was a steady and useful promoter of the then declining fortunes of the political party which gave it its name, and which he loyally supported during the long period preceding the revival of Federal Whiggism, as the National Republican party of John Quincy Adams twenty-four years later. "The reader will bear in mind," says the *Autobiography*, "That the great political contest which eventuated in the overthrow of the Federal party and the election of Jefferson and Burr had just taken place; that party passions were holding Saturnalia throughout the union; that in Pennsylvania especially the elections of Governor McKean, the Democratic candidate, over J. Ross of Pittsburgh, had added bitterness to the conflict; and that in Luzerne the flames of party rancour raged with scorching vehemence."

"The paper was freely opened to those who differed from us as well as to those with whom we accorded, ever with liberal impartiality. With the Federal colors flying at the masthead, our Democratic fellow-citizens, the *Wilkes-Barre Gazette* having ceased to be published, were always welcome to the use of our pages. I do not believe I ever, in my life, rejected an essay, sent me in good faith, by an opponent, and when a candidate myself, proceedings of meetings, hostile to my nomination were admitted without hesitation."

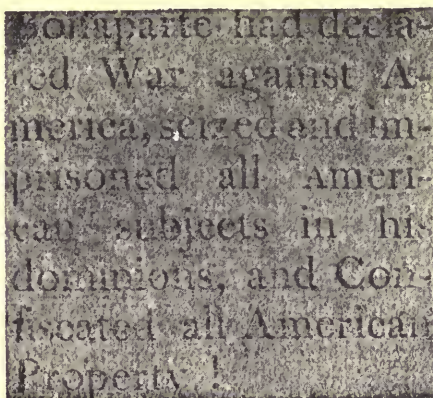
Again, when first elected to the Legislature, he opened his columns to his oponents to "taunt my faults with such full license as truth and malice have power to utter."

The *Federalist* contained some local news and general

matter: "The land dispute was now at its height, and I wrote, besides numerous paragraphs, a course of essays under the signature of Leonidas, in behalf of the Connecticut settlers and their claims." Before the days of the regular editorial, the "printer," who was identical with the editor, in many journals adopted the Addisonian method of enlightening his readers on all sorts of topics—moral, religious, and literary, as well as political. Foreign "intelligence," in the years when the whole world was shadowed by the malign Bonaparte, wading through slaughter to a throne, was not the less important because it was belated for months, and deviously transmitted. Once, at least, October 28, 1808, the *Federalist* indulged in one of the earliest "displays" I have found in any American newspaper, which I reproduce in scale: The "scare-heads" were



and then, after saying that the report had come through a couple of sailing-vessels, the paper went on to chronicle the dire news that



[1805?] "As I was in the midst of politics, knee deep—elbow deep, sleeves rolled up for the work, my young political readers, may be pleased to know what was the aspect of Political affairs at that period or 40 years ago. The view is curious and not uninteresting:—In 1799, and 1800, the great revolution had taken place, which gave the Democratic Party the ascendancy in Pennsylvania and in the National Government. The Federalists, the great current of their measures having been wise and essentially successful, conscious alike of the purity of their patriotism, their integrity of purpose and of their, at least, equal claim to talents, were astonished at the issue; and braced their nerves for a contest to regain the ascendancy. How vain were their efforts history has recorded. It is not to be denied the Democrats understood the nature of man and the springs of human action, with a distinctness compared with which the Federalists were mere purblind novices. In courtship of the People the 'bowing popularly low' they beat us a bar's length at every throw, and the masses rallied to their standard.

"Major Russell with his able co-adjutors of the Boston Gazette, New England Palladium, Worcester Spy, and other Massachusetts papers; Pickering, Fisher Ames, Harrison Gray Otis, a prominent leader in the Bay State—The Connecticut Courant at Hartford, with the Dwights, Criswold and Tracy, Dana and other conspicuous leaders in Connecticut; Hamilton, the Van Rensselaers, the Evening Post, with Coleman at its head—The Spectator with Noah Webster as its chief editor—the Balance with inimitable Crosswell as its conductor, presented a Grecian phalanx in New York, [illegible] firm, and resolved. The Pennsylvanian C. P. Wayne, and afterwards Brownson and Chauncy, and their able correspondents, rendered the U. S. Gazette a spirited battery; Dennie with his Portfolio, part literary, and part political, with the aid of the laborious Rolf and the prudent Paulson roused the City Federalists

to quarters, while William Hamilton, of Lancaster, the playful Billy Blackberry of epigram and song, rendered his Gazette effective. I hail also with singular pleasure the recollection of the 'Adams Sentinel,' the Franklin Repository, the Bedford Gazette, the Pittsburgh Gazette as co-laborers, with the more humble but not less zealous 'Luzerne Federalist' in the cause of resuscitating decaying Federalism. But one might as well have attempted to row up Niagara Falls. The argument and wit were of course fairly with us; but as for the rest, [in] the biting satire, the scorching sarcasm, the withering [illegible] barbed, feathered and sent for deepest penetration, the opposition we thought were quite our match. At home all the Popular stream was against us, Jefferson's red breeches * * * his mellifluous accents and inimitably popular style took with the popular taste; but the acquisition of Louisiana, the opening the whole extent of the Mississippi to commerce, * * * gave him and his administration claim to public consideration, which established his party effectually in power, and bore him on in triumph. * * * In 1803 of the eighteen Representatives in Congress from Pennsylvania there was not one Federalist. In the State Senate there was one, and in the House only 5."

During this busy time he greatly valued the associations of the masonic lodge to which he always remained loyally attached, and of his admission to which he wrote: "But I was 'a man of full age and under the tongue of good report' and longed to have disclosed to me the secrets of a 'free and accepted Mason' * * *. Judge Fell led me ('oh, how my poor heart panted') and John Paul Schott, Esq., as Master of the Lodge, brought me to Light."* Also he enjoyed the debating society, in which the clash of argument and wit formed a sort of post-graduate course of the "Beechwood Academy": "I look back to our Debating

*For a full account of his Masonic relations see "History of Lodge No. 61," by Oscar J. Harvey, Esq., Wilkes-Barré, Pa., in which the first sketch ever published of Mr. Miner appears.

School with great pleasure, and as a source of improvement infinitely exceeding the value of the time and labor expended."

The little office had occasionally been able to do some printing for Philadelphia patrons; and Mr. Miner made his first visit to "the great city." "Hartford and Newburg, Norwich and New London I had seen, but never so great a place as Philadelphia. Its order, its vastness, its regularity, were all enchantment to me"; and so were Peale's Museum, Cooper as Richard III, Jefferson in "The Village Lawyer"—Peale's pictures of Revolutionary worthies "enchaining attention with emotions of pleasure almost extending to pain."

Some time later but of uncertain date, probably 1806, he visited Philadelphia again on his return from a trip to Washington. The *Autobiography* says: "A voyage down the [Susquehanna] river in a canoe extended into a journey to Washington City * * *. Thomas Wright, Esquire, owned the old forge place at Lackawanna where he had a bloomery making excellent iron." It was hoped the authorities at Washington might consider establishing a foundry for arms and cannon, so in company with Arnold Colt, who was to share in the enterprise if successful, he started * * *. "We launched a canoe, put on board a small basket of provisions and armed each with a paddle and setting pole, we pushed into the river to pursue our journey. I cannot help saying that in reviewing this matter it seems to me strongly marked temerity and folly * * *. That we passed through Nanticoke and other falls and ripples without upsetting or accident seems almost a miracle. Six or eight miles below Sunbury we attached our canoe to a raft and were upset in 'the great Canawaga falls.' Deeply I drank of the angry stream * * * with the loss of our canoe and the gain of a good ducking we got safely through, having acquired some character for firmness." * * * On reaching Lancaster "I had the pleasure for the first time to see the assembled

wisdom of Pennsylvania in legislative session * * *. The scene was full of pleasure and romance. I will not say a secret thought did not steal into my mind that if I behaved well and exerted myself honorably, I might at some future day find my way there. Certainly the idea of an immediate, or even early enjoyment of what I esteemed so high an honor did not enter into my conception." * * * On arriving at Washington "and having an interview with Mr. Gallatin then at the head of the Treasury, I found little encouragement to hope that my speculations would succeed, the Government, inclined to a spacific policy, being neither authorized nor disposed to establish a cannon foundry or armory, especially so far in the interior. * * * I visited the President's House, had a glimpse of, but no introduction, to President Jefferson, but we were very civilly shown the rooms, and as was the European fashion, the State bed, in a recess, very elegant, in which Mr. Jefferson *did not* sleep. My ambitions were not then so aroused as to imagine what happened twenty years afterward, that I should be one of a Committee of Congress * * * to visit the President's House, to inspect and report on the furniture, every room being thrown open to us * * *." Leaving Washington after a week "all charm and romance to my yet youthful and inexperienced mind," he set out for Philadelphia. "And here I first saw Matthew Carey, that most indefatigable of men and of Booksellers. Introducing myself I told him that as publisher of the *Luzerne Federalist* I printed various blanks for sale and the thought had struck me that money could be made by the sale of school and other books, but cash I had none, and the question was, would he let me have one or two hundred dollars worth on credit. 'You are a stranger, sir, is there any person with whom you are acquainted in the city you could refer me to?'—'Not a soul'—'Well, well,' relaxing into a smile and a pleasant one, 'I'll venture to trust that face to the amount you specify.' The acquaintance then formed ripened not into intimacy or

friendship, but into confidence and hearty good will continuing through life. Lame, from a wound received in the foot in a duel with Oswald, (if my information be correct) he limped a good deal, otherwise he was a handsome man with a fine, round, expressive face, full of animation—passionate—placable—just—generous—benevolent. Highly intelligent and enterprising, for many years Mr. Carey exercised an extensive influence both on the politics and business of the city.”

Mr. Miner’s first appearance in public life was as clerk of election, for which he received \$1.50, the most money he had ever earned in a day. In 1806 he was chosen a member of the first borough council of Wilkes-Barre, “in company with Judge Hollenback, Gen. Butler, and others of the old substantial gentlemen who took office to set matters agoing in the right direction. Being comparatively a poor boy among these wealthy veterans, I was proud enough to be pleased with the honor.” The next year he was made one of the first Board of Trustees of the local Academy of which he was one of the incorporators; but his conspicuous public career began in the autumn of the same year, when, to his surprise, he was elected a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from Luzerne county. Or, as the *Autobiography* puts it, “the year 1807 became very unexpectedly one of the most memorable of my life; as a chain of circumstances arose which led me to a position not in the distance un hoped for, but which even the throbbing impulses of my ambitious heart had not whispered was near at hand. A sharp quarrel with Judge Thomas Cooper placed me prominently in the lead of an exasperated, high-spirited, and generous people.”

Letters passed between Mr. Miner and Judge Cooper, published in the *Luzerne Federalist* in May, 1807:

“* * * I well remember when my friend Jesse Fell brought me Judge Cooper’s letter, he looked as if he entertained great doubts whether I would publish it * * *. ‘Will

you print it, Charles?'—'Certainly.'" Judge Cooper was dining with friends when the paper containing Mr. Miner's reply was handed to him:

"As he read it with increasing eagerness he would exclaim 'D—it, D—it, D—it,' till he got to the end when bursting into a laugh he said, 'The Dog has talents for all.'"

Thomas Cooper had, after due trial, and a plea of guilty on the part of the accused, sentenced a boy of fifteen to one year's imprisonment for horse-stealing. The same day two citizens of good repute, both of them friends and neighbors of Mr. Miner, told the judge that the boy had been otherwise objectionable, and that a longer sentence would do him good. Judge Cooper, accordingly, ordered him before the court the next morning, and changed the sentence from one year to three; but learning that the crier had called a court of common pleas and not one of quarter sessions—to which the case belonged—caused a quarter sessions court to be opened, and sentenced the boy a third time.

Such a procedure was of course opposed to law and common decency, and, if made a precedent or a practice, intolerable; which facts Mr. Miner very vigorously set forth in his newspaper. Judge Cooper retorted in a long and haughty letter, which left the real case exactly where it had been; and gave Mr. Miner a capital chance, which he promptly accepted, to make a crushing rejoinder, of which the following sentences were the nub:

"This mode of condemnation appears as new to me as it is unjust. If Gough had stolen money, and there were witnesses in town to prove the fact, why was not the attorney for the State notified, and directed to proceed legally against him? Or if you chose to dispense with the dull forms of law, would it not have been at least proper to have ordered the witnesses into court, together with the prisoner, and, in the face of the public have obliged them

on oath to declare what they knew against the prisoner? Our Constitution, formed, I believe, before your arrival in this country, declares that in all criminal prosecutions the accused hath a right to be heard by himself and his counsel; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him; and to meet the witnesses face to face."

Very effective use was also made of the Blackstone bought with the scanty earnings of the young school-teacher, and now brought to bear against a judge:

"Be so good as to listen to what Judge Blackstone says of such evidence: 'In cases of felony at the common law, confessions of the prisoner made to persons not legally authorized to receive them are the weakest and most suspicious of all testimony, ever liable to be obtained by artifice, false hopes, promises of favor, or menaces; seldom remembered accurately or reported with due precision, and being incapable in their nature of being disproved by other negative evidence.' * * * The same excellent author whom I have quoted says: 'The Judge shall be counsel for the prisoner; that is, he shall see that the proceedings against him are strictly legal and regular.'"

Of Judge Cooper he generously wrote, long after the echoes of the controversy had died away:

"Judge Thomas Cooper was an educated adventurer, one of the many who found asylum along the banks of the Susquehanna river. It was a society of distinguished talents which gathered at the confluence of the north and west branches early in this century. Born in London, educated at Oxford, admitted to the bar, a natural philosopher, and a natural agitator, he followed his friend Dr. Joseph Priestly to his retreat at Northumberland. On his way Mr. Cooper took his seat in the French Assembly, along with Mr. Watt, as representative of the Manchester Philosophical Society. Judge Cooper and John M. Taylor were appointed Commissioners to put in execution the Acts of Assembly of Pennsylvania, offering compensation to the

Pennsylvania claimants and conferring Connecticut titles. To Judge Cooper is due the credit of that most righteous compromise. He removed to South Carolina, where his distinguished talents had called him to preside over Columbia College" [the University of South Carolina.]

Mr. Miner's Federalist blood was stirred by the fact that his opponent was a Democrat; but in this instance the representatives of the two parties changed ground, for Judge Cooper was exercising the very arbitrariness which had aroused the Democrats against the Alien and Sedition laws of the John Adams administration under which laws Cooper himself had been fined four hundred dollars and six months imprisonment, for libel against the president, in 1800. In a brilliant sketch of Judge Cooper, a little earlier in the *Autobiography*, it is said: "Prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned (as he deserved) his room was the resort of the political Elite of the Democratic party of the city, and his pen rendered the *Aurora* a splendid coruscation of playful satire, or bitter invective. The song which made more Democrats than all the reasoning in or out of Congress is said to have been a production of his versatile genius when in confinement.

'When morning's first blushes first illumine the east,
I haste to my daily employment,
I grub all the day while the well-born can feast,
For they can afford the enjoyment.

'Our rulers can feast on six dollars a day,
The poor must be taxed this extortion to pay,
And if I against them do anything say,
In jail I must lie for sedition.' " etc.

The result of this controversy with Judge Cooper was that without any personal effort Mr. Miner was elected in October, 1807, to the legislature by a practically non-partisan vote, and twice re-elected, each time by a larger majority. "Disregarding party lines the people took me; a large

number of Democrats, in their generous enthusiasm, forgetting the Federal printer in the defender of popular rights * * *. It seems now [1844] to me that the excitement produced was greatly disproportionate to the cause; it was like a spark in a keg of gunpowder; and from being well and kindly regarded, I became at once a popular favorite, and drank deep of the delirious cup of public applause * * *. Do not doubt that the gratification was extreme; I question whether Napoleon, when he encircled his brow with the imperial diadem, was better pleased than the Yankee boy who had made maple sugar with Joe Sprague, tied his shirt into a knapsack and gone into the deep forest, sleeping on the ground under a bark roof, to commence a farm." He also reflected with legitimate pride that the Norwich folks would not think that he had done badly; and added: "Agreeable as the result was to myself, yet let me say it was in a seven-fold degree more so because I knew it would fill the heart to overflowing of my beloved father."

On the last existing page of the *Autobiography* he says: "It might naturally be expected that the first movement I should make in the House, would be for a Committee to enquire into the conduct of Judge Cooper with a view to his removal * * *. I think his removal would have been easy. But then I had not a particle of ill will against him * * * I am not sure but there was an undercurrent of feeling leading to something like this: 'Thank you, sir, for an opportunity to distinguish myself in a contest with one so able. If you are satisfied, I am.' * * * More and most weighty was the reason that Judge Cooper had been the soul of the Commission for settling the titles of the old Yankee settlers * * * and of all men he was fittest to adjudicate upon and carry into effect the act. * * * Barring his hastiness and overbearing manner occasionally, he was an excellent judge, and I did not doubt his integrity. But several years afterwards, when president of another district, complaints were

made against him, and I believe the effective charges grew out of the former contest here * * * and he was removed by Governor Snyder on an Address of both houses."

On page 455 of the "History of Wyoming" he adds: "It is proper here to say, that to Thomas Cooper, Esq., one of the commissioners under the compromising law, in 1803 and 1804, the settlers within the seventeen townships, and the Commonwealth, are largely indebted. He gave to the subject the most devoted attention of a mind remarkably sagacious, vigorous and clear. He unravelled with unexceeded patience and perspecuity, the mazes of this most intricate subject; * * *"

With the whole matter of the Connecticut claims treated at large in the History, and elsewhere, it has been thought best only to touch on it here in this slight way, but one more passage from the *Autobiography* will serve to show how the settlement effected Mr. Miner personally, and his broad, unselfish views of its general advantages:

"Thus ended the intrusion law and prosecutions under it. So terminated the not only imposing, but absolutely threatening power of the Susquehanna and Delaware companies, claiming under title from the charter from Connecticut and various Indian purchases all northeastern Pennsylvania. And thus were prostrated my individual expectations, long since diminished and gradually lessened to a faint ray of hope, of a fortune from the ownership of several thousand acres in Locke, Dandolo, the Manor, and Usher [Townships], including my beautiful lot 39. Essential benefits nevertheless flowed in upon Pennsylvania from this moss-trooping inroad of Yankees. Large numbers of settlers from New England, attracted thither by the favorable accounts of the pioneers, and the final adjustment of the land controversy, came in with considerable means and purchased, so that at this day when I write [1844?] all the upper parts of Luzerne, Wyoming, Wayne, Susquehanna and Bradford counties, the chief scenes of the half share

controversy, present a population so industrious, moral and progressive, that it may vie with any settlement in the state or we may confidently add in the Union."

One personal letter must be disposed of here before passing to more general matters, and the work of the assembly. His first long absence from home since his marriage caused the young father to dwell very seriously on the thought of parental responsibility, and aged twenty-eight he wrote the long, earnest, if somewhat stilted letter, from which extracts follow, to his wife then less than twenty.

"LANCASTER, March 8, 1808.

"* * * A good deal of enquiry is made about you, who you look like, and all such questions, and some of the girls have flattered me so much as to say that they know I have a most excellent wife or I would not be so steady and circumspect in my conduct. I hope I never may behave ill—I hope my conduct may never excite a tear on the cheek of my Lettie, or a sigh or a blush from my children or friends. I am very sure that our happiness will always be in proportion to our virtue. * * * When I reflect on home and you—you I find are the first and most dear object that my mind rests upon. But my children [at this time Ann and Sarah] excite more solicitude than they used to do, I played with them—I loved them—they were pretty little objects to amuse myself with, and I was interested for their healths. Now they appear to me of greater importance * * * as rational beings formed to take a part on the theater of life, and accountable hereafter for their actions * * * and Letitia, their behaviour * * * their happiness—perhaps their virtues may depend on us. * * * But on a mother who is always with them does the most responsibility rest, for she has more influence on their minds. I pray you then to make yourself such a mother as you would wish your daughters to be when they grow up to take the cares of a family, and instil into their minds both by precept and example those virtuous sentiments you are so capable of inculcating."

On arriving at Lancaster (the State capital when Mr. Miner first sat as representative), he writes in the two existing letters to his wife describing some of the people he met; at his boarding-house he had for a companion, "Charles Thompson, the secretary of the old congress, one of the patriots of the Revolution, and a venerable old man he is." Other fellow-boarders were: "A jolly fat Quaker and two smooth-faced cits. from Philadelphia, trying to get a charter for a bank, the inducements being wine and bribery. Despicable indeed must be their opinion of the legislature if they think to buy a charter with grog. * * * They offer, however, \$75,000 besides, whether it will be accepted or not I do not know, but I rather think it will."

He gives, too, in the last pages of the *Autobiography*, with gentle humor, a few sketches of his associates in the Assembly, whose small vanities did not escape him, always softening his remarks with a word of appreciation for the man's ability:

"Charles Smith of Lancaster, possessed genius of the highest order united with many eccentricities. He was the most pleasing and persuasive speaker I had then ever heard. Of his oddities I may here mention, that he often seemed lost in a brown study, and I have seen him suddenly rise from his seat—tapping the lid of his silver snuff box, as with a half shuffle he moved up the aisle, singing audibly enough to excite a smile through the House,

'Old King Cole was a jolly old Soul.'

"* * * Dr. Michael Leib was the Magnus Appollo of the [democratic] party, and Grand Sachem of the Tammany bucktails, in the City and Northern Liberties. Not tall but of good form, bold Roman, florid features—dressed in the extreme of fashion—hair powdered, and highly essenced, he was instantly a marked object to the stranger entering the gallery. As a speaker he was full of animation, meaning always, and proving often to be, keen in retort; but never a close reasoner. He produced effect rather by

the velocity of his missiles, than the weight of his metal. He had a habit, with a good deal, and not ungraceful gesture, of ever and anon raising his right hand and placing the thumb on the right side of the nose, his fore or middle finger on the ridge and stroking down, not without grace, his nasal organ; then flourishing his hand abroad, displaying his white ruffles and repeating the gesture. Mr. Ingham used to annoy him a good deal in his shrewd replies, pointing his thumb behind him, and alluding 'to the powdered member the other side of the post.' * * *

"Gen. Ogle was an 'I by itself I.' He hailed from Somerset, from whence 'more of the same name and sort' if not more talents, but more refinement and education, have appeared on the public stage. More than six feet in height—slender—bent a little, his face was like an eagle's—a prominent and aquiline beak—an eye of fire, he was a very marked character. His seat was in the south-west corner of the House, his back to the gallery rail—his right hand to the wall on which was spread a large map of Pennsylvania. When he was to speak every eye was turned toward him—striking his right pocket back, and looking at the map, he would give a puff, as if it were a half sneeze from his nose and then in a loud rather shrill voice call 'Mr. Speaker.' In Congress Hall he would amuse himself by shutting quickly his steel tobacco box, making the echoes all over the House."

Mr. Miner became at once a hard working member; the legislature convened at Lancaster on December 4, 1807, and he was appointed on the committee on schools, and that on the militia, besides being put on two other committees appointed to consider petitions presented by him:—that settlers in Luzerne county might share in the privileges granted to other townships, and for a lottery to aid in finishing a church in Wilkes-Barré and to protect the river bank from further damage by the water. The next day he reported, favorably, of course, at some length for the

committee on the lottery, so that one is rather surprised to find him so frightened, when, he makes his first motion, on the 14th of the same month, as he amusingly describes himself to be in the *Autobiography* "I had introduced a resolution the object of which was to exclude small bank bills [of less than five dollars from other states] from circulation. Leib without directly objecting, called me up to defend it. I attempted to do so, but every pillar in the house turned dark, and down I sat. I had spoken in our debating society, but found this a very different affair. Not long after Leib having introduced resolutions laudatory of Mr. Jefferson's administration, I prepared myself with a good deal of care this time, as our good Methodist friends were wont to say 'I found freedom' and said my say I believe to the general satisfaction. Immediately on sitting down a dozen friends came, took me by the hand, and said 'very well.' Even Leib, who with all his spit-fire violence was not destitute of generous sentiments, came over on the House adjourning and complimented me—but said I'll give it to you, my good fellow. I do not find that the little speech (for none of us talked long) was reported, but I remember the conclusion from this flattering circumstance. The next time—months after—on visiting Philadelphia I met my excellent friend, Charles W. Hare, who extending both hands exclaimed: 'Mr. Speaker, it is National Honour that defends National Independence. Here would I plant the American standard—nail the colour to the flag-staff, and never yield it but with existence. * * * I take pride that though a zealous politician in my legislative career I introduced no mere party topics."

He soon wrote to his friend, Steuben Butler, of Wilkes-Barré.

"My oratory is very awkward, when put in competition with that of the others; but I let dash at them. I do not perceive that my enemies—political, I mean—respect me the less, nor that the affection of my friends has decreased from my attempts."

In the same letter he records the unsuccessful attempt of the opposite party to get the vote of a man, absolutely needed to break a tie, "by making him drunk; but he voted right all the same, time after time." To celebrate this triumph of justice, Mr. Miner and his friends adjourned, after the labors of the day, to a neighboring tavern," and took supper of tripe, wine, songs, and other good things." In another letter, the next term he writes to the same correspondent—Lancaster, March 18, 1808:

"I must tell you that Governor Simon is very polite to me. I could not wish him to be more so and I confess I wonder at it for I am sometimes rather saucy in my language in the House, I have two or three times been called to order for lashing the Democratic party. What you tell me of the attempt in Kingston to injure me, I care not a rush for. I have done my duty faithfully and impartially and I will continue to do it without regard to *popularity*."

It is evident that being young and happy he got a good deal of fun out of the happenings in the Assembly, as well as felt the dignity and responsibility of the position. In the *Aurora*, Philadelphia, January 2, 1809, is a report of a bill that became utterly balled up by the number of motions heaped upon it; "A motion was then made by Mr. Miner" that they "resist the execution of the U. S. Court," to which it gravely appended in a note "This motion was made in derision." Perhaps a rather dangerous derision, since the State of Pennsylvania had recently been shaken by the question as to whether the judgments of the Supreme Court should be supreme.

Says the *Autobiography*: "The chief general matter of the first session was the Impeachment of Gov. McKean, commenced the last winter by those who had placed him in power, and who now, as was familiarly said, like Acteon, was pursued by his own dogs.

"In 1799 on being elected Governor, McKean chose to assume that all commissions, except those of judges, granted

by the executive, became null and void on the inauguration of a new Governor. He therefore issued a proclamation extending all such Commissions until it should be his pleasure to grant new ones. Thus, as he and his partisans said, making no removals, only filling vacancies constitutionally arising he made a clean sweep. I do not remember that, like Job's servants, one was left. Of course among the losers there was figuratively, 'weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth.) All of the Federalists (for our party held the principal appointments under Governor Mifflin) came out full cry against [McKean]. A few years had passed by and lo, we were with few exceptions, his supporters, had aided to re-elect him, and now stood between him and impeachment by his former friends. The chief offence taken by Dr. Leib and his party seems to have arisen from the Governor refusing to remove judges on the address of the two Houses. The Constitution saying on such addresses 'the Governor *may* remove—not shall. It was charged on the Democratic party of that day, that nothing delighted them more than 'to run down a buck'—hunt a Judge out of office. To do them justice, be it said there were grounds for their hostility to the Bench and Bar. The great system of Legal Reform now so justly popular, then, and for several years advocated by the Democrats, was opposed by us Federalists under the lead of the Bench and Bar. * * * Governor McKean declared that he would let the addressors know that 'may' meant 'wont'—so the Judges kept their seats and the Governor was attacked. Resolutions to impeach were offered, but seizing the opportunity on the absence of one of their men, we called up the Resolution, and negatived it." Elsewhere he says: "By my casting vote I saved him from impeachment."

Having been instrumental in excluding small bills from circulation in Pennsylvania, by his first resolution, as has been seen, Mr. Miner proceeded to uphold, throughout his three terms of office, as later in Congress, many practical

questions of development and internal improvement—the North branch and other canals, post-roads, etc.

“Foreseeing the growth of the coal trade at a very early day Mr. Miner advocated the improvement of the descending navigation of the Susquehanna and Lehigh rivers, predicting the connection of their waters by a railroad long before such roads were generally known or thought of. In fact there was not then a railway in existence—save the tram-roads in and about the mines of Newcastle, England—and to those who understood this, how much like the merest vagaries of the imagination must Mr. Miner’s confident hopes have seemed. And yet he lived to see them realized!” [Harvey’s Lodge, No. 61, p. 432.]

Congress convened December 6, 1808, and on the 8th he offered resolutions, in sympathy with the movement that was sweeping all over the country, accelerated by the embargo, proposing the encouragement of sheep-raising, and of wool manufacture. These resolutions proposed the exemption of all sheep from taxation, of ten sheep from attachment for debt; a bounty on full-blooded sheep; that any militia that would wear homespun should be entirely accoutred at public expense, etc.

In the course of his speech supporting his bill he says: “Patriotism conspires with interest to urge [us] to take some effectual measures upon this subject. The measures to be effectual must be liberal. It is notorious, Sir, that Great Britain has united with the enemy to restrict our Commerce. In consequence of their injustice our Government have thought it necessary to lay an embargo. Without now entering into the enquiry whether the measure was proper or not, it certainly is our duty as good citizens to submit to the inconveniences it produces—to obey the laws with all possible cheerfulness, and to relieve ourselves from the evils we suffer, as early and effectually as we can. And how is this to be done? By manufacturing those articles ourselves, of which we stand most in need, and which we

import from Europe. Seven-tenths of the woolen clothes we wear are the manufacture of England. Cannot we manufacture them for ourselves? Sir, our wives, our daughters, our sweethearts are industrious and patriotic enough to clothe us all in homespun if we will furnish them with the materials. How shall we do this? Improve your breed and number of sheep." He probably was clad in homespun at this time, for he wore it as an object lesson.

Of another bill of this session he says: "Another resolution introduced by me proposed the inquiry, whether any legislative measure could with propriety be adopted to promote vaccination for kine pox. The subject was referred to a committee, and with their consent I prepared and presented a report thereon." [Which was passed, printed and widely circulated, thus "bringing the matter in an official form before the people" and doing good educative work].

"I did not see clearly, on introducing my resolution, what steps of practical utility could be taken by the public authorities; but my main purpose was to bring the matter in an official form before the people; to make it a matter of discussion; to arouse a spirit of inquiry; to dissipate a prejudice; to diffuse information; and thus, through every part of the community, to extend vaccination for the kine-pox. My motives and efforts, I had the pleasure to know, were duly appreciated. Intelligent philanthropists in various parts of the state, in and out of the medical profession, and especially in Philadelphia, corresponded with me upon the subject; and among them I have particular pride in naming the late John Vaughan, one of the most unwearied of philanthropists that ever lived or died. To know would be happiness, to believe is a pleasure, that I was the means of saving one life; a single son to the hopes of his father; a single daughter in health and unimpaired beauty to the embraces of her Mother."

On January 7, 1809, a resolution was offered, proposing

that Pennsylvania's senators and representatives in Congress be instructed to use their influence to have the Constitution amended so that the several States might elect their senators in the same manner as they did their representatives. Taking the same position as a firm supporter of the Constitution as it was, that he later maintained in the House, Mr. Miner spoke against the proposal. "It must be evident," he said, "that the Constitution was so formed on purpose to prevent the individual States from constantly interfering with and troubling the Nation by applications for amendments."

Again re-elected, in 1812, one letter remains, announcing his arrival at Harrisburg, where the Assembly convened that year. "My old acquaintances seem glad to see me, and there appears nothing yet like passion or party feeling."

On the 9th of December the legislature was invited to a "bull-bait," and on the next day Mr. Miner wrote a horrified letter to his paper, "*The Gleaner*," and also introduced a resolution, which was adopted almost unanimously, the other members being equally shocked. "Conceiving that every wise and humane Government ought to protect animals from cruelty; that the practice is disgraceful," etc. "Therefore, Resolved, That a committee be appointed to bring in a bill suppressing the practice of bull-baiting, and providing for the more effectual punishment of persons who shall be guilty of cruelty to animals."

The next, and last bill to need mention, is benignly entitled "An Act to Promote the Comfort of the Poor," in which he said: "The first aim of a wise Legislature should be to guard the weak from oppression, and so far to restrain the hand of power that it should not even in pursuit of its own rights of property, be enabled to trample on the rights of humanity. * * * Is it not an error that under the present laws, every article of property * * * earned by the industry of the wife, may be taken for the debt of the husband. Resolved, Therefore, That the following

articles should be secure to each family from execution or other legal process for debts hereafter to be contracted, to-wit: Two beds and the necessary bedding; household utensils not exceeding in value 15 dollars; one cow; the necessary tools of a tradesman, not exceeding in value 20 dollars; a spinning-wheel." The sufferings of the poor always bore heavily upon him, so this "Act" gave him more "pleasures of memory" than any other of his legislative career, the exclusion of small bills coming next.

In one of his letters is the characteristic exclamation: "Oh, how I wish I could make everyone happy;" on the margin of Pope's Universal Prayer he wrote opposite the stanza:

"Teach me to feel another's woe,
To hide the fault I see;
That mercy I to others show,
That mercy show to me."

"I would rather have written this than any other verse in the English language," while the passage from the Bible most frequently on his lips was: "pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

Meanwhile, at home, in the intervals between legislative work, he was not only a busy printer and editor, but engaged in other laborious and responsible toils; contracting for the transportation of the mails between Wilkes-Barré and Northumberland, etc., and acting as assistant in taking the Luzerne county part of the census of 1810.

Returning with empty saddle bags from one such mail carrying tour he overtook a stranger, a surveyor, loaded heavily. "Let me relieve you of part of your load, friend. You are going to Wilkes-Barre, I suppose,—he said he was—and without more ado * * * he put into my saddle-bags, compasses, chains, and some few other things." Taking them 40 miles Mr. Miner delivered them

and thought no more about it, but years afterward, on his removal to Chester county, the man came to thank him. "His son was then Prothonotary or Recorder of the County of Chester—both of course thorough-going opponents of my Federal Principles—so that their good word, freely given, that, however, much of a Heretic in Politics, I was personally a clever fellow, was of very great service in establishing for me a good name."

As has been seen, at one time, on the suggestion of a friendly opponent in the village debating society, he had thought of becoming a lawyer, entered his name as a student, and read his Blackstone through twice, as well as Jones on Bailments, etc., but reluctantly gave up the idea, he said, because of the pressure of "this day our daily bread, given to faith but faith attended by work." Again, in the fever-autumn of 1804, in the valley, he showed the versatility of his usefulness by acting successfully as a volunteer nurse, in which capacity he was often summoned, in later years, especially in severe fever cases. In those days trained nurses were almost unknown; so that Mr. Miner's sagacious foresight was illustrated by his remark, in the *Autobiography*, that "when population becomes dense, a few persons, fitted by gentleness, watchfulness, and care, should be trained to the profession, they taking the lead, the neighbors assisting."

In 1807, on one of his trips to Philadelphia, he met a kindred spirit, an Irishman who, in the course of an interesting conversation, spoke of having been freely with the sick during a very severe run of spotted fever. "Were you not afraid of catching the disease?" "Oh, I was willing to take chances with my neighbors! There was goodness and philosophy in that. Son of St. Patrick I wish I knew your name, you have often been present to my thoughts."

In 1809 he had sold the *Federalist* to Sidney Tracy and Steuben Butler, but in Septemebr, 1810, resumed its conduct, Butler and Tracy retiring. The next year, according

to the fashion of frequent and sometimes confusing changes of newspaper names which has always prevailed in the history of American journalism, it became the *WilkesBarre Gleaner and Luzerne Advertiser*, the latter part of the title being afterwards dropped.

To the *Luzerne Federalist* for September 7, 1810, when still "printed by Tracy and Butler," Charles Miner contributed a little story which was destined to be copied from one end of the country to the other, to reappear in school reading-books down to this present year, 1913, and to furnish America, as has been said, with its most frequently used familiar quotation—"to have an axe to grind." The story—"Who'll Turn Grindstone?" afterwards became the first in the series entitled "Essays from the Desk of Poor Robert the Scribe," the title of which so closely resembled Franklin's "Poor Richard" that the famous quotation has sometimes been assigned to the elder philosopher. But Mr. Miner wrote to the Norwich Jubilee of 1859 that he got the idea of such a series from Samuel Trumbull, the son of the editor of the local newspaper in Norwich: "a young man of a good deal of reading, and of ready wit. He wrote several essays under the head of 'From the Desk of Beri Hesden;' the hint and name of the essays 'From the Desk of Poor Robert the Scribe' I am sure I owed to him."

As the famous tale was somewhat modified in its later issues, a verbatim reprint of its first appearance has literary and biographical value.

WHO'LL TURN GRINDSTONE

When I was a little boy, Messrs. Printers, I remember one cold winter's morning, I was accosted by a smiling man, with an ax on his shoulder,—“My pretty boy,” said he, “has your father a grindstone?” “Yes, sir,” said I. “You are a fine little fellow,” said he, “will you let me grind my ax on it?” Pleased with his compliment of “fine little fellow”

—“O, yes, sir,”—I answered, “it is down in the shop.” “And will you my man,” said he, patting me on the head, “get a little hot water?” How could I refuse? I ran and soon brought a kettle full. “How old are you, and what’s your name,” continued he without waiting for a reply. “I am sure you are one of the finest lads that I have ever seen, will you just turn a few minutes for me?” Tickled with the flattery like a little fool I went to work, and bitterly did I rue the day. It was a new ax—and I toiled and tugged, till I was almost tired to death. The school bell rung, and I could not get away,—my hands were blistered, and it was not half ground. At length, however, the ax was sharpened, and the man turned to me, with “Now, you little rascal, you’ve played the truant,—scud to school, or you’ll rue it.” Alas, thought I, it was hard enough to turn grindstone this cold day, but now to be called “little rascal” was too much. It sunk deep in my mind, and often have I thought of it since.

“When I see a Merchant, over polite to his customers, begging them to taste a little brandy, and throwing half his goods on the counter—thinks I, that man has an ax to grind.

“When I have seen a man of doubtful character, patting a girl on the cheek, praising her sparkling eye and ruby lip, and giving her a sly squeeze,—Beware my girl, tho’t I, or you will find to your sorrow, that you have been turning grindstone for a villain.

“When I see a man flattering the people, making great professions of attachment to liberty, who is in private life a tyrant, Methinks, look out good people, that fellow would set you to turning grindstone.

“When I see a man, holding a fat office, sounding ‘the horn on the borders,’ to call the people to support the man, on whom he depends for his office, Well thinks I, no wonder the man is zealous in the cause, he evidently has an ax to grind.

“When I see a Governor, foisted into the chair of state,

without a single qualification to render him either respectable or useful,—Alas! methinks, deluded people, you are doomed for a season to turn grindstone for a booby.

“When I see a foreigner expelled from his own country, and turning patriot in this—setting up a PRESS, and making a great ado about OUR liberties, I am very apt to think,—tho’ that man’s ax has been dulled in his own country, he evidently intends to sharpen it in this.”

In the reissue in book form the last three paragraphs were replaced by the following:

“When I see a man hoisted in office by party spirit—without a single qualification to render him either respectable or useful—Alas! methinks, deluded people, *you are doomed for a season to turn grindstone for a booby.*”

This was the only “Poor Robert” essay to appear in the *Federalist*; but when, after a few months cessation, the paper reappeared as the *Gleaner* the series was resumed, not in consecutive issues. None of the later essays attained the currency and fame of the first; but, as Captain Abraham Bradley, father of the then first assistant postmaster general, wrote from Washington in 1815 to Jesse Fell: “The editor of the *Gleaner* has acquired the highest reputation among all ranks of people and served his country and the cause he has espoused, at least equal to any editor in the United States. His productions are copied into most of the papers from Maine to Ohio, and some of those in the south. Even the editor of the *National Intelligencer* cannot withhold, with all his Democratic austerity, from republishing some pieces which have no acrimony against his beloved system of democracy. Everyone is charmed.”

August 6, 1813, appeared the following prospectus of the complete series in book form: “Proposals, at the *Gleaner* office, are now made, to publish the ‘*Essays From the Desk of Poor Robert the Scribe,*’ containing lessons in Manners, Morals, and Domestic Economy.” Subscription papers were requested by October 1, and were also received at the office

of the *Literary Visitor*, a creditable little monthly miscellany issued in Wilkes-Barre by Steuben Butler. The volume, however, did not appear until July, 1815, when it was issued from Asher Miner's office in Doylestown. Thirty-two essays and a piece of verse comprised its contents, in a sixteen mo. of 120 pages.

Mr. Miner himself hardly seemed to realize the widespread vogue of his famous saying, though he once wrote of the series: "They made me many friends; among the rest the pioneer of American literature [Joseph Dennie] complimented me by a friendly note and a volume of his *Port Folio*."

I once began to keep note of the times I found the phrase in current print, but soon gave up the attempt as indefinitely extensive. Three or four illustrations are as good as a hundred: "The letter indicates that the writer had an ax to grind" ("*Great Cases of Detective Burns*," by Dana Gatlin, *McClure's Magazine*, April, 1911); "I've no ax to grind for myself" ("*The Street Called Straight*," *Harper's Magazine*, June, 1912); "To put the power of directing the finances of the American people into the hands of politicians with 'axes to grind' would be an irreparable blunder" (*Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 26, 1913); and so on constantly. In Robert Grant's novel, "The Chippendales," the phrase is used in four separate places; I have seen it pasted over the whole side of the delivery wagon of a New York daily newspaper in an exciting city election; and I have heard it in a London theater in a translation of a play from the French.

"If we had to turn our own grindstones we wouldn't have so many axes to grind." (*Cincinnati Enquirer*, October, 1914.)

"I fear it is that kind of axe that people bring not to use but to grind." (J. K. Chesterton, *Illustrated London News*, November 14, 1914.)

"Publishers, critics, and reviewers who have axes to grind." (*Nation*, March 4, 1915.)

Everyone who has studied the newspapers of Washington's, John Adams', and Jefferson's time knows that the asperities of political debate were such as to make the journalistic exchanges of the Taft-Wilson-Roosevelt campaign of 1912 seem comparatively gentle. Here is an example: "C——s M——r, answer to these, and then blush for the blackness of your designs, the corruption of your heart, the malignity of your soul." This was from the *Luzerne Democrat* of November 15, 1811, the local organ of the rival party, which had, four months before, cordially remarked (the "wretch" being the same innocent Mr. Miner): "The wretch who could deliberately call a democracy a tyranny, merits the curses of a free people, and is justly entitled to the epithet of villian."

Mr. Miner was able to retort in kind: one of his political opponents, he characterized on July 24, 1812, as "a nuisance that disgraces the county;" and "without character to lose." A more general attack, which reads strangely as coming from so temperate a man, was this [October 8, 1913]: "He that is in favor of burdening the mouth of labour with a tax on whiskey so enormous as to be more than double what it was in Adams' time, why let him vote for Democracy." The most ardent tariff-reformer of our day, or the most earnest vote-getter, would hardly venture to make such an appeal; but it must be remembered that liquor was then considered a food, to be dispensed, not dispensed with.

The *Gleaner's* attitude during the war of 1812 was that of the Federalist press generally: the war was a mistake, and badly managed after it was begun; but, once started, had to be carried through. Its conduct, however, was a legitimate subject for criticism: "How fatal have been our errors! How poor, weak, and miserable our policy!" [October 2, 1812.]

In his last number for 1813 and the following issue Mr. Miner wrote favoring "the opening of a communication

from the Susquehanna to Philadelphia, by a road or *railway* from Wilkes-Barre to the Lehigh, thence by that river to the Delaware, and thence to Philadelphia." * * * "Our public improvements must grow with our growth and strengthen with our strength. * * * I appeal to the judicious men who have witnessed the failure of our grandest plans, if they have not miscarried because they were disproportionate to the necessity and ability of the country. * * * I hope our grand-children may live to see a complete rail-way from this place to the Lehigh, and a canal from thence to Philadelphia."

This was certainly a very early prophecy; and it is a curious fact that while seven railroads now enter Wilkes-Barre, two of them circuitously rising over the mountain by the customary locomotive haul, thousands of tons a year are still drawn to the heights above the Lehigh by an inclined plane such as Mr. Miner must have had in his mind.

He was not the pioneer in coal-development in the Wyoming valley, but he materially promoted it by his articles in the *Gleaner*, in 1813-1814, and otherwise. The story of his introducing Mauch Chunk coal into Philadelphia has been often told, by himself and others; perhaps the best account of the early enterprise is given in a letter he wrote to Samuel J. Packer,* twenty years after, in which he shows that he and Jacob Cist were the first to make practicable the use of anthracite in Philadelphia:

WILKES-BARRE, Nov. 17, 1833.

Dear Sir: "Your favor of the 7th instant was duly received: I avail myself of the first moment of leisure to give you 'some account of the discovery of the Mauch Chunk coal, and the measures devised, at an early day, to bring it to market.'

"A hunter first discovered the black earth that covers

*Mr. Packer was chairman of the committee of the Pennsylvania Senate on the coal trade, and had asked for his expert knowledge. His letter was quoted entire in the report read in the Senate, March 4, 1834, and printed at Harrisburg, 1834.

the coal, at the old mine at Mauch Chunk, and reported the extraordinary appearance to J. Weiss, Esq., an intelligent gentleman who resided at Lehighton, within ten or twelve miles of the spot. An examination was immediately made, and anthracite coal found within a few feet of the surface. The land, being extremely rough and barren, had not been appropriated. The land was taken up by Mr. Weiss, and a company formed, principally of public-spirited citizens of Philadelphia; the mine was opened, and some small parcels taken to the city; but the difficulty of kindling the coal and the facility of obtaining that from Liverpool and Virginia prevented its introduction into use, and with a hundred other speculations of the day it slept, was forgotten by the public, and scarcely remembered by the owners of stock.

“After twenty years’ repose the subject was awakened by the war of 1812. Jesse Fell, Associate Judge, one of the most estimable citizens of Wyoming, after various experiments, had shown the practicability of burning anthracite coal in grates, and the article had been in extensive use in Wilkes-Barre and the neighboring towns for several years previous to the commencement of hostilities; and its value, therefore, was known and properly appreciated. Commerce being suspended with England, and the coasting trade interrupted by British cruisers, so that foreign or Virginia coal could not be procured, fuel, and especially coal for manufacturing purposes, rose in Philadelphia to very high prices. Jacob Cist, of Wilkes-Barre, my intimate and much lamented friend, had derived from his father a few shares of stock in the old Lehigh Coal Company; and in conversation at his house, one evening, it was resolved to make an examination of the mines at Mauch Chunk and the Lehigh river, to satisfy ourselves whether it would be prudent and practicable to convey coal from thence to Philadelphia. Mr. Robinson, a mutual friend, active as a man of business, united with us in the enterprise. In the latter part of 1813

we visited Mauch Chunk, examined the mines, and made all the inquiries suggested by prudence respecting the navigation of the river Lehigh; and made up our minds to hazard the experiment if a sufficiently liberal arrangement could be made with the company. Our propositions were met with the utmost promptitude and liberality by Godfrey Hagar, the president, Mr. Wampole, secretary, and the other members. A lease was obtained, giving us liberty for ten years to take what coal we pleased, and to use what lumber we could find and might need, on their tract of 10,000 acres of land, the only consideration exacted being that we should work the mines, and every year take to the city a small quantity of coal—the coal to remain our own. The extremely favorable terms of the lease, to us, will show how low the property was then estimated, how difficult a matter it was deemed to bring the coal to market, and how great were the obstacles to bringing it into general use.

“During the winter of 1813-14 Mr. Robinson commenced opening the mines, both at Rover Run and on the mountain; but other more inviting objects presenting, he sold his right to William Hillhouse, of New Haven, Connecticut, in the spring of the latter year. Mr. Cist then managed his own part of the concern; Mr. Hillhouse and myself entered (June 2, 1814) into business together, the management of it to be left principally with me.

“The situation of Mauch Chunk, in the midst of barren mountains and a sparse population, rendered it necessary to obtain provisions, teams, miners, ark-builders, and other laborers from a distance. I made immediate arrangements to enter upon business, and on the 8th June arrived at Lausanne with my hands. * * * On Tuesday, the 9th of August, I being absent and there being a fresh in the river, Mr. Cist started off my first ark, sixty-five feet long—fourteen feet wide, with twenty-four tons of coal. * * * The stream wild, full of rocks, the channel crooked, in less than eighty rods from the place of starting the ark struck

on a ledge and broke in her bows. The lads stripped themselves nearly naked, to stop the leak with their clothes. * * * At dusk they were at Easton, fifty miles. On Wednesday they sailed from Easton, * * * and at night arrived at Black's Eddy. Thursday, 11th, went six miles below Trenton to White House; * * * Friday, 12th, arrived at Burlington; 13th, to Ten Mile Point; Sunday, 14th, arrived in the city, at 8 a. m. Monday unloaded and delivered the coal. * * *

Expenses on the voyage and returning	\$ 28.27
Wages, including three pilots	47.50
	<u>75.77</u>
Ark cost us	130.00
24 tons of coal, raising from mine	24.00
Hauling 9 miles to landing*	96.00
Loading into ark	5.00
	<u>\$330.77</u>

“So that, in the first experiment, the coal cost us about 14 dollars a ton in the city.

“I have been somewhat minute in giving you the details because this ark was the pioneer, and led off the coal trade, now so extensive and important, in Pennsylvania. This effort of ours was the acorn from which the mighty oak of the present Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company has grown.

“But while we pushed forward our labors at the mine, hauling coal and building arks, we had the greater difficulty to overcome of inducing the public to use the coal when brought to their doors, much as it was needed. We published handbills in English and German, stating the mode

*“The fact may not be uninteresting that we were obliged to pay \$4.00, and for much of the coal hauled \$4.50 a ton, over an exceedingly rough road, where now [1833] by railway, it is transported for twenty-five cents a ton. Such are the triumphs of human industry and art; such is the difference between the first experimental steps of a great enterprise and the work effected by capital and skill.”

of burning the coal, either in grates, smiths' fires or stoves. Numerous certificates were obtained and printed from blacksmiths and others who had successfully used the coal. Mr. Cist found a model of a new coal stove and got a number cast.* Together, we went to a number of houses in the city and prevailed on the masters to allow us to kindle fires of anthracite in their grates, erected to burn Liverpool coal. We attended at Blacksmiths' shops and prevailed on some to alter the Iron so that they could burn the anthracite coal, and often were obliged to treat the journeymen, who were some of them much averse to the trouble of learning to use a new sort of fuel. Great as were our united exertions (and Mr. Cist, if they were meritorious, deserves the most commendation), necessity accomplished more than our labor. Charcoal advanced in price, and was difficult to be got. Manufacturers were forced to try the experiment, and everyday's use convinced them, and those also who witnessed their fires, of the great value of anthracite coal. Josiah White, then engaged in some manufacture of iron, it was understood, with characteristic enterprise and spirit brought the article into successful use in his works, from purchases made of our agent, and learned its incomparable value.

"We sent down a considerable number of arks, three out of every four of which stove and sunk on the way; the loss, however, though heavy, was lessened by the sale, at a moderate price of the cargoes, as they lay along the shores or in the bed of the Lehigh, to the smiths of Allentown, Bethlehem, and the neighborhood, who drew them away when the water became low. We were just learning that our arks were far too large, and the loads too heavy for the stream, and were making preparations to build coal boats

*Mrs. Thomas used to tell a story that amused her father, of a man trying to make the hard coal burn. He poked till he was tired, slammed the stove door, saying: "Well, go out then," went away, and was astonished on returning later to find a clear red hot fire!

to carry about ten tons each, that would be connected together when they arrived at Easton. Much had been taught us, but at a heavy cost, by the experiments of 1814 and '15. Peace came, and found us in the midst of our enterprise; the Philadelphia harbor was opened; Liverpool and Richmond coal came in abundant supplies; and anthracite fell to a price far below the cost of shipment. I need hardly add, the business was abandoned, leaving several hundred tons of coal on the bank at the mine, and the most costly part of the work done to take out some thousands of tons more. Our losses were met with the spirit of men of youth and enterprise; we turned our attention to other branches of industry. * * *

“As one of the pioneers in the great work of introducing the use of anthracite coal into our cities and upon our seaboard, I cannot but look with great pride and pleasure upon the success which has followed, and grown upon, our humble exertions—a success, I need hardly say, infinitely beyond the utmost stretch of our imaginations.”

His imagination had certainly been prophetic, and so it continued to be. For convenience sake a few later anticipations and verifications may be given here. In 1830 he wrote an extended article for the *Anthracite Register*, Philadelphia, estimating the selling price of coal lands in the Wyoming valley, at that time, at ten to twenty dollars an acre, but declaring that while previously there had never been taken to market, from all the mines in Pennsylvania, more than about 150,000 tons in any one year, the demand must greatly increase. A prominent point for business would be “Wilkes-Barre, the county town, a borough of more than 1,000 inhabitants, and now having eleven dry-goods stores. The situation is eligible, the town-plot large and handsomely laid out; and it must be the centre of an extensive trade and the site of a large business.” Twenty-four years later, March 22, 1854, he was writing to his friend, Hendrick B. Wright of Plymouth (Democratic

congressman): "Wonderful excitement prevails here in coal speculations. Several have sold at 200 dollars an acre, thinking it a great sum—intrinsically worth \$2,000 an acre. Bowkley, just returned from England, assures us of repeated sales there, to the amount of some millions, at 1000 pounds sterling an acre." The value of anthracite coal lands has for a long time [1915] been double his \$2000 mark. At one time he foretold that there would be a Wyoming output (doubtless using the word "Wyoming" in a general sense) of 20,000,000 tons a year by 1880. In 1882 the shipment from the Wyoming region alone was 14,000,000 tons, and in 1880, from all the anthracite region, 25,700,000. In 1912 the Wyoming output was 37,000,000, and the total 73,700,00.

Nor was his eye less keenly fixed upon the economic and governmental phases of the anthracite problems of the far future. In the 1830 article already quoted he prophesied the monopolizing of anthracite coal by the "interests," which has been fulfilled absolutely: "Should capitalists step in and monopolize coal lands, a thing not difficult to be done, in a great degree, as is generally imagined, they would then realize from the public large profits; but it would be a subject for regret."

In 1855 he anticipated the great question of nationalization of mines, in Alaska or elsewhere, which was outlined by executive action by President Roosevelt in 1906, and is stirring up all the four political parties in 1913. Said Mr. Miner in a second letter to Hendrick B. Wright (November 29, 1855):

"Our steam navy is growing, and must greatly increase. Bituminous coal may partly answer; anthracite better, and where smoke is to be avoided, indispensable, indispensable. Companies are fast monopolizing the comparatively limited anthracite coal-fields, and presently can combine, and will, to give law to the market, and the government be at their mercy, as they are at the railroads' for the transportation

of the mails. The possession of 2000 or 3000 acres of coal-land here, having an opening to the Chesapeake, and, more important, to the lake frontier, where the tug of war must be made, would give the government immense advantage and security. They could buy in open market when the price ruled fair. If an attempt was made at monopoly or extortion, they could resort to their own. The very fact of their owning it would prevent the attempt. The argument, advantages, probable necessities, certain conveniences, and utility, might be followed out,—every advance with augmented power of demonstration. * * * The cost of a single steamship of war would *now* purchase 2000 acres in the heart of the Wyoming valley.”

But we must return to our chronological story of Mr. Miner's life, and to his newspaper career in 1813. Becoming sole editor of the *Gleaner*, he found time to start another series of essays, in his familiar manner, this time entitled “The Cogitations of My Uncle John.” It never attained the success of its predecessor, but some of the papers were copied, as before, by distant journals. The publication of the *Gleaner* was interrupted, between March 10 and April 16, 1813, by a serious fire; in the same year Mr. Miner built a house, at the corner of Union and Franklin streets, which served not only for his family but for the newspaper, until its sale in 1816. The building was torn down as late as 1887.

Meanwhile, as usual, he continued to find spare time for another employment, for in 1815, he ran a “land-office,” for the sale of real estate. This business was disposed of after a nine months' trial.

Somewhat less practical, but far more lasting, was the publication of his famous ballad of “*James Bird*,” in 1814. Mr. Miner was no poet, but an occasional versifier. In “*James Bird*” he found a thrilling subject of deep human interest, and the ballad has never gone out of the public mind.

James Bird, a boy from Exeter, just across the river from Wilkes-Barre, was a volunteer in the war of 1812; fought bravely in the *Lawrence*, in Commodore Perry's battle of Lake Erie; was severely wounded, but refused to leave the deck; and was promoted for gallantry to be orderly sergeant of marines. When Perry was ordered to the seaboard, Bird deserted his post, not his country, in order to rejoin his loved commander, and was arrested at Pittsburg, court-martialled, refused time to appeal to Perry, convicted, and shot. Here is his story, as told by Mr. Miner, and wept over by generations of readers:

THE BALLAD OF JAMES BIRD.

Sons of freedom, listen to me,
 And ye daughters, too give ear,
 You a sad and mournful story
 As was ever told, shall hear.

Hull, you know, his troops surrendered,
 And defenceless left the west;
 Then our forces quick assembled,
 The invaders to resist.

Amongst the troops that marched to war,
 Were the Kingston volunteers;
 Captain Thomas them commanded,
 To protect our west frontiers.

Tender were the scenes of parting,
 Mothers wrung their hands and cried,
 Maidens wept their swains in secret,
 Fathers strove their tears to hide.

There is one among the number,
 Tall and graceful is his mien,
 Firm his step, his look undaunted,
 Scarce a nobler youth was seen.

One sweet kiss he snatched from Mary,
 Craved his mother's prayer, and more,
 Pressed his father's hand, and left them
 For Lake Erie's distant shore.

Mary tried to say "Farewell, James,"
 Waved her hand, but nothing spoke,
 "Good-bye, Bird, may Heaven preserve you,"
 From the rest at parting broke.

Soon they came where noble Perry
 Had assembled all his fleet;
 Then the gallant Bird enlisted,
 Hoping soon the foe to meet.

Where is Bird? The battle rages;
 Is he in the strife or no?
 Now the cannon roars tremendous;
 Dare he meet the hostile foe?

Aye! behold him! see him, Perry!
 In the selfsame ship they fight;
 Though his messmates fall around him
 Nothing can his soul affright.

But behold! a ball has struck him;
 See the crimson current flow;
 "Leave the deck!" exclaimed brave Perry;
 "No!" cried Bird, "I will not go."

"Here on deck I took my station,
 Here will Bird his cutlass ply;
 I'll stand by you, gallant captain,
 Till we conquer or we die."

Still he fought, though faint and bleeding,
 Till our stars and stripes waved o'er us,
 Victory having crowned our efforts.
 All triumphant o'er our foes.

And did Bird receive a pension?
 Was he to his friends restored?
 No; nor never to his bosom
 Clasped the maid his heart adored.

But there came most dismal tidings
 From Lake Erie's distant shore;
 Better far if Bird had perished
 Midst the battle's awful roar.

"Dearest parents," said the letter,
 This will bring sad news to you;
 Do not mourn your first beloved,
 Though this brings his last adieu.

"I must suffer for deserting
 From the brig *Niagara*;
 Read this letter, brothers, sisters,
 'Tis the last you'll hear from me."

Sad and gloomy was the morning
 Bird was ordered out to die;
 Where's the breast not dead to pity
 But for him would heave a sigh?

Lo! he fought so brave at Erie,
 Freely bled and nobly dared;
 Let his courage plead for mercy,
 Let his precious life be spared.

See him march and bear his fetters;
 Hark! they clank upon the ear;
 But his step is firm and manly,
 For his heart ne'er harbored fear.

See him kneel upon his coffin,
 Sure his death can do no good;
 Spare him! spare! O God, they shoot him!
 Oh! his bosom streams with blood.

Farewell, Bird; farewell forever;
 Friends and home he'll see no more;
 But his mangled corpse lies buried
 On Lake Erie's distant shore.

As this poem and its facts are continually being asked for in the press it has been thought best to add Mr. Miner's own account as given in *The Gleaner*, April 28, 1815:

"At the commencement of the late war, a company of men from Kingston, in this county, under the command of Captain Thomas, volunteered their services to the government. When the fatal disaster befell our army under Gen. Hull of Detroit, and large reinforcements were wanted, the Kingston Volunteers were called upon to perform their tour of duty. They marched with alacrity, and remained under the command of General Harrison, until the reduction of Upper Canada rendered it prudent to disperse with their further services.

"Among the Volunteers, was a young man by the name of James Bird, aged about twenty years; he was born in Exeter, where his parents now reside. Bird enlisted in the Marines while at Erie, and in the memorable engagement of September 10th served on board the *Lawrence*, under the immediate command of Commodore Perry."

The following notice of his conduct in the engagement was derived from Mr. Carkhuff, one of the Volunteers, and appears in the *Gleaner* of Nov. 26, 1813:—

"James Bird, son of Mr. J. Bird, of Exeter, was on board the *Lawrence*, with the gallant Perry, on the glorious tenth of September. The battle raged—many a poor fellow fell around him—Bird did his duty like a hero. Towards the close of the engagement, a cannister shot struck him on the shoulder as he was stooping to his gun. He was instantly covered with blood, and his officer ordered him below. He ventured to disobey, preferring to do duty while he had life, to abandoning his post. But the blood flowed

so fast that another order was issued to go below. He ran down—got a hasty bandage on the wound, came again on deck, and although his left arm was useless, yet he handed cartridges, and performed the utmost service in his power with his right, until the stars and stripes waved gloriously, victorious over the foe.’

“The following extract of a letter from Bird, will speak for itself, and show the vicissitudes of fortune, attending a state of war. I called on his parents for the letter. His father was not at home,—The anguish and the tears of his mother made me almost regret that I had mentioned the painful subject. If you, reader, had been there, I think you would have agreed with me, that the public ought to reap great and certain benefits from a war that creates so many causes of private grief,—I do not mean to complain of any officer, or of any man, but I could not help thinking that the bravery and good conduct of Bird in the battle, might have plead for his pardon. Hull gave up a whole army, yet he was pardoned. Brack murdered poor Dixon, but Brack was not sentenced to die. Bird had performed more services than either, and his crime was much less injurious or malignant, but there was no pardon for him. It was the fortune of war. Indeed war is a cruel monster, at least I thought so when I reflected on the death of the brave Bird, and saw his mother’s tears. But I detain you from the letter:—

‘Dear Parents,

‘I take my pen in hand to write a few words to you which will bring bad news; but do not lament, nor make sad moans for the loss of your first beloved and dearest son James.

‘Dear Parents, brothers and sister, relations and friends, I do write to you a most sad and dismal letter, such as never before came from any your beloved children. I have often sat down and wrote a few lines to you with pleasure; but I am sorry at present to let you know my

sad and deplorable situation. I am the most miserable and desolate child of the family,— Dear Parents, let my brothers and sisters read this letter, for it is the last they can ever receive from my hand, for by the laws of our country I am doomed and sentenced to death, for deserting from the marines at Lake Erie, and am now confined on board the United States brig Niagara.

‘ And O! loving Parents, my time is but short here on earth. I have but a few moments to make my peace with my maker,—I leave you only for a short time here on earth, I leave you only for a short time here in this most troublesome world; but I hope that by constant prayer, we shall meet in the world above, to part no more.’

[The remaining part of the letter consists of urgent and pressing requests to his friends to prepare for their end, and in expressions of a lively hope of salvation for himself.]

‘I remain your most affectionate and beloved son until death; so Amen, This from me, JAMES BIRD.’

‘November the 9th, 1814.’

“Soon after the receipt of this letter, there came another from an officer on board the squadron stating the execution of Bird, on the next day. So perished as brave a soldier as belonged to the army.”

A better illustration of the difficulty of unquestionable historical accuracy, as well as of the power of a ballad, could hardly be found than is given by this wooden piece of verse. One turns hither and yon and finds details conflicting in suggestion if not in statement. With regard to the often used term “The Kingston Volunteers” be it said, in his letter to Governor Snyder, printed in the *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2nd series, Vol. 12, p. 545, Captain Samuel Thomas offers his command under the name of “Luzerne Volunteer Matross”, but the letter is dated “Kingston, June 10, 1812”, Kingston, Luzerne county, Penn’a., evidently being headquarters.

In the official record in the *State Papers, Naval Affairs*, Bird appears in the list of those severely wounded on the *Lawrence*, as "James Bird, Marine," and in the list of those receiving a share of "the distribution of prize money on Lake Erie" as "James Burd, Private", whose share was \$214.89, paid on January 10, 1815, to the "Attorney of his father." In fact, he was first private and then marine, but in both these cases he was marine.

Perry, in his letter to the Secretary of the Navy, September 13, 1813, reports "those officers and men who were immediately under my observation who evinced the greatest gallantry", but among the names does not mention Bird, or, indeed, any other "man". A very similar story of several nameless wounded men, and of a sick man who refused to stay below, is told by Dr. Usher Parsons, the surgeon on the *Lawrence*, who, in various commemorative addresses, does not speak of Bird, though one may have been he.

There is a tradition stated in the text, that may have come to Mr. Miner from Bird's family, that he left his post on the *Niagara*, in the hope of rejoining Perry, and so did not in intention desert his country; and another that Perry sent a reprieve, of which later.

Again, in a paper entitled "*The Battle of Lake Erie in Bal-lad and History*", by Charles B. Galbreath, published in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*, in 1911, a number of pages are devoted to Bird's history: "presented in paraphrase from authentic sources." Here it is stated that Bird joined the marines, on the suggestion of an officer, to escape punishment for having allowed stores in his keeping to disappear; that after desertion he was recognized in Butler, Pennsylvania, and reported, though it is not said he was arrested there; that "efforts were made to have Bird's sentence commuted to imprisonment, because of his gal-lantry in the battle of Lake Erie, but without success. The President refused to extend clemency to Bird on the ground that 'having deserted from his post while in charge of a

guard, in time of war, he must therefore suffer as an example to others.'” * * * He with two others “were executed on board the *Niagara* in the road stead at Erie in October, 1814, and were buried in the ‘sand beach.’”

The ballad itself is quoted by Mr. Galbreath with only some natural verbal changes, and the omission of one stanza. The writer, who often heard it sung “to an old church tune”, tenderly describes the singer and the effect of the ballad: “Those who hear with impatience three or four stanzas of a song in these days, can hardly believe with what tense interest this old ballad was heard to the last word. Tears often came into the eyes of the young listeners. * * * This event [the battle] was known along the borders of the lake, not alone through the valiant deeds of Perry, and the far reaching results of his achievement, but even more through the tragic fate of one who fought beside him under the splintered masts on the slippery deck of the *Lawrence*.”

“Judged by modern standards, our ancestors of seventy-five years ago enjoyed only primitive advantages. * * * Many of them knew of the Battle of Lake Erie only through the ballad of James Bird. Corn huskings, apple cuttings, log rollings, and even quilting bees of the long ago not unfrequently closed with the rendition of the quaint, pathetic song, written by a bard *unlearned and unknown*, but not without the gift to tell his story well. *Who wrote it is not known*. [The italics are mine.] As a local historian observes, the author was apparently familiar with the true story of Bird’s home, and he adds: ‘That there was wide spread sympathy felt for Bird chiefly because of his service on the fleet, there can be no doubt. The tenacity with which the popularity of the ballad endured is proof of this. It is now rare; rare enough to excuse its appearance as part of the history of the region on which it was so long a popular feature of nearly every entertainment or public gathering.’”

On another page Mr. Galbreath says: “Ten years ago he who had sung the old song was a little disappointed to read

a paragraph in a paper to the effect that James Bird was a myth and the old ballad was fiction with no basis of reality."

An element of romance is added by "K. T. B.," a correspondent of the *Philadelphia Press*, January 13, 1814, who, telling the familiar story of Bird's refusal to go below, adds: "For his bravery he was honored and excited the envy of a young lieutenant. * * * The war was over, Perry was away, and Bird and a young man named Rankin left, it was supposed, to join Jackson at New Orleans. They were brought back and condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, two men riding on horseback were seen in the distance, waving it, but they were too late. That night the lieutenant ordered a guard put in his tent to keep away Bird's ghost. The second night he committed suicide."

Thus, a hundred years after it was written we can see the *Ballad of James Bird* going through the process of becoming a true folk-ballad: "facts" contradict each other; tradition develops; the hero becomes a myth; jealousy and the supernatural are added, and the writer is lost in the mists of Time. It seems almost a pity to have done this much in the interest of the plain light of truth.

Mr. Miner's first period of residence in the Wyoming Valley was now over, for in 1816 he sold the *Gleaner* to Isaac A. Chapman, and went in June to Philadelphia as editor and part owner (with Thomas T. Stiles) of the *True American*, a daily. To his wife, whom, in the uncertainties of his new work, he left behind, he wrote: "I am obliged to be proper busy; the editor of a daily paper has little time to himself." In the *True American*, according to his custom, he started a series of moralizing essays, this time entitled "Lectures of Father Paul." The Philadelphia experiment was not a long-lasting one, though in addition to the *True American* work, he was for a time assistant editor of a *Political and Commercial Register*. The next year, unable to stand the city life, he was back with his family in Wilkes-Barré, and

though soon offered the assistant editorship of the well-known *United States Gazette*, in what he used to call the "metropolis," he declined it; in July, 1817, buying the *Chester and Delaware Federalist*, at West Chester, Pennsylvania, to which place he removed his family, and which was to be his home for fifteen years.

Undeterred by the national defeat of his dearly-loved political party, for four presidential terms, he hoisted his banner as of yore, and in the initial number of his new sheet printed a salutatory which left no doubt as to his position: "My principles, although somewhat old-fashioned, and not the most popular, I am proud to avow. I am a Federalist!"

The early printers, from the days of Gutenberg to those of the Franklins, were accustomed to wander from place to place in search of business; so that the migrations of Charles and Asher Miner, sometimes types and all, were not exceptional. The frequent changes of name to which they subjected their various papers were also, as has been said, in accordance with the fashion of the time, which, indeed, continued to the period of the journalistic consolidations of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Soon, the *Chester and Delaware Federalist* became the *Village Record*, under which title it was for years one of the best-known provincial weeklies in the country. Thurlow Weed, the veteran editor and influential New York politician, wrote in the *New York Observer* in 1882: "*The Village Record*, a weekly paper published and edited fifty years ago by Charles Miner, was my model newspaper. The articles entitled 'From the Desk of Poor Robert the Scribe' were generally copied and read with interest and instruction by professional men, mechanics, farmers, etc., etc., each and all finding much to improve their minds, to regulate their conduct, to soothe their sorrows, to soften their manners and to brighten their lives."

That Mr. Weed, writing so long afterward, should have

put the *Poor Robert* articles into the *Village Record* was not an unnatural slip. Mr. Miner's familiar essays, soon started according to his usual plan were this time called the "John Harwood" papers. In other ways, too, the active printer sought to raise the intellectual and moral tone of the community, for in one of his issues he inserted a notice of books to lend.

In all matters of new inventions or interesting discoveries Mr. Miner was always a pioneer; thus he was the first in his neighborhood to get and use sulphur matches. His Franklinian or Jeffersonian interest in all things useful, new or old, is taken for granted in the following letter from Nicholas Biddle, the famous financier of the United States Bank:

"ANDALUSIA, APRIL 25, 1822.

"I am going to take a liberty for which I am sure I shall find an apology in your desire to diffuse any valuable information.

"A gentleman in Boston has requested me to obtain the best information I can procure with regard to the machine for mowing invented by one of our citizens in Chester or Delaware county, about which he has heard very extraordinary accounts. The machine is, I presume, that of Mr. Bailey; of this I know nothing except from report; but Dr. Meade tells me that he has seen a certificate in its favor signed by a number of gentlemen, of whom you were one. I cannot therefore attain my object better than by asking you to have the goodness to let me know your opinion of it in detail. I should wish to understand exactly what is the size and structure of the machine; its mode of operation; whether it really overcomes the great obstacle in all instruments hitherto used for that purpose; the difficulty of laying the swath down so as not to choke the machine; the price; the character and occupation of the inventor; and how the machine could be obtained. The object is certainly one of great interest, and I should feel a pride, which I

know you would share, if our state could present to the world an improvement which the genius of Europe has so long sought in vain.*

“Very respect’y and truly yrs.

“NICHOLAS BIDDLE.”

Mr. Miner had not been in Chester county long before he was asked to enter active political life, for which his vigorous editorials had shown his fitness; and in 1820 he was the Federalist candidate for Congress in the Chester and Montgomery district. The candidacy was unsuccessful, for the rise of the Federalist-National-Republican tide was to be postponed for four years; but he made a good showing. By this time, though not now in public life, he had become the friend and sometimes the valued confidant of men of the largest national prominence. Thus Chief Justice Marshall wrote him from Richmond, July 11, 1821:

“I thank you very sincerely for your politeness and attention in forwarding to me the *Village Record* of the 11th, containing the proceedings of the Washington Association, in conjunction with the Washington guards, in West Chester on the 4th of July, which I received this morning.

“Feeling deeply, as every American must, the great event commemorated on that day, throughout our nation; and considering the opinions expressed on it, as indicating, in no inconsiderable degree the public feeling, I take an interest in what is said on that great anniversary, and was much gratified on reading your toast, and the truly American sentiments with which it was so handsomely introduced. I was the more gratified with those sentiments because the time is arrived, I think, when the good and the wise are urged by the strongest motives of genuine patriotism, to assuage by lenient application those asperities and jealousies between the states which have been, I believe, excited with-

*Up to that year, 1822, there had been no practical reaper or mower in Great Britain or the United States, the first successful machines being Bell's, in Scotland, 1826, and Hussey's, in Ohio, in 1833.

out sufficient cause, and which too many are not unwilling still farther to irritate;—asperities and jealousies which may lead to consequences all must deplore, when the time for preventing them shall have passed away.

“I have seen no paper containing the proceedings of the 4th of July with which I have been so highly pleased as with those of the *Village Record* of the 11th. Accept my thanks for it, and believe me to be with great respect

“Your obed’ Serv’t

“J. MARSHALL.”

James Buchanan, too,—then a Federalist,—asked his assistance in following that “middle course” which was to characterize the future president to the end of his days:

“WASHINGTON, 1st March, 1823.

“By this mail I take the liberty of sending you the *National Intelligencer* containing the remarks which I made on the subject of the tariff. You will perceive that I have pursued a middle course, which I believe to be the best policy of the country generally and peculiarly adapted to the middle states. As this subject will certainly be before Congress next winter, and as I believe there can no doubt but that some changes will be made in the tariff, I wish the public in our district to become acquainted with it and express their opinion. With this view I would request that when you can do it without crowding out more important matter, you will either publish the whole or such parts of my remarks as will call the attention of the people to the most important measure which in all human probability will be before the next Congress. I should be pleased to know your individual opinions of this and other subjects about which I hope ere long to have an opportunity of conversing with you.

“From your friend,

“JAMES BUCHANAN.”

By 1823 Henry Clay was consulting him in an intimate fashion:

“ASHLAND, 4th July, 1823.

“I received your very obliging favor of the 19th ulto. and owe you many thanks for the communication which it contains, and the kind feelings which dictated them.

“There is some foundation for most of the precious confessions made by the leaky supporters of Mr. Calhoun to your friend. With respect to the great effort to be made to elect that gentleman, the past tense as well as the future might have been employed. I am disposed to doubt, for the sake of the President himself, his intermeddling in that object, otherwise than by promotions of the friends of Sec. of War. Mr. Meigs was my friend, and that circumstance may have contributed to his ejection; I have no doubt he will be succeeded by some friend of Mr. Calhoun's whose influence in the affair of appointments evidently is predominant; and I think it probable that Mr. MacLean of Ohio will be appointed. But the election, after all, of Mr. Calhoun is almost next to impossible. The very means employed to produce it, will, as heretofore, operate to his prejudice. Where is the interest to elect him? Give him So. Carolina, and yield him also Pennsylvania (contrary to probability), and it is impossible to take him into another state. He may everywhere have some warm admirers, and a few zealous supporters, but, except in these two states, he has no practical interest to be counted upon in any other. I do not think it is in the compass of all the accidents in the chapter, aided even by intrigue, to secure his election.

“I think the contest at present may be fairly considered as confined to them. If New York and Penna. should fail to indicate their respective preferences, so long before the election, as to operate upon the American public generally, the probability is that the election will devolve on the H. of R. On the contrary, if New York should declare her choice

within the next eight months, by some ambiguous art, the result would be as follows:

"If that choice should fall on Mr. Crawford, there is an end of the Adams pretensions; and the contest would then be between Mr. Crawford and me.

"If on Mr. Adams, there would be an end of Mr. Crawford's pretensions, and the contest would be between Mr. Adams and me.

"If for me, my election would take place by not less than two-thirds of the Union.

"In the first and second suppositions, the contest would be somewhat doubtful. New England would hold the balance between Mr. Crawford and me. I should, I think, enter it with a plurality of votes.

"In the second supposition, much would depend upon Pennsylvania, but I think I should get against Mr. Adams nearly all south and west of New York. Mr. Adams is undoubtedly stronger in the west than Mr. Crawford; he has everywhere some interest, though not an available interest, in a contest with me. Mr. Crawford has nowhere, except in East Tennessee, any interest in the western states. In a contest between them I believe Mr. Adams would get the western vote with the exception possibly of Kentucky and Missouri.

"I write you in confidence and subscribe myself

"Faithfully your Obliged & Ob. Ser.,

"H. CLAY."

Just how Mr. Miner came to be so much of a political influence in Washington before he went to Congress it is hard to say. He was a power in the press; through his terms in the Pennsylvania Legislature he knew many men in public affairs, and had visited Washington several times; perhaps it was chiefly through Mr. Clay, with whom, despite their divergent views on many points, he was on cordial and social terms before, during, and after his Congressional career. But that he was an influence with others, is shown

by a torn piece from an old family friend, Dr. Bradley, who writes:

"28th FEBV., 1824.

" * * * I fear there is mischief brewing and you alone can prevent it—I do not think it useful to be more explicit until I see you. Mr. C.—y I am told desires greatly to see you here." This is endorsed: "I went and prevented the removal of Dr. Bradley, whose place was wanted for Col. McKinney. Through Mr. T. Johnson, then chr. com. P. O. & R. Roads, Mr. McLean was induced to forbear & Col. McK. was immediately given a place in the Dep. of Com. '

In 1824, being, by his writings, correspondence, and work in the State Assembly, a man of a reputation distinctly more than provincial, Charles Miner was elected to Congress from the districts then comprising Chester, Delaware, and Lancaster counties, James Buchanan, still a Federalist, being his colleague. A friendly letter from Mr. Buchanan, prior to the re-election of both of them two years later, shows the beginning of the political cleavage which was to make Buchanan a Jacksonian Democrat and a believer in the idea that even the discussion of slavery should be prohibited in Congress:

"LANCASTER, 8 September, 1826.

"In my opinion there neither is nor will be any foundation for the suggestion that Lancaster county should throw you off for being a friend of the administration. There is, without doubt, in the county, a very great majority of both parties in favor of the election of Gen. Jackson, but the Federalists believe and believe correctly, that they could not with propriety oppose the candidate selected for Congress by the party in Chester county, and thus violate the implied faith existing between the two counties, merely because he differed from them concerning the comparative claims of Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson. They have no other objection against you; on the contrary, they feel grateful to you for the able, fair and persevering support

which you have always given to the cause. It is possible, nay, probable, that a few of the very warm Jackson men here may not vote for you, as there will be a few very warm Adams men who will not vote for me; but these scattering votes, if there should be such, will be lost in the general result. Upon the whole I should be disappointed if you should not, in this county, run fairly with the Federal ticket, and it is the best and most popular ticket which has for many years been presented to the party.

“The Federal candidate for the Assembly from the city of Lancaster, Cyrus S. Jacobs, Esq., is the decided friend of Mr. Adams, and there was no objection made to settling him upon the ticket on that account. I need not tell you that you shall have my fair support, and that I will do everything in my power to prevent any Federalist from striking you, if I should hear that such is the intention of any.

“By the by, some weeks ago, there were one or two Federal gentlemen from Salisbury township in Chester county. They returned under an impression that your friends there would oppose my election. They received this impression from some intimations of the kind which they heard from persons in West Chester. I will not mention the names of the persons, because it could do no good. I feel satisfied that I have prevented any injury which might have been occasioned by such a report in that township. The name of one gentleman in West Chester was mentioned to me as an enemy to my election, but I did not believe it, and therefore will not repeat his name even to you.

“I have not abandoned the hope of paying you a visit in the course of the present or next month. I wish to make an excursion to the State of Delaware, and if I should, I will pass through West Chester, and return by Chester and Col. Wayne’s.

“If you should hear any report that the Federalists in any portion of this county intend to strike you, write to me

without reserve, and I will immediately inquire into the truth of it, and if there should be any foundation for it I shall endeavor to prevent it.

"From your friend,
"JAMES BUCHANAN."

Mr. Miner's two terms, closed by his own decision not to run again, pleasantly coincided with the administration of his friend (as he speedily became) John Quincy Adams—the four years that constituted the only gleam of light, in the Federalist-Whig view, in the four decades of national darkness that began with Jefferson and ended with Van Buren. Intimate letters from President Adams will later be given; and it is interesting to note that the next Whig president, with the exception of the speedily dying Harrison, fully agreed with Adams in his estimate of Mr. Miner; he was, said John Tyler in 1850, the ablest man he had met with from Pennsylvania.

In 1825, when Mr. Miner took his seat, Asher came to West Chester, and, the old-time partnership being resumed, the *Village Record*, during the four years of the junior partner's absence in Washington, was "edited and published by A. & C. Miner."

Mr. Miner's first motions and speeches in the House of Representatives were as they had been in the State Legislature, of a practical nature:

1. Regarding the domestication of the mulberry tree as permitting silk-culture in the United States.
2. Regarding national aid in the construction of the Delaware breakwater.

As to the first of these measures it must be recalled that Mr. Miner* at one time imported mulberry trees and silkworms and had them on his West Chester farm, where their uncertain care was something of a trial to the willing but inexperienced Mrs. Miner. The children gathered the leaves

*See letters January 14, 1826, January 27, 1827, and February 11, 1828.

to feed the worms, and Mrs. Thomas said they could hear the little nibbling sound as the worms ate. An appreciative letter from David Trimble, Trimble's Furnace, Ky., says: (March 3d, 1828): "I beg leave to present my best respects to you, and to ask the favor of one copy of the printed Report—including all the Documents—upon the Subject of Silk, Worms, etc. The request is made of *you* in *particular*, because I wish to have a Copy—as a sort of keepsake—from the member who made the first movement on the subject, and who is likely to acquire some fame by his foresight in the matter." As far back as 1732 the Colonial trustees granted lands to Georgia settlers on condition that they plant mulberry trees, and raise silk worms. About this same time South Carolina, and by 1762, at least, Connecticut, was experimenting with silk culture, and for a time these efforts were active in different parts of the country. In his brochure on "The Silk Industry in America," in a chapter entitled "Workers in Silk Culture from 1825," Dr. L. P. Brockett makes no mention of Mr. Miner, but says: "Many men of honorable and patriotic characters, who honestly believed that by some of the measures proposed, the culture and production of silk might become a national industry * * * demonstrated their faith by their works. * * * Among these the Hon. Peter S. DuPonceau deserves perhaps the first place * * * by dint of his personal influence and at great cost of time and labor Mr. DuPonceau brought the matter before Congress at several successive sessions."

But in an article on "Silk" in the American Quarterly Review, in December, 1831, it is said: "About the year 1790, Mr. Aspinwall made some effort to introduce silk culture into the States of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The period which Mr. Aspinwall chose for introducing the silk culture among us was not well chosen. Commerce in the North, and culture of cotton in the South engrossed the whole attention of our citizens. No more was

heard of silk in this country until about the year 1825. The cotton trade was declining, silk had everywhere taken the place of muslins. The attention of the people of the United States was once more drawn toward the silk culture as the best and most effectual means of advancing at the same time, our agriculture, our manufactures, and our commerce, and thus shaking off our too great dependence on the manufacturing nations of Europe. On the 29th of December, 1825, on the motion of Mr. Miner, a member from Pennsylvania, it was resolved by the House of Representatives of the United States, 'that the Committee on Agriculture be instructed to inquire whether the culture of the mulberry tree and the breeding of silkworms, for the purpose of producing silk, be a subject worthy of legislative attention, and should they think it to be so, whether any legislative provision were necessary or proper to promote the production of silk.' " On the 2nd of May the committee made an elaborate report in which they proceeded to prove not only the expediency, but the indispensable necessity of encouraging that culture "principally for the reasons of the enormous amount of our annual importation of silk goods, compared with our exports of bread stuffs." The committee called for information, and Secretary Rush, who was much interested in the matter, addressed circular letters to all interested. On the basis of this investigation a manual was prepared and presented to the House on February 11, 1828, of which 6,000 were ordered printed. So that it would seem that Mr. Miner was the one to revive interest in silk-culture after a lapse of thirty-five years, by bringing it before the House. President Adams speaks several times in his *Memoirs* of his interest in trying to raise silkworms in the White House gardens.

In supporting the second of these measures Mr. Miner put himself on the federal ground now occupied by all parties, and especially by the newer socialistic propagandas, but then avoided by the "strict constructionists." "Your

commercial cities," said he, "belong to the nation, not to the States where they are located; and it is for the general interest that they should be guarded and protected." The bill was at first rejected, then adopted, not without dissenting votes, but without a division; and Mr. Miner, with three members from Philadelphia, was the recipient of a vote of thanks from the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce.

December 27, 1827, he spoke on the subject of Revolutionary land-warrants, pleading for means of giving old soldiers a knowledge of their claims, and the power to guard them against shyster speculators.

On February 25, 1828, he delivered in the House another clear and cogent speech in favor of the constitutional power of Congress to make internal improvements, especially in the case of canals.* The Georgia legislature had just voted that the General Government had no right to exercise any power to encourage domestic manufactures or to promote internal improvement; South Carolina, as usual, had done the same thing; and the governor of Virginia, in submitting to his own legislature the resolutions of the two States, had squarely suggested secession, saying that, "in the worst state of things * * * the oppressed sections of country afford abundant means to the local authorities to secure to themselves, in their intercourse with the world, all the salutary independence of nations; to protect themselves, without the least hazard, against physical force from every quarter."

Defending his argument by citations from the reports of the Constitutional Convention, the "Federalist," and other authorities, Mr. Miner asserted his own belief that "In peace or war, for commerce and defence, the means of

*He had already received from the city of New York the gold medal struck in honor of the arrival, in 1825, of the "Seneca Chief," the first canal-boat from Lake Erie, "and," says Mr. Harvey, Lodge No. 61, "Mr. Clay, recognizing at once the abilities and usefulness of the member from Pennsylvania * * * looked to him, more than to any other member of the House, to carry out his views upon the subjects of improvement, the tariff, and a United States bank."

rapid transportation are indispensable. The power of regulating, exclusively, external and internal commerce would seem to carry with it the means of facilitating the transportation of foreign and domestic produce, which is the very life of commerce. All commercial nations have considered the power important to commerce, and have exercised it. * * * The right to make internal improvements would, therefore, seem naturally to flow from the duty of regulating external and internal commerce. But the duty of the common defence, the power of making war, carries with it, by irresistible necessity, the power of facilitating the means of transportation and rapid movements. * * * And can it be conceived, sir, that this government had the power to add an empire to the republic, and that it has not the right to make a road to that empire?"

The speaker did not live to hear the clamors of some parts of the South, after the Civil War, for "the old flag and an appropriation," in Petroleum V. Nasby's phrase; nor did he dream, with all his prophetic foresight, that he was anticipating the Interstate Commerce Commission or the fortified Panama canal of our own day. But in 1859, within six years of his death, he picked up this speech, re-read it, and wrote on the cover: "The argument is unanswerable."

During his term of office he took part in many other debates: on the tariff, the Panama Congress, the Marigny D'auterive case: on a proposed amendment to the constitution, etc. When a bill for pensioning Revolutionary soldiers was introduced into the House [February 24, 1829], he is recorded as enquiring "*with some anxiety* as to the probable amount which the bill would withdraw from the treasury, and its effect in retarding the discharge of the public debt." He was a useful worker on committees, including the one on re-furnishing the White House referred to in the account of his trip to Washington twenty years earlier; but far more important than anything else done in

Congress, was his brave, serious and continued effort to mitigate the evils attending the sale of slaves in the District of Columbia, and ultimately to abolish slavery therein. That he intended to make this his first work is shown by a letter from his wife congratulating him on his resolutions in favor of sending a delegate to the Panama Congress* called by the new Republics of South America.

"WEST CHESTER, February 2, 1826.

"So the President was pleased to compliment you on your [Panama] speech. It was very appropriate, well-timed. The administration is pleased with it and so am I. I was afraid you should meddle with the subject of slavery; I thought it a dangerous one, but did not wish to discourage you, so I said nothing about it in my reply to your letter in which you mentioned your intention of noticing it."

Indeed that the Southerners, always on the alert, found in this whole subject and in Mr. Miner's Declaration of Independence expressions "rights of man," "free and equal," etc., in his speech a covert allusion to slavery, is evidenced by a reply by Mr. Floyd of Virginia, January 31, 1826: "Is this Congress [Panama] to tell * * * all of us from the Southern States, that 'all men are free and equal' * * * and if you join us to command the emperor of Brazil to descend from his throne we shall then turn round to you, and say to the United States, 'Every man is free, and if you refuse to make them so we will bring seven Republics in full march to make them so?'" "Will any man pretend such a state of things could exist here?" After Mr. Floyd's impassioned speech Mr. Webster rose and said "he hoped the House would discuss this subject in a manner which became the subject."

In particular fearing the possibility of having to meet a delegate from Hayti on an equality, at this congress, and in general having learned through the struggle over the admission of Missouri, the need of an opportunity to

*See letter January 26, 1826.

spread their pro-slavery views, the slave-holders used and extended this Panama discussion for their own purposes. "The slave-holders had registered their claims. This gave a permanent meaning to the otherwise absolutely fruitless and aimless struggle over the Panama Mission." (Von Holst, Vol. I, P. 433). Mr. Webster supported the president in this matter, and, says Edward Everett, in his *Memoir of Daniel Webster*, p. 76: "The speech on the Panama question was the most considerable effort made by Mr. Webster in the nineteenth congress."

But it was not until the 13th of May, 1826, that Mr. Miner felt his knowledge of the situation to be full enough to permit him to offer a series of resolutions in favor of doing away at once with the slave trade and the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The *House Debates* are silent on this subject, as is the *National Journal* in its report of the day's proceedings, but on the 15th it has an editorial note saying that Mr. Miner offered resolutions in favor of *changing the population* of the district in order that a higher white class might come in, and that, though the resolutions were denied at this time, it hoped Mr. Miner would bring the matter before the House later. The *National Gazette* of Philadelphia of May 16, 1826, explained that this "gradual change of population" was to be brought about by the gradual abolition of slavery in the District, and a few days later the same paper printed the text of the resolutions in full.

As these resolutions are important in Mr. Miner's life history as well as in that of the movement and are difficult of access to the general reader (*Journal of the House*, 19th Congress, 1st Session, 1825—6, p. 559), and are ignored by all but one historian, the text is given entire from the *National Gazette*, Philadelphia, Thursday, May 18th, 1826. This source is chosen because of correlative matter in the same issue.

“The following are the resolutions of Mr. Miner respecting the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which were mentioned on Tuesday in this gazette :

“Resolved, As the opinion of this House, that it is worthy of inquiry, whether the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing interests of the District of Columbia would not be promoted by the substitution of a free white population, in the place of that portion of a different description now existing therein, in as much as it would lead to the purchase and cultivation of the waste lands, converting barren fields into fruitful gardens, promote enterprise, and useful improvements, and greatly enhance the value of property in and near the seat of the General Government.

“Resolved, That, considering the number of valuable lives, and the great interests, concentrated in this District, it is worthy the distinct consideration of Patriots and Statesmen, whether those lives and interests ought not to be surrounded by a free white population, interested in the Government, connecting society throughout all its ramifications, and binding it by the sympathies of a common interest; substituting, for the present sub-stratum of society, a band of freemen, an efficient and patriotic militia, the willing, prompt and able defenders of their Government and country, doing away with the necessity of having here a standing military force, so dangerous to liberty, and which must, otherwise, be increased with the increasing evil.

“Resolved, That it is worthy of inquiry, whether the domestic slave-trade, as concentrated and carried on from this District, not growing out of property owned within the District, or connected with the interests of persons here on public service, (the public prisons and persons employed therein, being extensively occupied in such traffic) be not an evil which requires legislative interposition to remedy.

Resolved, That the District of Columbia being placed under the exclusive legislation of the Congress of the United States, ought to exhibit to the nation and to the world, the purest specimen of government, vindicating the superior excellence of free institutions—that, as we are here establishing a city intended as a perpetual capital of a great republic, it is due to ourselves and to posterity, that the foundations thereof be laid in wisdom, and that no fundamental evils in the structure of its policy be permitted to take root, which might become inveterate, by time, but which a prudent and timely policy may eradicate.

Be it therefore Resolved, That the committee on the District of Columbia do take the subjects herein referred to, into consideration, and, if they shall, after full inquiry, be of opinion that the public interests would be promoted thereby, report a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and such restrictions upon the slave-trade therein as shall be just and proper.”

In the same issue of the *National Gazette* a letter is quoted from a gentleman who was in the House when these resolutions were offered, telling a friend in Philadelphia about them. Their reading, he said, caused great excitement; Mr. Miner did not ask to have them considered then, but on another day when he would be able to give statements that would induce the House to unite with him in opinion—he hoped unanimously; it had been his intention to bring this up earlier, but he had been busy collecting facts to sustain his proposition. “Many Southern gentlemen seeming much excited it was thought impolitic to bring on the discussion * * * and the object of bringing this very delicate, but most important subject distinctly before the House and the Nation having been effected the House refused to consider the resolutions.” “Negatived by an apparently large majority,” says *Niles Register*, May 20, 1826.

The House adjourned on the 22nd of May, 1826, and needless to say “another day” was not given to Mr. Miner,

but the subject having been brought "distinctly before the House, and the Nation," it was considered so important a step in the history of the anti-slavery movement as to call forth, before the beginning of the next session, a resolution of thanks from the old "New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves," the substance of which was as follows :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be given to the Hon. Charles Miner, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania for the resolution brought forward by him at the last session of that body, proposing the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and for the determination expressed by him to renew the application for this purpose at the approaching session; and this Society will be much gratified to hear that such application is renewed at the earliest proper opportunity.

"In performing the duty assigned them, the committee would improve the opportunity afforded to express their most fervent hope that the measure you stand pledged to the nation to bring forward will be prosecuted with an earnestness of zeal commensurate with its importance. * * *

"If there be a spot of earth which more than any other on this globe should be regarded as the consecrated ground of freedom, it is the District of Columbia; and the existence of slavery there, by the permission of our republican congress, presents an inconsistency too gross for palliation; and rest assured, sir, that the man by whose instrumentality the stain of this inconsistency shall be removed, shall, besides the high satisfaction arising from the consciousness of having discharged a most important duty, receive the thanks of his country, and live long in the remembrance of grateful posterity."

This tribute was signed by Hiram Ketchum, Thomas Hale, William L. Stone, Ira Clizbe, and Gould Brown.

From the very beginning Congress had been besieged with memorials and petitions, the efforts of the Quakers

being especially earnest in this line. The extinction of the foreign slave-trade, the domestic slave-trade; the abolition of slavery; the betterment of the condition of slaves, etc., found their way into the discussions of the House. Even John Randolph of Roanoke, as far back as 1816, had moved to appoint a committee "to inquire into the existence of an inhuman traffic in slaves carried on in and through the District of Columbia; and report whether any, and what, measures are necessary for the putting a stop to the same." Such a committee was duly appointed, with Randolph himself as chairman; and a subsequent report set forth some facts in the case, but recommended no measure for the suppression, or even the regulation, of the traffic, so the matter dropped. Slavery had been hotly denounced on the floor, as when, for a single example, Tallmadge of New York, in 1819, called it a "monstrous scourge of the human race," in the exciting debates leading to the Missouri Compromise; but with all this it would seem that only once before had a resolution favoring the abolition of slavery, *per se*, been offered to the House. It would be a bold person who would state definitely that this is the case, but a diligent search back to the first Constitutional Congress has found only one earlier series of resolutions offered *on the floor of the House* in favor of the *abolition* of slavery. On February 5, 1820, Mr. Meigs, of New York, submitted resolutions asking that a committee be appointed to consider setting aside public lands as a fund, 1st, for a naval force to annihilate the slave-trade; 2nd, the emancipation of slaves in the United States; 3rd, colonization of Negroes. It will be seen that this went farther in suggesting unlimited abolition, but Mr. Miner felt that to be impossible and thought that if it could be abolished in the District a lever would be furnished with which to accomplish the rest. Mr. Meigs' Resolutions died at their birth, but Mr. Miner followed his more and more trenchantly to the end of his terms.

In his *Memoir*, Vol. 4, p. 518, under date February 5,

1820, Mr. Adams says: "Walking to my office, Mr. Henry Meigs, member of the House from New York, told me that he had offered this morning several resolutions, with a view to appropriate the proceeds of the public lands to the emancipation of the slaves throughout the union. This, I suppose, is to serve him as an apology to his constituents for voting against the restriction."

[In the Missouri debate.]

The second session of the 19th Congress convened December 4, 1826, and doubtless much encouraged by the approval of his earlier resolutions Mr. Miner seized the first opportunity to speak again on the subject. To his wife he wrote December 27, 1826.

"Where have you been to-night, Master Charles? You shall hear. It is now half-past 9; I have been to Mr. Clay's. I did not intend to go, but Mr. Williams came in and persuaded me. The night before I was at Gen. Jessup's; but did not stay long, for I had pressing business at home, a debate coming on to-day in which I felt a lively interest. It regarded the poor blacks in the District. Col. Ward had introduced the proposition, and he came and asked me to aid in its passage. The House was in the highest possible state of excitement. After some effort I got the floor. Fortunately I was cool—self-possessed—spoke sad things to hear, yet in the mildest and most persuasive manner I possibly could. The House listened with all the attention I could wish till I had got nearly through. I wandered a little on purpose; there were some things I wished to introduce, and I took the opportunity to do so, on the subject of the enormities of the slave-trade, etc., in the District. When I had got nearly to the end Mr. Brent called me to order, not angrily. I do think, pardon me for saying so, that from my mild, conciliatory tone and manner, though I said most unpleasant things, yet the feelings of irritation were soothed. You will see the report in the papers. Mr. Reed of Massachusetts took me by the hand and thanked

me. Mr. Wright of Ohio told me he was sorry Mr. Brent interrupted me, etc. The feeling was certainly favorable. 'So much for so much' as my good father used to say."

In the course of Mr. Ward's long speech inquiring if there was any law authorizing the imprisoning and selling free men of color, Mr. Miner introduced this, his second annual resolution looking toward the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The resolution was objected to by the speaker and withdrawn by Mr. Miner but later in the day he spoke on the subject, saying: "He rose, especially to reply to a remark by several gentlemen, seeming to imply that this matter ought not to be discussed because it created so much excitement and irritation. Such certainly was the case, and he regretted that it was so. The whole interests of the District are confined to our jurisdiction. No power but that of the General Government could operate here. Slavery existed within the District and the subject must be regulated by Congress. It was not only our right but our duty. It was impossible to do this intelligently without inquiry and free discussion. This was felt to be a subject of delicacy; no one felt it more sensibly than himself. It is always painful to excite unpleasant feelings; such was never his wish; and it was a matter of regret with him when, in the performance of duty, such was ever the consequence. In his opinion every subject that it was our duty to regulate and legislate upon, ought to be considered proper to be introduced here and freely discussed, without exciting pain or passion. It was in fact the case, that owing to the painful excitement growing out of any motion on the subject here, it had been utterly neglected. Gentlemen from neither section of the union like to take any step in relation to it. The consequence was there had been no amelioration of the laws growing out of the system of slavery here, for the thirty years the District had been under the jurisdiction of the General Government. In other States improvements had been made; their codes

had been ameliorated; here, from the cause alluded to, they had been entirely neglected." He then went on to state sad facts, and added, "All would go to show that the whole subject of slavery within the District needed our interference, and ought to be discussed with freedom and good temper." To which it was replied that it was a "delicate subject" "well calculated to produce excitement and alarm in the slave-holding states." [Summary in Congressional Debates, 1826-27, p. 563.]

These speeches of Mr. Ward and Mr. Miner had the effect of leading the committee to introduce a bill, on January 11, 1827, to repeal the objectionable laws. The House however, refused the bill.

On New Year's day of 1828 Mr. Miner wrote to his friend, Jacob Cist, in Wilkes-Barré, who, in addition to many other gifts was an artist of no mean ability:

"I am employed in gathering information respecting slavery and the slave-trade in this District. It has increased more than any other business since you were here, and is now carried on at wholesale. Besides hundreds in the prisons, brought in and confined here for sale, there are houses kept for their reception, where pens are made and the southern traders hold their headquarters. Are there any facts in your knowledge that would apply to the subject? or can you give me information or advice where to apply or how to proceed? It is so long since you were here I cannot hope for much, but should like to know whether it prevailed when you were here. I have also to beg the favor of you to give me a sketch for engraving of a gang of fourteen negroes, men chiefly, one or two women, hand-cuffed, and chained together as they iron them here to send them off. An ox-chain runs from front to rear in the centre; then the poor wretches are hand-cuffed, right and left hand, to this chain in pairs. Perhaps fourteen figures would be too many to task you to sketch. I wish also, if you can (how much labor is it? no matter, it is in a holy cause), I wish

you would sketch a mother forced from her children—turning, wringing her hands, and in despair exclaiming: ‘Oh! my children! my children!’ I mean to bring the matter before Congress, and I wish to be armed at all points for offence and defence.” It is not known whether or not these drawings were made, but on March 24, 1828, he presented the “memorial” he was then preparing, which is printed in full, “House Document 215,” in the “Executive Documents.”

This “Memorial of the Inhabitants of the District of Columbia, praying for the gradual abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia,” was far-reaching in its scope. Pointing out the inconsistency between the laws making the foreign slave-trade piracy, punishable with death, and the District laxity which permitted a possibly free negro to be seized, imprisoned, and auctioned off for life for non-payment of jail fees, the memorial went on to attack the institution of slavery itself, as having “an evident tendency to corrupt the morals of the people, and to damp the spirit of enterprise by accustoming the rising generation to look with contempt upon honest labor, and to depend, for support, too much upon the labor of others.” It accordingly proposed laws “to prevent slaves from being removed into this District, or brought in for sale, hire, or transportation; without, however, preventing members of Congress, resident strangers, or travellers from bringing and taking away with them their domestic servants;” the repeal of laws authorizing the selling of supposed runaways for their prison fees or maintenance; and a system of gradual emancipation whereby “all children of slaves born in the District of Columbia after the fourth day of July, eighteen hundred and twenty-eight, shall be free at the age of twenty-five years.” Slavery had been or was gradually being abolished in the Northern States. Many States had done much for the betterment of their slaves; his own State with its oldest society for abolition in the country, was behind him in this

special effort; many petitions from various sources had been sent to Congress, and he had been the medium through which some had been presented; but the present petition—one of the signers being Chief Justice Cranch of the District, father of the poet—was especially important being “sustained by sixteen slave-holders in the District and more than one thousand property-holders in the District.” Besides this petition was his own; the work of his own brain, hand and heart, and the hard work he put on it, gathering facts and securing signatures, caused it to stand out particularly in his later memory. A little before the presentation of this petition a constituent in West Chester wrote urging him to be more cautious: “You must be a Colonization man and you must not push that Abolition of slavery in the District too hard—the rusty old gun will kick most confidently—this is not the time—wait a little—let us get more friends in the South and West—and let us deserve their friendship and confidence by a cordial co-operation in their Colonization plan.” But letters like this did not discourage him in the least.

His final effort, into which he threw himself with all his powers, was the introduction on January 6, 1829, of his preamble and resolution, directing the committee on the District to inquire into the slave-trade in the District, and closing: “That the committee be further instructed to inquire into the expediency of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery within the District, in such manner that the interests of no individual shall be injured thereby.” In offering it he represented not only his own opinion but that of his State; for the Pennsylvania House of Representatives had, at its previous session, almost unanimously expressed its opinion that slavery in the District ought to be abolished, “in such manner as they [Congress] may consider consistent with the rights of individuals and the Constitution of the United States.” As was his wont he prepared himself with the greatest care for this speech. It was his

custom all through his residence in Washington to visit the prisons and the auction sales; to know all that could be known of the private "dens" where kidnapped free negroes were packed as closely as possible; to learn all he could by private conversation with keepers; and in every way to be sure, especially when approaching a speech, that his information was full and accurate. On the 7th of January, the day after the introduction of the resolutions, he supported them by his speech. Naturally the atrocities cited and the arguments offered were largely the same as in previous speeches. Having set forth the constitutional right (and duty) of Congress to correct abuses in the District;—"If evils exist we alone can remedy them. If injustice and oppression prevail we alone are responsible"—he went on to marshal his army of facts. He had papers furnished him by keepers of jails showing the hundreds of negroes who were yearly imprisoned on the plea of debt, or for no cause; he drew the distressing pictures that later became so familiar of negroes ruined for life by the dampness, blackness and vermin of their cells; of the separations of families, the chain-gangs, etc.

He suggested what must be the feelings of a foreigner who should come with "anxious pleasure" to the "ten miles square, where the united wisdom and unrestricted power of the nation operate. * * * And what objects are presented to his view? At one market he meets a crowd, and as he passes near, behold it is a constable exhibiting a woman for sale subjected to the scoffs and jeers of the unfeeling! He is selling her for a petty debt, under the authority of the sanction of Congress! Well may he exclaim 'The age of chivalry is gone forever!' To remove the painful impression, he takes up a newspaper and reads: 'Cash in the market and the highest price for men and women.' He walks abroad, sees a gang of slaves hand-cuffed together, a long chain running between them connecting the whole: miserable objects of horror and despair, marching off under the com-

mand of the slave-traders." While the States from which the District had been set apart had been bettering the condition of their slaves Congress had failed to keep pace with them: "This District ought to be the best governed in the Universe. It is absolutely the worst." He urged that "nothing can contribute more to the insecurity of property, than instances of cruelty, shocking to the moral sense publicly exhibited; that the South are therefore interested to put a stop to the slave-trade here." He charged that "officers of the Federal Government had been employed and had derived profit from carrying on this trade," and so on through the whole sad gamut. Then, as in the earlier speeches, in the hope of avoiding rupture, he went on to propose indemnity: "I would not," said he, "be rash; I would propose no sudden disruption of existing interests; I am no friend to sudden revolutions; what I would propose would be that measures should be advanced to effect the abolition of slavery here gradually. The slave-trade, and the public sale of men and women, I would instantly interdict. Provision ought to be made that no person should be injured in his interests to the least amount. Should any such case occur, ample indemnity should be given. Ten years is much in a man's life, yet it is a brief space in the life of a city. The change ought to be so gradual that it should only be felt and known by the blessings and prosperity it would shed abroad over the whole District. By a law that should protect the District from being overrun by free negroes, which should exclude the further introduction of slaves to reside here permanently, and which should provide that persons born after a certain period to be fixed upon, should be free, with other salutary regulations, this degraded caste would gradually disappear, like darkness before the opening day."

The principal reply to Mr. Miner was made by Mr. Weems, of Maryland, who, like his predecessor in the debate, was serving his last term as representative. It relied

largely upon the "Cursed be Canaan" argument; and asserted that legislation on moral subjects tended to set up "the edicts of an ecclesiastical hierarchy." He stated that every master loved good slaves, but called the men of color on sale in Washington at once "worse than wild beasts" and "the most sprightly fellows." His neatest hit was "an awful inquiry, to be found in the sacred volume of truth * * * 'who art thou, oh, vain man, that condemneth another man's servant; before his own master he standeth or falleth.'"

Mr. Miner having accepted an amendment with the modified expression "it is alleged that," etc. the preamble was nevertheless rejected (January 9), yeas 37, nays 141; but the resolution directing inquiry into the slave-trade was adopted, 120 to 59; and that regarding the expediency of gradual abolition was also adopted, 114 to 66. Notwithstanding this two-to-one vote, the slave-holding speaker, Stevenson, says Henry Wilson, in his "Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," "so constituted the committee that no further action was taken on the subject." Wilson characterizes the speech as "earnest and effective;" but family tradition, often voiced by his daughter, Mrs. Thomas, gives it greater praise from a higher source, for she remembered that after the speech Daniel Webster, despite his general views, put his arm over his shoulder and exclaimed: "Mr. Miner, you have lighted a torch that will set fire to the whole country." Mrs. Thomas also remembered that his family were very anxious for his personal safety. Naturally he was delighted at his success, and immediately scribbled a little letter to Mrs. Miner: "My resolutions have occupied the chief part of the day. The resolutions were both adopted by large majorities; the preamble, as I expected, rejected. I am, so far as I can be, away from you, the happiest dog in Christendom." To a relative he wrote next day: "I have been so busy the ten days past I have neglected everything but my slave resolutions."

On a stray leaf that seems not to be from the *Autobiography* Mr. Miner begins an account of the passing of these resolutions, and their reception: "It should be observed that Resolutions similar in purpose had been introduced so early as 1825 [this must be a slip for 1826, for none such can be found in 1825], and again at a later period but aware of its importance I thought it decorous and proper—just to the people of the District, indeed to the whole country not to press the matter to a hasty decision. The House acted on it after full deliberation, and as will be seen, with the hearty acquiescence of those most intimately concerned—the People of the District themselves. This has been so entirely misrepresented by the slave-traders, an active, fearless and influential class, * * * and misunderstood by large numbers of truth-seeking citizens, that a more full exposition of the matter is evidently demanded. * * *

"It will be noted that introduced on the 6th, they were not finally disposed of till the 9th, allowing ample time for deliberation. The majorities were increased (I think) by ten or twelve members from slave-holding states." Then follows the only apparent bitterness in any record:

"But it is painful to add that the Hon. John Bell though fully apprised (as the documents now adduced will show) of the earnest wishes of the people of the District, and of the deep enormity and cruelty, and shameful publicity of the slave auction on Pennsylvania Avenue, and the numerous [illegible] in different quarters, yet he recorded his vote, each and every time, against the proposed measure.

"What seems irreconcilable with any idea of justice and liberality is his vote against the first resolution to enquire into the laws within the District in respect to slavery and the slave-trade.

"The refusal even to permit an inquiry was the more extraordinary, as the Grand Jury had presented the slave

trade as an insufferable nuisance. And *more than a thousand* of the intelligent, opulent, business men (a majority of them it is presumed slave-holders) had the preceding year presented a petition expressing their wishes on the subject, which was then before the House and Mr. Bell. Its vast importance will more than counterbalance objection to its length. It shows the *Popular Sovereignty* opinion of the inhabitants—it refutes the slander that the free States interferred against the wishes of the People. It exhibits the recorded opinion—feelings and doctrines of the Hon. John Bell.”

Anti-slavery opinion outside of Washington promptly recognized the service he had done; thus William Rawle, S. Dist. Col., wrote from Philadelphia, January 14, 1829:

“Permit me to express the great pleasure I feel at your efforts in respect to the disgraceful continunace of slavery in the District of Columbia having so far succeeded as to go to a committee. It will, I hope, prove an entering wedge on this important subject; and if nothing effectual should be done during the present session it will be at least laying a foundation which your successors will not, I hope, lose sight of. I could have wished you to have received more support from your colleagues, but the honor to yourself is greater by standing so much alone.” (See page 233.)

At that time anti-slavery opinion in Philadelphia and New York rather looked toward purchase, colonization, and milder measures of removing the evil; while in Massachusetts, Vermont, and Maryland just a little later, the young Garrison was beginning to write newspaper articles advocating speedier or more violent measures of emancipation. In passing it may be said that the writer has read a private letter by Mr. Garrison (years since but the memory is vivid) speaking coolly of Mr. Miner and his hope of gradual emancipation, as too moderate—as it naturally would seem to the radical—but let it be remembered that in his first anti-slavery address in Boston, July 4th, 1829, after all Mr.

Miner's work was done in the House, Mr. Garrison said (Old South Leaflets p. 9): "The emancipation of all the slaves of this generation is most assuredly out of the question. The fabric, which now towers above the Alps, must be taken away brick by brick, and foot by foot, till it is reduced so low that it may be overturned without burying the nation in its ruin. Years may elapse before the completion of the achievement; generations of blacks may go down to the grave," etc.

It may be doubted, however, whether any reformer in the twenties was doing more good, or spreading a wider influence, than Charles Miner. Never a radical regarding immediate measures, but never yielding in his general hostility to slavery, he proceeded along those conservative but finally irresistible lines which, thirty-three years later, were followed by Abraham Lincoln, who it is well known, at the end of the war, seriously contemplated that other plan of Mr. Miner's which the radicals despised—remuneration. "He [Lincoln] went on to say that he would be willing to be taxed to remunerate the southern people for their slaves * * * he should be in favor, individually, of the government's paying a fair indemnity for loss of the owners." Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. 5, p. 71.

During his congressional career Mr. Miner sent to his wife—who, as their financial circumstances were narrow, remained with the children in West Chester—a series of letters which give bits of the panorama of Washington life through the period of one administration; glimpses of the personal and social features of a capital which in some ways was on a level with the best European courts and in some rather in the rough, notwithstanding the proper aristocracy of President Adams, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and others, and also offer nearly the best picture of his own happy, optimistic, loving nature, almost boyish in its enthusiasms and its naive vanity, and at the same time broad, far-sighted and serious in its aims. Extracts from them may be

given in chronological order, with such notes as will make clear the public allusions.

[December 6, 1825.]

"Mr. Webster came to me to-day to challenge me as a New England man. I told him that my heart was all Pennsylvanian; but yet I loved the place of my birth. Mr. Everett does not look the least as I expected; he sits with a modest downcast eye, and you would not suppose he ever spoke above his breath in his life."

[December 17, 1825.]

"I suppose the President was not displeased with my frank, unceremonious, but awkward introduction, as he has sent me one of the earliest invitations to visit him; but I suppose that was mere chance. He gives all the members dinners; it is a matter of mere ceremony without any heart in it." In his *Memoir*, Vol. 7, p. 74, date December 8, 1825, Mr. Adams says:

"I had a continual succession of visitors. 48 members of the House and 4 Senators. Mr. Miner of Pennsylvania came and introduced himself, but stayed not more than five minutes."

[December 21, 1825.]

"According to invitation I dined [torn] with the President. I understand it is [torn] to be invited before the Holy-days, so [torn] said he had refused to [torn] Mr. Munroe because he was invited after them. * * * Mr. Adams stood in a circle of gentlemen, met us, shook hands and led us in to Mrs. Adams, who sat at the *dot*, [Mr. Miner often accompanied his descriptions by plans or pictures] nearest the fire; the other dots represent other ladies, to whom there was no formal introduction. Mr. Adams presently came up and chatted a few minutes. I asked after his father, speaking of his faculties. I told him I hoped he retained his hearing well; he understood my

allusion and [quoted from] 'Tristram Shandy.' * * * Dinner was now announced. * * * Mr. Clay early caught my eye and asked me to take wine with him; that seemed to be the fashion. Gen. Van Rensselaer did so, and so did another. In my turn I challenged Mr. Cook, and afterwards Mr. McDuffy. On each plate was a napkin, I need not say of the finest and whitest, in which was wrapped up a little loaf of bread. In the middle of the table, as you see represented, was a—I know not its name—like a large tea-tray, or waiter; it must be fourteen feet long, of bronze, the bottom of silver, bright as possible, highly wrought and beautifully ornamented. At intervals of every two feet rose on the verge a female figure about eight inches in height, of fine attitude and proportion, holding in each hand a candle, which made twenty-eight candles around the edge. In the inside were four groups of figures, a foot in height, of elegant forms, attitudes and proportions, and a fifth in the centre. * * * Each hoop held on the heads a basket of artificial flowers (I can't draw). The centre was a large golden vase, held up by dancing Bacchants filled with wine and grapes and flowers. It was very classical, and the most splendid thing I ever saw. It belongs to us the people, and must have cost many thousand dollars."

[This elaborate structure has come down to our own day. In response to a query as to its survival, Mrs. William H. Taft kindly wrote to Mrs. Richardson, May 16, 1913:

"When I was in the White House I used for state dinners a decoration which has come down from Monroe's time. He got it in Paris, and there is a full account of it in the "History of the White House" in two volumes. It has gone out of print now. That, I think, was the decoration that your grandfather spoke about. * * * The decoration is twelve or fourteen feet long. The candlesticks, four, with branches for twelve candles, and fruit dishes with figures on them, make a fine addition to the set; and probably in your grandfather's time they used the candlesticks round the

edge. True, it is gold now, but perhaps it was formerly bronze and silver. At any rate, Monroe got it for the White House, and it was undoubtedly that decoration. Mrs. Draper, who lives in Washington, has the same decoration, which her father, General Preston, left her. He was minister to Spain, and he got the decoration in Paris, the same as Monroe did, and I think they are the work of some noted decorator.”]

“From the ceiling hung chandeliers full of lamps. A ham that stood before Mr. McDuffy was not skinned, but the skin cut in figures, part only being taken off. * * * We had many things which from the cooking I could not judge what they were, but we had birds, venison, hams, chicken-pie, canvas-back ducks, soup at first, of course, the canvas-backs the last of meats. Then came ice cream, pineapples, oranges, apples, grapes, raisins, olives, and golden-bladed knives with pearl handles to help eat them with. After perhaps an hour the gentlemen rose, and the ladies left the table. This brought Mr. McDuffy next to me and we fell into chat; we sat perhaps a quarter of an hour when we all rose and went into the drawing room.” * * *

[January 14, 1826.]

“My trifling silk resolution brings me abundance of letters, notices, and communications. It takes exceeding well. I think it proper; but it is still a trifle. * * * Did I tell you Gov. Cass was added to our mess? A very pleasant man; full of sprightliness and intelligence. * * * Yesterday I dined with Mr. Buchanan; he had delivered a great speech, really a great one,* and is not very well, so I went to dine with him. He feels the force of it and well he may. He made this remarks: ‘That House is no respecter of persons; it exalts the humble and abases the proud’—that is every bill must stand on its own bottom.”

*On the Judiciary system, January 14, 1826.

[January 26, 1826.]*

"To-morrow's *Intelligencer* will bring you my speech and proposition, on a most important subject. I was, in speaking, very much embarrassed, but, my friends assure me, not so much so but that I was perfectly understood. They tell me my voice fills the hall entirely, which is something here. I produced a stir among the colts. Mr. Forsyth rose after me and spoke some time. Col. Trimble has just been in my room; he had been in before to tell me that I must speak on a resolution that will be called up to-morrow, calling for papers relative to the Panama Mission. He assures me my resolution was well timed, and the Administration will be obliged to me. I can't be more particular now. Though nothing to boast of as to manner, you need not be ashamed of your Charles, whose special pride would be to deserve your praise and love, dear Letitia."

And two days later:

"I am called by name mighty familiarly by dozens since Thursday, who did not know me before. But this is to yourself, I charge you, when I venture to be a little vain, a very little for I have very little reason, it is not what I have done, but that I have broken in on the House. You must not expose me. The highest wish I have is that I may make myself worthy of your love. * * * I am industrious still; when well am up an hour before day—I begin to hope not without some utility. The thing is whispered about and I get credit for my industry if not the fruits of it. Mr. Everett and myself, though not very intimate are becoming very sociable. He told me to-day that two or three times he had almost taken the floor, but did not. The truth is the greatest and strongest man is awed here. The man without sensibility is awed nowhere. And though I tumbled heels over head on the floor to force myself there

*Evidently this is a slip for January 25, as the *National Intelligencer*, of January 26, 1826, records: "The subject of the Panama Mission has, it will be seen, been introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. Miner of Pennsylvania."

I would not be placed back again where I was last Monday for the best cause in Christendom, or the best 1,000 pounds, as you please. I yesterday spoke again a few words, called for by the occasion, pretty well and without much embarrassment. So we go."

[January 28, 1826] Second letter.

"I have been to the French Minister's party. Gen. Metcalf and myself set out in a carriage at 8. The fog was so dense the driver got lost; it was very strange; one or two coaches were upset; and some quite lost. At last we arrived, the doorway was crammed with carriages. We left our cloaks and hats in the entry. Well, this is the house [plan]: 4 is the entry where we left our cloaks; we turned to the left into No. 2, where were ladies and gentlemen, and we were introduced to the Baron Montreuil—you have the card I believe. The little figures thus; in the room was a mirror—like a door reaching from the floor, and many thought it was a door into another room. In No. 3 was a crowd so closely packed it seemed impossible to move, and yet two sets of cotillions were dancing. A few sat down on the outside, but four-fifths stood up. In the recess, No. 5, sat the musicians. After cotillions came waltzes, very sprightly, but I do not think modest, then cotillions again. Servants dressed in black carried around refreshments constantly, consisting of wine, punch, chocolate, cakes, figs, raisins, and beans, I believe, and ice-cream. I was introduced to Gen. Smith of Baltimore; talked with Gen. Harrison about minuets and ladies' hoops; you elbowed a general or a count—or a minister, or a great lady every step you took; but they were not near so handsome, nor better dancers, nor more easy nor graceful than our Chester County ladies. The rooms were well, but not very richly furnished. Over the doorlike mirror in room No. 2 was a beautiful picture of the late King of France. On the mantel, as an ornament, was a clock, with a bronze figure leaning over it, in a graceful attitude, on each side

a female bronze figure about two feet high, the hands to a basket on the head, the basket was a candlestick. No. 2, the dancing-room, was lighted by elegant chandeliers. In No. 4 were four parties playing, three at cards, one at chess; among those at cards was the British Minister. The British secretary of legation, who has just arrived, was there. He wore mustaches—that is his upper lip was not shaved and the beard was an inch long and looked singular. He is near-sighted and used his eye-glass constantly as the parties danced. I have only room to tell you, and I do it in the strictest confidence—not even Ann is to know it, nobody but Sarah—that a member came to me to-night who had been at the President's, who said: "The resolution of Mr. Miner was proper and well timed." The Administration were pleased and the accompanying remarks were no less appropriate. There, hussy!"

To which she replies: "I must not be called hussy, it sound too Swift-ish, and you know I do not like him, you may call me goose-cap, madam impudence, or anything but hussy."

[February 1, 1826.]

"I am this day 46. My life has been full of events. From a poor boy, a wanderer in the Susquehannah wilds, I fortunately found my way to your arms (I wish I was there now), and step by step to this position—no mean position—to the honored councils of my country. I have had many trials, but a thousand blessings have been showered upon me. I desire to be humble and grateful. * * * I would give half the world to spend a couple of days, dear Lete, with you. Write to me; tell me you love me; and when I come home and go to work, and give up public life, you will still love me, and then I shall be happy."

[February 13, 1826.]

"Gov. Cass has gone; we were all sorry to lose him. He is below the middle height, thick-set, full round face, with an agreeable expression of countenance. On his upper lip,

on the left side, a mole. Bald head, but the hair behind gathered into a roll, and brought forward so that at first it would not be discerned. A fine scholar, writes well, extremely pleasant in conversation. * * * I have dropped my watch and injured it. Did I tell you before? I could cry. It was the prettiest thing I ever had. It seemed as if, in the night, I touched the spring it could talk to me. It kept excellent time, and intimate as we were together there is not one in the mess who knew it was a repeater. I mention this because you and father would think that I should be like William, delighted to let everybody know what a pretty plaything I have."

[February 15, 1826.]

"You will see the debates on Mr. Miner's resolution, calling for information. At least you will perceive that I touched no idle string. I don't know what I may make yet, but begin to have hopes of myself. I have made no great figure here; not so much by half in the House as in the newspapers; but so far * * * I would not change situations with any new member of the whole 85 who has come here, and that is saying something—even though they should give me all their wealth to boot—unless it were for giving the money to you, deary. But this is for yourself alone. * * * The debate of day before yesterday, is thought, on my part to have been direct and pointed, except the geese that lay golden eggs, and that was thrown in on a full deliberation and has done me some service."*

[February 25, 1826.]

"I have received a complimentary letter from New England with ten skeins of beautiful sewing silk of different

*On February 13, 1826, Mr. Miner asked for information as to tonnage, etc., in Delaware Bay, in order that the House might be in a position to discuss wisely the need of a breakwater. In reply to a question from Mr. Webster as to whether Mr. Miner desired this simply because it would be locally helpful to Pennsylvania, Mr. Miner formulated his guiding principle in all such matters; that in the House nothing should be promoted for local reasons, only, but for the good of the whole country. His bill was adopted February 16, 1826.

and most elegant colours. I have shown them to many members, and shall send them to Mrs. Adams to examine. Unless the General's lady begs them, I mean to keep them to send to one I love better than any general's lady in Christendom."

[March 11, 1826.]

"Asher will show you my letter, or tell you of Professor Everett's great display.* It was not the weight of argument so much as the astonishing, overwhelming outpouring of a torrent of eloquence. Every word was made to weigh as much as ten from an ordinary man. Ah, it was surprising and delightful—except his, I had almost said foolish confession of faith respecting slavery and in favor of it. Oh, that he might be made to feel the impolicy and impropriety of it!"

Mr. Mitchell of Tennessee, and John Randolph of Virginia, both slave-holders, objected, with others, to Mr. Everett's statements with regard to slavery in this speech.

[March 15, 1826.]

"Well, haven't I told you where I dined? You shall know. Mr. Webster came as unexpectedly as anything possibly could be, and gave me one of those frank and hearty invitations to dine with him and Mrs. Webster, that was worth a thousand billets. I went; met a few Boston friends of Mr. W.'s; was of course treated with cordiality—taken after dinner to the library, and some confidential conversation passed. I suppose you know what an eminent man he is.

"Since Mr. Everett delivered his great speech, I have not spoken to him till to-day, though we sit near. We met on committee, and after adjourning and the rest went out, he chid me for not speaking, and said he was afraid I was offended at his declaration in favor of slavery. I told him with perfect candor and truth my impressions that his first position was erroneous; that it was felt to be so by all

*Mr. Everett's speech in the debate on the Constitution, March 9, 1826.

the House; that some began to look down, some to read their letters and papers; that when he came to declare his sentiments on the subject of slavery, it was like pouring cold water down our backs; that it was liable to misapprehension, though sincere, for just then the Senate were delaying to confirm the nomination of Mr. Sergeant on account of his opposition to slavery, and it would look (and be so ascribed) like a sacrifice to the southern opinion to pave the way for an easy confirmation of himself should he be nominated. With regard to the first position, he told me he had submitted it to Mr. Webster and he had approved, etc. I told him Mr. Webster was wrong with respect to slavery.* He said he had consulted [illegible] on that subject, fearing it would bear the look I suggested, who told him it would not. I bade him prepare himself for a fiery ordeal, for he would have to pass through one; but I gave him due praise for his succeeding effort. You see the consultation was free and confidential, and I wish no one to see this part but Asher and Dr. Thomas.† I am

*The conservative attitude of Webster, Everett, George Ticknor, and others of the inner circle of aristocratic "Webster Whigs" in Boston, for many years, is well known. Two months later than this—March 9, 1826—Mr. Everett said: "The great relation of servitude, in some form or other, with greater or less departure from the theoretic equality of men, is inseparable from our nature. Domestic slavery is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral and irreligious relation. It is a condition of life, as well as any other, to be justified by morality, religion, and international law." When governor of Massachusetts, in 1836, he intimated in a message to the legislature that abolition newspapers and societies in that State might be made subjects of local prosecution: "Whatever by direct and necessary operation is calculated to excite an insurrection among the slaves has been held by highly respectable authority an offense against the peace of the Commonwealth, which may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law."

†Asher was, of course, his brother and partner, then living in West Chester. Dr. Thomas, sometimes called "the Doctor" in these letters, was Mr. Miner's son-in-law, Isaac Thomas, an honored physician in West Chester, who had married his oldest daughter, Ann Charlton. "Joseph," to whom confidential communications were also sometimes sent, was another son-in-law, Joseph John Lewis, long afterwards Lincoln's Commissioner of Internal Revenue, who had married Mr. Miner's third daughter, Mary Sinton.

invited to the Dutch Minister's to a party, day after tomorrow evening; shall I go? I have kept away from parties for a good while, being much engaged in business, laborious and requiring careful investigation; but making no show on committee. I do not know of anything else that would please you; if I did I would say it. Cherish kind feelings for me; we have had many, many happy days together; I do not know that life could have gone more smoothly, considering we have always been poor, and the vicissitudes of sickness will inevitably occur. I think as now I grow an old fellow, 46 last month, of your song we'll 'sleep thegither at the foot.' But you are young, I see you as you were at nineteen, and love and respect, and sincerely regard you for your mind, which is kind, and pure, and intelligent; and I feel, as I think I ought to feel, that in sickness it would be the greatest relief to have you near except that it would give you pain; and that in health and prosperity and joy, if such should be our lot, it would all be doubled by laying my cheek to yours and having you kiss me and say—Well, this is pleasant!"

[March 29, 1826.]

"I wrote yesterday, and I thought I would write a long one to-day, but don't feel a bit in the humor. I feel as if there was a ton weight off my mind. My speech, they tell me, must also be printed in pamphlet form. Gen. Van Renssellaer has been to me and wants a parcel. Gen. McKeen wants some; Mr. Webster says it must be carefully reported and sent out. Mr. Hopkinson, the great lawyer, is here. He came to me and got me by the hand and thanked me for my speech; agreed with me in principle, etc. I am as vain as Ellen with a new lace. I am glad I did not know he was in the House, yet I am glad, as it happened, that he was.*

Mr. Miner spoke on February 24, 1826, and again on March 28, 1826, on the conservative side in the debate on

*See letter of May 3, 1826.

amending the constitution with regard to the election of president and vice-president. The closing words of the second speech commend themselves to constitutionalists in 1915. "To change, to change, to change is the highway to disorder in private affairs, and to anarchy in public, and anarchy is the broad road to despotism." He shortly after received the following letter of congratulation from De Witt Clinton:

"ALBANY, 19th April, 1826.

"I am much indebted to you for your excellent speech. As far back as 1802, I proposed an amendment to the Constitution for the establishment of electoral districts and am still of opinion that it would preserve the purity of the choice of electors, better than any other system, in bringing the subject to the people who cannot be easily corrupted, and in breaking down extensive combinations. I agree with you, however, in the general tone and spirit of your views, believing frequent changes dangerous; and that favored as we are with the most distinguished blessings, we ought not to endanger the whole in speculative attempts.

"Your hasty account of the affair between Randolph and Clay turns out to be accurate. It is much to be regretted. A member of Congress is for everything done or said in his place to every person not a member, a non-combatant, and I should suppose that there is no canon in the code of duelling which requires a Secretary to call out a member. The precedent is pernicious; and as its spirit is very easy of infusion into our ardent young men, I should not be surprised to see imitations follow closely and frequently on its heels.

"I am sincerely and respectfully your friend,

"DEWITT CLINTON."

The latter part of this letter refers to a subject that troubled Mr. Miner all his life: the practice of duelling, especially in the Southern states. Down to the assault of Brooks on Sumner, in 1856, he never ceased to denounce it

as not only anachronistically brutal, but cowardly,—the very prevalence of the custom in the South giving the men of that section a familiarity with “drop shots” which was not, fortunately, existent at the North, and therefore offered to swaggerers an unequal chance in the field, which they mistook for courage.

[April 8, 1826.]

“I went to the President’s yesterday; the interview was very agreeable, frank and social.”

[April 10, 1826.]

“I always loved you better than you did me, and I never wished for goods, wealth, anything, only as I could share it with you, and make you happy. Your poetic quotations were too flattering, but still agreeable, as they showed good taste and reading. I always knew your mind was of the higher order. I do not know in a single instance you have judged erroneously in matters of literature or taste. Since you first came to my bosom I have loved your mind for its correctness and purity, as well as your person for everything that could render one near us agreeable; and the wish for your happiness and the children’s is the first in my heart.”

[April 22, 1826.]

“Oh, the President’s! Yes, we had a charming time. Mr. Adams received us standing up, with the gentlemen around him; the ladies we bowed to, they sitting. Mr. Adams then entered into conversation with me, with great frankness; some other gentlemen came up, and he went to meet them. Having taken up as much of his time as I thought fair, I retired and was chatting with some others, when Col. Trimble came to tell me the President expected me to return, so back I went, and we got our heads together again. * * * We did not dine in the long room, but in the usual dining parlour. The plateau and candlesticks were superb; but not on so large a scale as in the other

room. The party was more select; the wines, particularly a kind I never saw before, delicious. Indeed, these things before I had cared nothing about. The truth is, the Panama question had just been settled by a glorious vote in its favor; I had taken a deep interest in the measure, and had contributed by my resolution and remarks a good deal to advance it. Mr. Adams was well pleased; and why should I not let feelings flow a little? I then thought, I wish my Lete was here."

[May 3, 1826.]

"I have just returned from the President's drawing-room. * * * I pointed out the chief great men to [some Chester and Delaware County constituents]. Introduced Mr. Pennock, who was next me, to Mr. Clay, Mr. Storrs, Gen. Brown, Mr. Adams, and young Mr. Adams. They got ice-cream, coffee, and punch, and seemed to be, I presume they were, very happy. Mr. Webster came to me with more than ordinary kindness, quite out of his usual course; got his arm around me, and declared to Gov. Barbour that my speech was the best and soundest argument on the Constitution that was delivered.* It was part flattery, doubtless; but before such company, and the manner, it being uncalled for by the occasion, was not to be disregarded. He came to me afterwards to have some confidential conversation about an important matter; I gave my opinion, clearly and firmly. I told him in relation to it: 'I would not recede an inch.' 'Nor I, Mr. Miner,' said he. So I was glad we agreed. * * * I had business with the Postmaster General to-day, I wanted a new post-office created, and a friend appointed post-master. There were several gentlemen in, and I told Mr. McLean I would leave the application for his consideration. 'Oh, no,' said he, putting everything else aside; 'I will attend to it immediately.' He did so, and made the appointment before I left him. This for you. It was not so when I came here, my lady! So I talk of self, self."

*See letter of March 29, 1826.

There are very few letters of the short session of 1827, and they hardly refer to public work at all; the reports of the House show Mr. Miner taking an interest in public buildings, relief for sufferers by fire in Alexandria, etc., and opposing an ill-digested bill for the grant of canal lands to Illinois in which he brought out the present Panama toll question; Shall the United States build a canal, and pay toll indefinitely for the use of it? But a letter written to him very soon after the close of this session has more than passing interest:

"STATE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, March 28th, 1827.

Dear Sir: Yours of the 22nd instant has been duly received. My best exertions shall be devoted to merit your good opinion, and the many kindnesses you have lavished upon me, as well as to justify the choice made by the Secretary. Mr. Clay treats me with a politeness, consideration, friendship and confidence which is highly flattering, although recognized as almost entirely owing to the warm recommendation which you have been pleased to give me. I am very much in company with the Secretary, and believe I am daily gaining ground in his good opinion. * * *

"Yours Respectfully,
"W. S. DERRICK."

Two years later is another letter from the same hand, showing that in Mr. Clay's case, at least, a man may be a hero to one in almost as close connection as his valet.

[Washington, 12 March, 1829.]

"Mr. Clay and his family intend to leave Washington tomorrow evening or Saturday morning, for Baltimore, on their way home to Kentucky. He will of course, be much delayed by dinner invitations and bad roads, and will hardly get to Ashland in less than a month. God speed him! The good wishes of thousands of his fellow citizens attend him. As a statesman—as an orator—as a patriot—as a man—he leaves not a peer behind."—W. S. D.

[January 13, 1827.]

"I think I confine myself too much and study too much; I have nowhere to go where there is heart; and for these great parties, they have very little pleasure for me; but I think I am gaining knowledge that may be useful. The prudence, if I may say so, of last year, has given me on our committee all the consideration I desire. We meet twice a week and do a good deal of business. I ought to be happy, but without you I cannot be and am not. I don't know that that is strange; why should it be? that as I grow older I seem to feel that you are nearer to my heart and necessary to my happiness more than ever."

[January 21, 1827.]

"I had a letter from James Sinton to-day; he wished me to obtain for Mr. Sitgreave's son a berth in the West Point Academy. I will if I can; the applications to me to aid in getting offices are numerous."

[January 24, 1827.]

"Being dressed, and Judge Clark, and Mr. Williams both saying I should go, I went up to Mr. Clay's party. It was full and pleasant; cotillions and waltzing up stairs, whist and wine below. The young ladies were neatly dressed, their hair all put up with wreaths of roses, lilies and wheat. The whirligig waltzing I did not like, but they did. The English beau with mustachios whirled them around at a great rate; they say he catches hold of their dresses behind and rumples them too roughly. The English Minister, French, Danish, Mr. Biddle, President of the U. S. Bank; the Postmaster General, Secretary of War, Judges Johnson, Story and Trimble of the Supreme Court, Mr. Webster and others were there. Wine, punch, coffee, tea, and cakes were handed around. I took a single cup of coffee, nothing more. * * * I dined at Mr. Giles' a few days ago, so was not at the party given last night. I now mention it for an odd circumstance. Mrs. Estill, wife of Mr. Estill of Virginia, has a baby since being here last winter, and it was

christened at Mr. Giles' last night, and the British Minister stood godfather, and made it a present of a breastpin. Some of our backwoods folks don't like it very well, the christening and dancing all together; but if both are innocent I don't see much harm in their going together. Yet on recollection one is a solemn dedication to God, and hardly a proper ceremony for a ballroom. * * * Mr. Clay as he saw I was going came and took me by both hands and mentioned his desires * * * with some kind expressions. This is nothing to *me* but I tell you everything. This letter of course is for the family only."

[January 27, 1827.]

"To-day, having received a special note to visit Secretary Rush, I went up at 11 to the office and sat an hour. He is as much of an enthusiast about silk as I am. With the advice of President Adams he has, besides obtaining all the information possible in this country, sent to our minister and agents in London, Paris, Italy and elsewhere in Europe for books and all the facts that could be obtained. He took me into the library to show me what books he had got. His report will not be ready before next session, but he is making every exertion to render it useful to the nation, the subject, and his own fame and character; all which I very much approve, and confidently hope something valuable may grow out of it."

[February 1, 1827.]

"It is my birth-night. I am 47 years of age. This morning I returned thanks and prayed devoutly, humbly and sincerely, I hope acceptably, to our Heavenly Father. Many blessings has he showered upon me, and permit me to say, no one for which I am more deeply grateful than the bringing me to your love and your bosom. 'We clim'd the hill thegither' and will totter down hand in hand, I trust, in increased love, respect, kindness, affection. * * * I love you dearer than anything else on earth. Had I come

here ten years earlier I do think I might have been distinguished. As it is, I trust I am respectable, as much as my friends had any reason to expect. I pray God to bless you and the children and all of us. May my heart be grateful."

[January 12, 1828.]

"I entered into close, pretty solemn discussion with Mr. Sprague of Maine, one of the very first men in our House, on the same subject that I had the serious conversation with Mr. Everett this morning. They are both wrong, or I am, and I don't believe I am. My hope is to prevent their speaking in favor of the D'Auterive negro claims. Both are prepared to speak. I have given my reasons to them for rejecting the claim. Time only can determine whether my argument avail with them."

Time disappointed Mr. Miner for Mr. Everett spoke in favor of the claim of Marigny D'Auterive for payment for a slave of his killed in government service; Mr. Sprague seems not to have taken any part in the debates. Mr. Miner spoke on this claim on February 7, 1828, and on February 25, 1828. He opposed it chiefly on two grounds: it was unfair to the free man who might be killed in government service, whose family could get no pay; and the government had power over all men, slave and free, in time of need. Mr. Brent in reply made an anti-slavery argument out of these speeches, saying if these "ideas were ever generally entertained by the House, Southerners would return to their constituents and by their sides meet such arguments the only way they should be met," and again: "He [Mr. Miner] asserts—what no man has done before him—that the government has a right to enlist our slaves * * * without compensation for their services * * * and then says he does not wish to interfere with our rights to our slaves," etc. The bill was recommitted to the committee of claims and not heard of again.

[January 29, 1828.]

"I think with you, as in matters of taste I am proud to do, that the 'Red Rover' is better than the 'Chronicles of the Cannongate.' I am glad if they have afforded you pleasure."

It was his custom to leave a standing order for new books of significance with a bookseller in Philadelphia; and his children always remembered their keen delight when the books were opened, and he or their grandfather, Joseph Wright, read the last "Waverly" to the gathered family. They read so much and so wisely to the blind daughter, Sarah, that she became an educated woman. His daughter Ellen often spoke of this reading aloud together as one of the chief family pleasures, and the tired mother, after all the rest were sleeping, would sit and read far into the night. Sometimes she would speak of their reading; in a letter of an earlier date she says: "The bookseller has never sent the Annals of the Parish, they were not to be had, but we do very well without them. We have history and poetry and many very interesting books to read. I found a small volume of Littleton's letters in the bookcase which were read with great pleasure. I thought them excellent and was speaking of them and inquiring how they came to be published, when I was told they were not genuine letters but all a fiction. Now can you tell me if that was the case? However they are well written let who will write them." Again she paints a pretty picture of the home life he so often longed for: "Charlotte is well enough to be playing chess with her Cousin Sarah M. in one corner; Cousin S. B. is reading Robertson's Scotland in the other. Sarah, our Sarah, is knitting Williams Mittens; Mary sits by our side knitting a pair of stockings, Grandfather is blowing the fire, and Ellen is nursing Frisk. William says 'What will you say about me?' I tell him nothing good if he makes so much noise, but he is a pretty good boy and delighted that he is thought of consequence enough to write letters to his dear father, and to receive answers to them."

[February 11, 1828.]

"Our silk report is, to-day, ordered to be printed—6,000 copies. The chairman, Gen. Van Rensselaer, referred the report of the committee to me, before he offered it to the House, and I approved. It will be valuable, and I shall have some credit for it, and really fondly hope not to have been here wholly in vain." This letter shows that the statement found in two places that he wrote the report is a mistake.

[February 12, 1828.]

"The people have a right to my services, if they choose to command them, aye, to my life, cheerfully. I am their servant, as they have been my friend. But to you and Joseph, I say confidentially, I have great doubt whether our ticket, in the present disturbed state of parties, can be elected. I should hate to fail, and am quite willing to retire with character and applause, rather than be run out. This is not, however, to be breathed beyond you two and the Doctor. I conceal nothing from Joseph and the Doctor. My heart is open to them as to myself. Write me what you think exactly. I will be guided by you. I can produce a powerful impression if I set out. Had I best? or better look to our Luzerne lands and try to make the children independent?"

[February 26, 1828.]

"I write you to-day a hasty note. I am not in the letter-writing humour, but can't let the mail go without dropping you a line. I received yesterday a most friendly and kind letter from Mr. Pennypacker (formerly in the Assembly with me). He urges me to be a candidate again; greatly overrates my merits, etc. I have not yet replied, but, my dear Lete, my most solemn impressions are that I ought not. I do not wish to. Then, it is true, there are moments when it seems as if it would be pleasant. Should I not, I am sensible there will be moments when I should wish it were otherwise. Still, my steady prevailing opinion is that

my *interest* and my *credit* both require me to retire, while I can retire, with a fair name and the public good-will. Character may be useful to me and you and the children hereafter, and I should husband it. No money is to be made here. (Mr. Randolph has just come in, not having been here before for a fortnight.) The demand for cash is constant, and can't be set aside. I sacrifice a great deal in my business at home, I neglect much. I am from my family, and have no countervailing pleasure here. It is perfectly fair some other Federalist should have a chance to come. I shall gain no further favour here. My want of hearing daily increases; prevents my entering into debate with ease, and shuts me out from social converse. Is it not best to retire while I can do so, *well*? Why wait, at the utmost two winters more, and then be obliged to retire? In the meantime I lose many friends, and I risk being run out, for really I consider the result doubtful. Buchanan is really a strong man, and much as we differ on the presidential question, I should be sorry to see him out of Congress. This to your private ear. I am in solemn earnest. I stand well,—very well, now. The higher offices do not open to me. Such are my thoughts. I spoke yesterday about an hour, wanting five minutes of it. My own opinion is that I presented a strong constitutional argument on the power of the Government to make internal improvements. You must judge; it will be out in a day or two.'

With regard to this speech his wife wrote, March 14th, 1828, what must have struck any one on reading the speeches of the time: "I have been reading your speech on internal improvements again and am much pleased with it. There is one thing I notice in your speeches that is not always to be seen in others, you never lose sight of the subject but seem to understand exactly what you are saying. Your speech is a matter of fact one and carries conviction with it."

“HOUSE REPS., March 24, 1828.

“MY DEAR LETITIA :

“It seems that we must postpone the pleasure of meeting until after Congress shall rise. Day after day brings with it new subjects of interest which cannot be so long left as the time it would take to come home—dear home, sweetest spot on earth, to me. * * * I love you all dearly—you best and dearest—Ann, the Dr. and little Miss Caroline, Sarah, sensible, good, dear Sarah—Mary and Joseph, who I feel toward as a son—Charlotte—Ellen—William—Father—and Asher’s family, are all dear to me. I have gratifications here, but many privations. It has been pleasant to be here. It is pleasant, but except the personal gratification I see no great use in it. What hope is there beyond? If my hearing was perfect and I could look with fair hope to distinction, O, I would make a noble effort. That is hopeless. Very well. Let a man know when he ought to be satisfied. Now give me independence, let me get out of debt. Let me make home pleasant, if I live, to enjoy—if I die—for those who are dear to me—that’s my feeling—such are my opinions; and I earnestly hope to be saved from what I deliberately deem the folly of trying to come back again. * * * I am writing in the midst of business. This morning I presented a petition from this District containing more than 1,000 names in favour of the abolition of slavery here. Joseph’s letter came yesterday; he says you are gardening. Let plenty of peas and potatoes be put in for ourselves and the Doctor and Joseph. We have a great caravan of wild beasts here; tell Sarah the little monkey is among them and the pony, and three noble lions.”

After this date there are very few letters, and in those that do remain the absence of any echoes of the rancors of the time, noteworthy, perhaps even in Washington, for its bitterness, suggests the thought that they may have been destroyed with special care. During the recess between the first and second sessions of the twentieth Congress Governor Metcalfe of Kentucky, wrote him a letter interesting

enough to be interpolated here—later, after the 1829 anti-slavery speech, Governor Metcalfe wrote him another sympathetic, congratulatory letter—

“FRANKFORT, KY., 14th Oct., 1828.

“I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt just now of your letter of the 3rd inst—not the formal expression of the term merely, but a most sincere and heartfelt *pleasure*, springing from recollections which it will be my delight to cherish through all the vicissitudes of life. For permit me to tell you, that among all my fellow sojourners here, with whom I have been thrown, either by accident or design, it would be hard for me to single out the man whose hold upon my affections, is as strong as that of the Honorable Charles Miner. * * * Stand up; thou firm and steadfast patriot—stand—and continue to love thy country more than thyself, worthy as thou art of the love of those who know thee best.

“THOMAS METCALFE.”

, “Washington, Thursday night, after 9; Dec. 11, 1828.”
“MY DEAR LETITIA:

“I meant to write
A long letter to-night,
But you’ll have to take up with a short one.

“Why that isn’t very good poetry—Thank you for your letter yesterday. I did kiss the name; * * * Dressed up to-day, Madam, in my best bib and tucker, had my hair cut, and waited on Mr. Adams. I found him alone, went through my business, and finding him disposed to be uncommonly sociable I sat near an hour. He threw off all reserve; the conversation became animated and interesting. Finding himself going far, he said: ‘But, this, Mr. Miner, is to be understood as entirely confidential,’ etc. So, Madam, you cannot at present know anything of the matter. Joseph, the Doctor, and Asher alone are to know that I have said even so much. Do you smile at seeing the little

gray-headed fellow that takes your arm to go and feed the chickens, sitting in the palace in confidential conversation with the President? * * * I have been reading 'Pelham,' a new novel. You shall have it; there is love, two duels, a rape, a murder, much of fashionable high and low life, much wit, a great deal of learning, and some prosing. Will you read it?"

[December 11, 1828. "Miner asked me if I had determined definitely to withdraw from all public service after the expiration of my present term—I told him that my intention was absolute and total retirement. But my principle would be what it had been through life. * * * It was not for me to foresee whether my services would ever be desired by my fellow-citizens again. If they should call for them, I should not feel myself at liberty to decline repairing to any station which they might assign me to, except for reasonable cause. But I desired him to receive this in confidence as a candid answer to his question, for I wish not even to give a hint to the public that I am yet eligible to their service." *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, Vol. 8, p. 81.]

For the reasons stated in the letters of February 12 and 26, 1828,—chiefly his increasing deafness—Mr. Miner declined to run again, and returned to West Chester in March of the following year. He added to his other elements of power a thing by no means common to humanity; knowing when to stop.

His wife's opinion on this subject had been clear, though her patience for four years, away from him and even the slightest connection with Washington society, had proved that she was not unwilling to do her part toward her husband's success. She wrote from "Spring Grove," their West Chester home, March 8, 1828: "You must not be a candidate at the next election; I am tired of keeping house alone, now the farm requires so much attention; and you know I have neither health nor taste for farming, so you must stay at home."

Mr. Miner, in Washington, had speedily shown an unusual power of winning and retaining the regard and confidence of the leaders, especially, of course, the men of the administration, with whom he was most closely brought. Correspondent after correspondent, for the rest of his life, wrote him with hearty esteem, and desire to elicit his opinion. President Adams' letters, during and after his presidential term, were intimately personal, and of a length that would seem surprising in these days of hurried dictation, did we not know their writer's habit of living with pen in hand. Not often does one receive from a president of the United States an estimate of the character of another president, his father; but such was contained in the letter John Quincy Adams wrote Mr. Miner (who had written a note of condolence after John Adams' death) from Quincy, July 31, 1826:

"My grateful acknowledgments are due to you for your very feeling and friendly letter of 16 July, the sentiments, contained in which are alike patriotic and philosophical. My father's character as a public man has long been before his country and before the world—much and grossly misrepresented, and not perhaps yet correctly understood. A disposition to do justice to it has however gained strength, and will I have no doubt in a few years survive all controversy. What he was in the concerns of private and domestic life is of course known to few—to none more intimately than to me—and has given a pungency to the misfortunes sustained by his loss, which the heart of an affectionate son can alone conceive. Yet even to the sentiments of filial gratitude, the circumstances of his decease are consolatory. With a body so decayed that 'dying all he could resign was breath,' it is soothing to know that he did not survive his intellectual faculties an hour—that the day of his death seemed as if selected by Providence to stamp upon his country the memory of his life, and that his

spirit took its flight, hand in hand with that of his great co-patriot, rival and friend, to regions where patriotism and friendship may still contribute to the joys of existence, and where we may humbly hope that rivalry will have no place.

"With my cordial thanks, accept my respectful and friendly salutations.

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

With Daniel Webster Mr. Miner's relations, as his own letters have repeatedly shown, were also most cordial; and here, as elsewhere, it seems strange that a man who was only four years in public life, should so have retained the intimate affection of those left in the hurly-burly. Mr. Webster wrote from Philadelphia, March 24, 1827:

"Your acquaintance and regard are valued by me most highly, and I trust we may be mutually useful to each other. * * * Do not fail to expose that abominable job, the Missouri business. See that the public know all about it."

New Year's 1830, Mr. Miner wrote a rhymed "carrier's address" of the sort that remained in vogue as late as the sixties, eliciting from Mr. Webster a pleasant acknowledgment:

"Your muse is happy, and the verse flows easy. The oftener I hear from you, in any way, the more gratified I shall be."

A portrait of Webster, given to Mr. Miner with the autograph inscription, "To my highly valued friend, the Hon. Charles Miner," remains in the possession of the family.

From Washington, January 30, 1847, Mr. Webster wrote: "I can only thank you for the kind things you say of me in your address of the 4th of December, and for that steady friendship you have manifested from our first acquaintance. It does me good to think of you, to cherish your regard, and to remember our ancient intercourse. It would do me still more good to be useful to you, in any way in my power."

And later, within the shadows of the great statesman's disappointment and death, he sent to Mr. Miner his most affectionate remembrances. Mrs. Sarah Hollenback Butler, of Wilkes-Barre, was in Washington in March, 1850, and met Webster. "It was incidentally mentioned," wrote she to Mr. Miner, "that I was from the valley of Wyoming. 'Indeed, said he, 'well, pray, madam, tell me if you are acquainted with my old friend, Charles Miner?' You may imagine my delight in being able to say that you were one of my earliest and best friends. He seemed very much pleased; asked many questions, and showed the liveliest interest in everything relating to you. At the close he said: 'Well, now, my dear madam, I want you to get Mr. Butler to write to him *to-morrow*, and tell him he is one of the few in the world that I love to think about. Tell him (more impressively) that I *love* to think about him.'"

A remarkable illustration of his power of eliciting and deserving the most intimate confidences from the leaders of American public life is shown in the following letter from Richard Rush—at various times controller of the treasury, United States attorney-general, secretary of state *pro tempore*, minister to England and France, and secretary of the treasury under John Quincy Adams, during Mr. Miner's congressional term. The letter is marked "private," but may legitimately be printed, eighty-five years after it was written, as a contribution to political history:

"WASHINGTON, June 7, 1828.

"I cannot budge from Washington, much as I should like to visit Pennsylvania; no, here I am, tied by the foot, and here must remain until the scene is over. My service in the Treasury has been peculiarly severe. It is admitted by all that its business is never of a light kind. Its investigations, its calculations, its anticipations, its decisions, always imply labor. The mind cannot doze over them. It must dive into them seriously and in earnest, and we be to

him who makes mistakes. Nothing but constant, intense thought will ever carry a man through the business of the Treasury. There is no help or hope for him otherwise. And under what circumstances did I come to this business? After an interval of seven years passed in our foreign service. To all Treasury business I had necessarily become, I may say, a total stranger. It is too exact, too minute, too technical in its nature ever to be followed up by a citizen who is abroad, and anxiously engaged while abroad in other duties of high moment to his country. Besides, our country is perpetually going forward in its home affairs. The crescent principle is astonishingly active. Every night, when the sun sets, we have grown somewhat larger as a nation than we were when it rose in the morning. To those who are on the spot it is easy to keep up with the daily increase; but think of taking seven years' accumulation suddenly, and having to manage it all, off-hand, under the heaviest official responsibilities! During the time I was away a multitude of new laws had passed—respecting the public lands, the customs, and an endless variety of subjects bearing upon the finances, with all of which I had to make myself acquainted, whilst the daily current of new business was at the same time pressing upon me, for that would never stop for an instant. I had no time to rest, scarcely any to sleep, to breathe. Leeway was only to be made up by working at extra hours, and how were these to be rescued from the everlasting calls of accruing business? Moreover, I found the department, into the midst of which I was plunged, half filled with worn-out incumbents, which is the case still. These are some of the difficulties I had to face. It has been my fortune not to have been crushed by them, and I have even the satisfaction of reflecting that up to this point of time there have been no financial embarrassments of any kind, during the period that I have been charged with directing this part of our public affairs. But I have had my trials. I have suffered in body and in mind; the

sufferings of the latter have been the sharpest. I complain not, always foolish in public men; but only state facts. After my first report I was arraigned, in effect, before the nation, for imputed mistakes, to the amount of millions and millions. I had no name, however poor, in this difficult and trying branch of our affairs, to cover me as with a temporary shield. Those who assailed me had. I was reviled, scoffed at. Would the South have left one of her sons so unprotected? I had to live for a long year under the agony of suspended reputation. Time came to my relief. It fixed the mistakes on those who assailed me as I said and knew from the beginning that it would. But I had no state to stand up for me and see fair play in the interim.

After adding, at length and with the bitterness of a wounded spirit, that he had even been criticised as being "no Pennsylvanian," though he had never been out of the state save on public business; and declaring that such treatment would not have come to one from the South, the West or the North, he averred that time had brought his vindication, official and other, and closed: * * * "Whilst on this head I will barely add, that the finance committee of the senate, at the session that has just passed (General T. Smith of Maryland chairman), made a report, in the course of which all the important doctrines upon which I have practised touching the public debt, and the sinking fund act, are confirmed, though they were much attacked at first.

"My dear sir, it is your kind and friendly letter of the 4th instant, just received, that draws from me; in the fullness of feeling, such remarks as the preceding. Perhaps I ought not to make them, but as they have come from me I will not recall them. There are indeed many grounds on which, if I be rejected by my state, in comparison with others I well know that I should have no right to utter complaint; but to be rejected as being no Pennsylvanian—would not this be a hard fate? I have simply unbosomed

myself under your letter, and will say no more on the subject, being always sensible, my dear friend, of your kindness and friendship, and tendering you a full reciprocation of all such feelings.

“RICHARD RUSH.”

Back in West Chester Mr. Miner continued his correspondence with his old Washington friends. The following [February 19, 1830], from Senator Peleg Sprague of Maine, with whom he had so frankly disagreed on the slavery question, gives a near glimpse of the great Webster-Hayne struggle :

“The debate between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hayne seems to have attracted very much of the public attention. It was indeed a very extraordinary discussion, and produced a greater sensation here than any other I have witnessed. As to the comparative ability of the two champions, you know them and can judge. They both maintained their reputation, and increased it. Nothing can be more false than those representations which have been made by certain letter-writers who would throw Mr. Webster into the shade. The only comparison which can be made between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hayne was that which exists between a giant and a man of common strength.”

Jackson's stormy reign had begun ; and his veto of the bill chartering the United States Bank was shaking the politics of the country from top to bottom. Ex-President Adams, from his retirement in Quincy, looked at the storm with the eye of an experienced observer ; and in his letter to Mr. Miner of October 11, 1830, gave to his correspondent—as now to the readers of this biography—a review of his own administration :

“QUINCY, 11 Oct. 1830.

“Your very friendly letter of the 19th ulto. with the number of the Village Record containing the analysis of the Veto Message has been duly received and has given me great pleasure. The suffrage of so near, so close and so

impartial an observer as you were at the commencement of the last Administration, is of itself worth a multitude of others; and if, in the progress of the four years while it continued the impartiality was merged in the sentence of a candid and benevolent judgment, your voice is not the less precious in my estimation, for the kind feeling by which it is prompted at present.

“For the judgment of Posterity upon the Acts and policy of the last Administration, so far as Posterity will take cognizance of them, I never felt any concern—it was marked by no signal Event, nor was an opportunity afforded me of conferring upon the Nation any benefit which by its magnitude would commend itself to the memory of the ages. Such an opportunity would have required the concurrence of others, which, from what ever motive was withheld, and as Posterity takes little account of good merely intended for, but not enjoyed by them, I do not promise myself much of their Gratitude or even of their Remembrance. My name will hold its place in our future *Fasti Consulares*, but no Appian way, or Column of Trajan or Arch of Titus, will exhibit to the eyes of men in future Times, its achievements: and disposed as I am to look before as well as after, with an eye rather of philosophy than of Ambition, I content myself with the slender portion of regard which may be yielded to barren good Intentions, and aspirations beyond the Temper of the Age, leaving the Temple of the Winds, or the Needle of Cleopatra, as more suitable monuments to commemorate the virtues of my Successors.

“Your Analysis of the Message has detected its concealments, and simplified its duplicities—Internal improvement and domestic Industry must hang their harps upon the willows—I lament their discomfiture, and live in the hope of their restoration—The glory that consists in repressing the energies of the Country directed to the bettering of its condition cannot last.

"The population dwelling South of Mason and Dixon line, will naturally and perhaps necessarily always vote for one of themselves to fill the Chair of State—So it will be hereafter, as it has been heretofore. This is constitutional right; and they cannot be censured for the exercise of it. The North is more accommodating; and will bear all things for the sake of the Union—

"But it is time for us to look a little abroad again—The affairs of Europe are re-assuming an aspect of deep interest—The wheel of Political dominion is not satisfied with one entire turn—It is again in motion—can you tell us when and where it will stop? Talleyrand said that the Restoration of the Bourbons was the beginning of the end—Was it not rather the end of the beginning?

"I wish Pennsylvania may be so well represented in the Senate of the Union as your expectation forebodes—and I should rejoice to see your own seat in the Capitol resumed—but there or elsewhere be assured of the respect and regard of your friend,

"J. Q. ADAMS."

Edward Everett agreed with Mr. Adams in his detestation of Jackson's veto and admiration of Mr. Miner's scari-
fication of it. From Charlestown he wrote on October 22, 1830:

"My dear Friend (if you will permit me so to call you) :

"You wrote me a kind letter at Washington last winter, which I fear I have not answered; and you sent me the other day your paper containing your dissection of the Veto. How could a man of your mildness commit such a murder as you have done of that innocent and guileless thing? Seriously, it is the ablest comment, with the exception of Mr. Clay's (and that is not abler) which has appeared on this renowned paper. * * * I see Stewart is back. Would that you were."

Even more significant was ex-Secretary Rush's statement, as from an experienced authority, that Jackson knew

nothing about banking but had probably been mistaught by Van Buren. He wrote to Mr. Miner from York, January 5, 1831:

"Since the President's second attack on the bank (a subject that he really does not understand, but in regard to which he is probably misled by Mr. Van Buren) the subject has acquired fresh interest. I have even received letters from Europe, expressing apprehensions for its fate; particularly from England, within a few days, where much of the stock is held. These letters are of course dated before the knowledge of this second demonstration by the head of the government had arrived, but under fears of it. * * *

"Whilst I was in the Treasury my attention was necessarily and officially called, I may say almost daily for four years, to the operations of this institution; and I felt it a duty to bear my official testimony to Congress and the nation of its utility. This I did in my last annual report, in which I endeavored to present, in a form as condensed and intelligible as possible, its most important benefits to the financial operations of the country. As always,

"Sincerely and affectionately yours,

"RICHARD RUSH."

Later, in this same year 1831, the Anti-Masonic excitement was adding fuel to the political flame; and if the excitement quickly burned out, it was, like brushwood, all the hotter while it lasted. William Morgan, accused of divulging masonic secrets, had mysteriously disappeared; and the critics and enemies of the order accused it of spiriting him away and murdering him. The charge was heatedly and often denied, but the battle was on, with such fury as materially to affect the field of national politics. Sincerely attached to his lodge, and deeming the widely current attacks on the Masons without justification in sober reason, Mr. Miner deplored and withstood the agitation opposed to the order—and yet with sobriety. John Quincy

Adams as earnestly espoused the other side. Here, however, as before, Mr. Miner was confidentially consulted, or cordially written to, by political foes as well as friends. Daniel Webster, looking at the strife dispassionately but anxiously from afar, wrote him at length from Boston, August 28, 1831:

"I wish I could say anything encouraging on the highly important subjects mentioned in your letter of the 20th.

"The Kentucky election has not turned out to be quite as bad as it appeared to be, at the date of your letter, but still it is unsatisfactory, and has produced an unfavorable impression in this quarter. Speaking to you in the most confidential manner, I must say that I concur with you in the opinion that there is very little chance of electing Mr. Clay. I believe we may hope for the vote of Kentucky yet, but even with that I do not perceive where we are to find enough others to make a majority. My private impression is, there is but one chance to save the country from further and worse misrule, and that is to bring forward some man in whose favor the National Republicans and Anti-Masons of Pennsylvania and New York could be induced to unite, so as to secure the votes of those states. With them, Ohio, New England, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland would be able to elect a President. But I fear there is very little prospect of finding such a candidate.

"You say that you believe the Anti-Masons are intent on pushing Judge M [McLean]. It will never do; our friends in New England and else where will never be brought to support him. As against him the election of Gen'l Jackson would be certain.

"A gentleman writing from Philadelphia says: 'Let us put up a candidate, if we make a change, in whom we have perfect confidence, and if we fail, still a minority united on principle, and with a sound head, is better security to the country, than success in behalf of moderate talents or doubtful principles.' I agree to all this; at the same time that I

see the difficulty of finding the man. I confess I do not know him. You are pleased to say that I possess a portion of the confidence of the conflicting parties. Perhaps it may be so, but I cannot think the country is inclined to bring me forward, and it is certain that I shall do nothing to bring myself forward. I have little experience in public affairs, and have not been long enough before the country to produce great general confidence. My only merit is an ardent attachment to the country and the constitution of Government, and I am already more than paid for all my efforts, if you and other good men think I have done any thing to defend the Constitution and promote the welfare of the country. In the favor which those efforts have attracted towards me, I see promise of a real, substantial, fixed attachment among the people to the Constitution. The great body of the community is quite sound on that point. And that is the feeling which we ought to cultivate, and on which we must rely. If we bring about a change it will be done by us as a Union party.

"And now, my dear sir, will you tell me whether in your judgment, there is any individual, who could so unite the Anti-Masons and National Republican voters of Pennsylvania as to carry the state against Gen'l Jackson? I should like much to know your present impression on that vital question.

"The Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore will have a most responsible part to act. The prosperity of the country, perhaps the fate of its Government, hangs on their decision. God give them true wisdom, and disinterested patriotism.

"I shall be glad to hear from you at your earliest leisure.

"Yours truly,

"D. WEBSTER.

"You will of course consider this letter in the strictest sense confidential."

In this correspondence it is obvious that Masons and

Anti-Masons were at that time, at least, united in their desire to beat Jackson.

Three months later the same absorbing theme, among others, was dwelt upon by Mr. Adams in what is, in some respects, the most interesting letter in all the interesting Charles Miner correspondence. John Quincy Adams, though there have been plenty of book-makers among our presidents, was the only poet in the list; and his verses to Mr. Miner are not only a remarkable indication of complete impartiality and implicit trust in his political integrity, but in themselves a neatly-turned literary product of the old-fashioned Horatian order, derived from a sound, classical training. Those were the days when our colleges had no boilershop adjuncts or courses in retail shoe-selling; and Mr. Adams, it will be remembered, was an ex-professor of rhetoric:

"QUINCY, 18th Oct., 1831.

"DEAR SIR: "It is perhaps a puzzling question of minor morals to determine how much of the pleasure which we derive from the applause of our friends, or of the world, is to be set down to the account of vanity, and how much to the honest love of praise. These are very different things, and yet I fear are very apt to run into one another.

"Mrs. Thrale tells us that Dr. Johnson was delighted more than beseemed a philosopher, at a compliment from a gentleman, who, upon seeing him upon horseback, declared he rode as well as the most illiterate jockey in England. Something akin to this I have experienced from the notice in your letter of the Psalm annexed to my Anti-Nullification 4th of July discourse, and of the Hymn at the close of the Eulogy; but of the high praise with which you honour them, the larger half belongs to another. The Hymn was not written by me, nor do I know the author. It was probably Dr. Doane, the respectable Episcopal clergyman who read the prayers, and composed the long one, which was much admired. The Psalm was one of a number at leisure

hours versified by me, and which I gave to be sung by the Choir, deeming it appropriate to the occasion.

“But to the numerous friends to whom I sent copies of the Oration, many have in return expressed hearty concurrence in its opinions, and very flattering appreciation of its principles. You alone have spoken of the Psalm, and the variety of applause from the ‘biforked hill’ has given an unusual value to yours. I have in the course of my life wasted so much of my time in the composition of rhyme as to have acquired some facility in tacking syllables together. I have chiefly confined myself to translations, with now and then a few original lines for a young lady’s album—or such as those herewith enclosed, which, as they happen to please or displease you, may be put upon the file or in the fire.

“I am much indebted to you for a copy of your printed Speech upon internal improvements, enclosed with your letter. There must be some mistake with regard to the Tract published during the sitting of the Convention of 1787, and from which the extract in your speech is given. You will observe in the Eulogy, page 45, notice of a letter addressed by Mr. Monroe to his constituents, after he had been elected to the State Convention, which was to decide upon the Constitution of the United States, and before the Convention met. The statement that this letter was imperfectly printed, and that he sent a copy of it, among others, to Mr. Jefferson, is made in the Eulogy upon the authority of a manuscript of autobiography in Mr. Monroe’s own hand writing furnished me by Mr. Gouverneur, since his decease. In that letter he says he stated his objections to the Constitution, which he afterwards set forth more at large by speeches in the State Convention. There he voted against the adoption of the Constitution, though he would have been willing to accept it with previous amendments. In the manuscript to which I have alluded not a word is said of any tract published while the General Convention

was in session. If therefore the Tract to which you refer was written by Mr. Monroe, it must be the same address to his constituents, written after his election to the State Convention. I should not indeed have supposed that there was any period of his life at which he would have written of the state governments the sentence quoted in your speech—yet so it may have been. Mr. Madison had at that time quite a little respect for the state governments, and little did they deserve. A history of the Confederation from the Declaration of Independence to the 4th of March, 1789, would, as you have observed, be a most instructive moral and political discourse for the perusal of the people of the United States, but they would not read it. Who reads any portion of our history? Twenty editions of the *Waverly Novels*, in fifty volumes, would make as many fortunes for their printers before one thousand copies of a *History of the United States* could be sold, were it written with the pen of Cornelius Tacitus himself.

“With regard to the fiscal concerns of the States which compose our Confederation, including those of the colonial governments before the Revolution, my own information is exceedingly scanty. Whoever should trace them out, according to your suggestion, would make a very curious exhibition, and for aught I know, if he would give it the form of a novel and season it with crossings in love, great sayings, and impossible adventures, he might make it an interesting work.

“In 1652 the colonial government of Massachusetts Bay, upon their own authority, coined silver money. Whether it was high treason or state sovereignty might form the subject of a learned and ingenious historical dissertation. In Virginia and Maryland they did not coin silver but they turned tobacco leaves into pounds, shillings and pence, a metamorphosis, if not equal to any in Ovid, quite the reverse of that celebrated by Swift, of Ovid himself into waste paper. About the time of the South Sea schemes in

England, and Law's Mississippi gold mines in France, the General Court of Massachusetts Bay made a land bank, which swelled to as large a bubble, and shivered into as many imperceptible atoms of vapor when it burst, as those schemes of more notorious infamy. Paper money was always the besetting sin of Massachusetts Bay; and one of their greatest financiering achievements was an accurate adaptation of the decimal arithmetic by making their pound, lawful money, exactly equivalent to two shillings, or one-tenth of a pound sterling. If no other instruction could be derived from a history of colonial financiering, the pupil would be dull indeed who could not acquire from them some accomplishment in the art of committing national bankruptcy. Perhaps they might teach the better lesson to avoid it.

"While I was procrastinating the intention to answer your letter I received your short note with two of your electioneering papers; and since then I have received your republication of Mr. Wirt's Letter to the Anti-Masonic Convention at Baltimore, with your declaration and that of several of your masonic brethren, that you concur entirely with the sentiments of that letter. The definite object of the Anti-Masons in the United States is the abolition of the Institution. In consenting to be their candidate, Mr. Wirt approves this object, and the means by which they are avowedly endeavoring to accomplish it—that is, by acting upon popular elections. General Peter B. Porter and Mr. W. B. Rochester in New York have expressed the same opinion, by advising the surrender of the charters by the lodges. You have seen by my letter to Edward Ingersoll that this is more than I, Anti-Masonic as I am, would absolutely require, though I earnestly desire it and believe it the best course for the Masons to adopt, both for themselves and for their country. But that they should discard forever all oaths, penalties and secrets I deem indispensable, and

until that is accomplished I shall be a determined Anti-Mason. Although in my letters to Mr. Ingersoll I made repeated mention of your name, I did not anticipate that he would communicate them to you. I authorized him to show them to Mr. Walsh, because he had denounced me to the public as a madman for my anti-masonry. But if you, and Washington and others whom I love and revere, have taken the masonic oaths and bound yourselves by them I can only say

'There's nothing ill can dwell in such a temple;
If the ill spirit have so fair a house,
Good things will strive to dwell with't.'

"A difference of opinion with you will always be to me a subject of regret, but will never impair the regard and esteem with which I am, Dear Sir,

"Your friend and servant

"J. Q. ADAMS."

Enclosed was the following poem which the family still have in Mr. Adams' handwriting:

"TO CHARLES MINER, ESQ., 18 October, 1831.

*"Idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est.
Catiline in Sallust.*

*"Amicus Socrates, Amicus Plato, sed magis Amica Veritas.
Cicero.*

"Say, brother, will thy heart maintain
The Roman's maxim still;
That nothing brightens Friendship's chain
Save Unity of Will.
Ah, no, Unhallowed was the thought;
From perjurd lips it came,
With Treachery and with Falsehood fraught,
Not *Friendship's* sacred Flame.

"To *Roman* Virtue shall we turn
 To kindle Friendship's fires?
 From purer Sources let us learn
 The Duties she requires.
 To Tully's deathless page ascend.
 The surest guide of Youth;
 There we shall find him, Plato's Friend,
 But *more* the friend of Truth.

"And thou to me, and I to thee
 This maxim will apply:
 And leaving Thought and Action free,
 In Friendship live and die.
 Be thine the Compass and the Square,
 While I discard them both—
 And thou shalt keep and I forbear,
 The *Secret* and the *oath*."

To appreciate the full force of the feeling expressed in the letters and the poem, one must turn to Mr. Adams' historians and biographers; they vie with each other in stating his aloofness. Says Schouler: "He judged contemporaries harshly. Among men, great or small he had hardly an intimate friend"; to which James Freeman Clarke, in his "Anti-Slavery Days," adds "I suppose he was one of the most lonely men of his time * * * he was full of dislikes and distastes," etc. But still more must one read his anti-masonic papers and letters; it is a strong proof of his true greatness of character that he could so thoroughly hate the sin, and so heartily love the sinner.*

His friend, ex-Secretary Rush, another anti-mason, confidentially consulted Mr. Miner regarding the anti-masonic presidential nomination of 1832. Mr. Rush, writing from York, September 4, 1830, had advised no nomination, but

*See "Letters to Edward Livingston, Grand High Priest, published in 1834. In these Mr. Adams objected especially to the oath of secrecy and the use of God's name.

a resolution not to support Jackson. Afterward, as indicated in his letter of October 21, he accepted, as he later supported, William Wirt as the presidential nominee.

As the election of 1832 approached, came another letter from a politician still more deeply interested in the result:

"ASHLAND, August 25th, 1832.

"DEAR SIR: The Kentucky elections have terminated in the Jackson candidate for governor, by a majority of 1,260 votes, the Republican candidate for lieut.-gov. by a majority of 1,506 votes, and in 60 out of the 100 members that compose the house of representatives; also in securing in the senate, where the majority was against us last year, a majority of 22 out of the 28 members that compose that body.

"We have been so often mortified with the issue of elections in this state, that I do not know whether you will take any interest in the causes of our recent partial defeat. They were, 1st: the employment of extraordinary means by the Jackson party, within and without the state; on this point all the efforts were brought to bear, and every species of influence was exercised. The patronage and means of that party was profusely used. 2nd: an irruption of Tennessee voters, who came to the polls in some of our border counties. Last year official returns of all the voters in all the counties were made to form a basis for the practical adjustment of the ratio of our representatives. In some of the counties, at the recent election, I understand that the Jackson majority exceeded the whole number of the voters, according to those returns. * * *

"I remain always

"Faithfully your friend,

"C. Miner, Esq.

"H. CLAY."

"P. S. Your own discretion will suggest to you the impropriety of the publication of this letter.

"H. C."

The same year, 1832, afforded another proof that Mr. Miner though in retirement was still looked to for help. In Bethania, Pennsylvania, was published in pamphlet form, by a body of men who wished to rouse and educate public spirit on the subject, "An Extract from a Speech in the House of Representatives in 1829 on the subject of Slavery and the Slave-trade in the District of Columbia, by Charles Miner; with notes."

This speech, the committee of publication stated, was unsatisfactory in its suggestion of *gradual* emancipation, but they chose it "on account of the author's personal knowledge." Mr. Miner himself notes that his speech on this republication was criticised as being too moderate to suit the temper of the time, which he himself had helped to create, but adds that at least it helped to spread information and arouse thought.

In 1832, also, he finally left West Chester and returned, for the rest of his days, to his wife's inherited farm at "Wrightsville," afterwards Plains Township and now Miner's Mills Borough, two miles and a half north of Wilkes-Barré. The unpopularity of masonry in Chester county may have had some influence toward the change; his deafness was an increasing trouble; and another reason was, as already given in a quoted letter as far back as 1828, to "look to our Luzerne lands and try to make the children independent," an ambition which he lived to see accomplished. The *Village Record* was sold to an employee on credit, which was met by payments in installments; and Asher was left free to follow his brother to the Wyoming Valley, which he did two years later.

That he was not forgotten in West Chester was pleasantly shown in 1835, when, revisiting the town, he was given a complimentary non-partisan dinner, and responded to the toast: "Our guest, the Hon. Charles Miner—as the public man we hail him for his services in promoting the interests and happiness of our beloved country; as a private citizen

we thank him for the example of his virtues; and he has our warmest wishes that his future years may be as happy as his past life has been useful and honorable."

A few words quoted by Mr. O. J. Harvey from a private letter show Mr. Miner was the same happy, helpful spirit in West Chester that he was everywhere else: "The young Yankee printer, ridiculed by the Democracy of Chester County as a 'Yankee tin peddler,' won his way to the esteem and confidence of the plain and practical Quakers, then, as now, powerful and influential in that old county. He was a popular man with young people, his kindly smile of recognition being long remembered, and the pure sentiments disseminated through the columns of his paper had a salutary effect in elevating the moral and intellectual tone of its readers." Again: "The *Village Record* was published for many years in a small frame building on High street near Gay. The personal appearance of Charles Miner in this office is well remembered, especially on publication days, when with a short apron of green baize or flannel he took an active part in issuing the *Record*—his kindly countenance and manner leaving a pleasant impression on the memory that more than half a century has not effaced. He was a genial and kind hearted man, very fond and considerate of the young."

In a letter to Mr. Miner written in 1847, Mr. Henry S. Evans, who took the *Village Record* on Mr. Miner's return to Wilkes-Barré in 1832, said concerning a new paper he, with others was about to start: "Now my honored friend we know that our fate depends upon *starting right*. That is impossible *without your aid* in our opinion. *We must have the aid of your pen*—as the only one that can place us in the position we covet. With the aid of your pen, a few weeks at least, and we have no fears. * * * Indeed to decline would destroy all our calculations." And in 1858 the editor of a collection of Chester county verse, wrote Mr. W. P. Miner: "We cannot get along without something

from Charles Miner; his name has been so long and honorably associated with the ramified interests of our county that we deem a contribution a *sine qua non*."

Their blind daughter, Sarah, (of whom he writes, "cheerful, intelligent, her society was agreeable, and for myself, I may say, she has not only been an obedient daughter, but an agreeable companion, and faithful friend," and of whose poetry her family and friends were proud) has described their new home on the "Plains" in the cozy, low-browed cottage under the great sycamore that family tradition says was once the riding-switch of an ancestress, which still flourishes by the door:

MY HOME BENEATH THE SYCAMORE.

There is a lovely, lonely spot,
In thought I often wander o'er;
'Tis far away, an humble cot
My home beneath the Sycamore.

The stream glides there with murmuring sound,
Forgetful of the torrents roar,
And mountain winds sigh softly round
My home beneath the Sycamore.

With waving vines the trees are clad,
And blossoms yield their fragrant store,
And wild birds warble to make glad
My home beneath the Sycamore.

My father and my mother dwell,
Within that cot so shaded o'er;
No wonder that I love so well
My home beneath the Sycamore.

Here he loved to keep open house. In two day-books, combining diary and accounts, are many entries that show his happiness as host, and many other items of interest of

which just a few must be quoted, they are so full of character: The books cover the period from September, 1839, to May, 1853. Sandwiched in among minute statements of accounts, come notes showing the generous habit of the family; orders on Hibler and Yosts; Hollenback and Rutter's, Z. Bennetts', etc.; digging coal, selling coal lands, butchering, setting hens, hiring or discharging men; "Paid Jacob in coal," "Gave Sylvia an order on Hollenback"; "Sally Slaughback Cr when we killed and put up our meat."

August 28, 1840. "They charge 75 a rod [to dig a ditch] and find themselves. I agree to give it but think it not enough if they do well. It is left to me to say what more, or whether anything shall be paid."

December 19, 1844. "Letitia sent Mr. Sheppard a nice turkey, 2 b. buckwheat flour, a ton coal."

Christmas, 1844. "Roasted two nice turkeys Sister Thomasin, Cousin Eliza, Fuller and Charles Colte, E. Bowman Miner, Charles Miner dined with us. Wm. & Elizabeth sent 1 turkey to Mr. Clayton—1 to Mr. Dyer by Mrs. Ligget 1 to Mrs. Drake—Furnished 1 for Christmas dinner—4. Letitia sent 1 to Mr. Sheppard, the minister—1 to Mrs. Overton. I, 1 to Mr. Dorrance and we furnished 1 for Ch Dinner—4. Both families united sent 1 to Dr. Miner. I sent Rev. Mr. Dorrance a load of coal."

1846. "Memorandum: Have this fall given Mr. Rev. Moyster, order for ton coal at bed, sent him a ton to his house. Wm. gave him 2b buckwheat. Pair fowls. Sent lead coal to Mr. M house. Ton to Mr. Sheppard. Hind quarter veal (excellent) 2 b oats. Beans. * * * Welcome but minuted for our satisfaction." In the midst of many entries like these one is not surprised to come on the following: "Finding that we have lived beyond our means, we all resolve to, cheerfully unite in retrenching our expenditures and practicing the strictest economy."

1840, May 13. "Christian took down a log to build the Log (political Harrison) Cabin."

September 24. "My esteemed son in law Jesse Thomas with his wife Ellen, daughter Sarah & their daughter little Anne came to visit us Sept. 19, exceedingly welcome."

1841, "Tuesday, March 16. * * * Yesterday, fair, good sleighing—at 11 a. m. Dear Asher was buried. He had been ill since Tuesday, the 2nd instant. It was of a disease of the heart as was supposed. On Sunday the 7th he had a stroke like Apoplexy, and from that time could not turn himself in bed, but suffered little pain, was cheerful, sometimes pleasant. On Saturday, 13, he grew rapidly worse. Then the pain about the region of the heart was severe—on our proposing to send for a doctor he said—'It will do no good, there is no relief but in Death,' and expired a little before 5 o'clock, March 13, 1841, Aged 63 years and 10 days, having been born March 3rd, 1778. * * * His beautiful and lovely daughter Mary was buried about a year ago with consumption; and his good daughter Sarah was buried with the same disease on Friday the 5th, only a few days before her father. Their house is indeed a house of affliction."

1841. "June: On Thursday about noon, 17th our dear cousin Helen, brother Asher's daughter, died of Consumption, and was buried on Saturday, a very large funeral. * * * This is the 4th funeral in that family within 18 months."

1842. "April 15: William P. Miner, after a five weeks absence at West Chester, returned with his wife, he having been married on Monday evening, April 11, to Miss Elizabeth D. Liggit." * * *

1844, Tuesday 16. "This is the anniversary of our wedding day, having been married Jany 16, 1804—40 years—Letitia then being 15 years, 7 months and 5 days old—Charles being 23 years, 11 months and 16 days. Lete born June 11, 1788; Charles born Feb. 1, 1780. We have been greatly helped by a kind superintending Providence. May

we have grateful hearts—pure and cheerful lives; and be ready cheerfully to go when our Divine Master shall call.”

“1844, July 3, Professor [George] Ticknor of Boston and Professor Rogers here. Waited on them to the Monument. Mrs. Ticknor and 2 daughters along.” [In a letter from Mr. Ticknor, dated July 25, 1844, he says: “I have been absent from home for the last two months, travelling in the interior of Pennsylvania and New York for Mrs. Ticknor’s health.”]

March 19, 1851. “I have been sick for 10 days—Yesterday Dr. Miner visited me. On Saturday night I was crying out with pain in my right breast. The old frame is nearly worn out. Dr. Miner said, “Not now, Uncle Charles; but when I do come and find the shades of death gathering and darkening upon you I will tell you.”

April 16, 1852. “Letitia W. Miner—my dear—my tenderly loved wife for 48 years, departed this life Friday, February 27, 1852. Born June, 1788, she was 63 years and 8 months old.

“We were married January 16, 1804. She died of consumption, having been sick several months.

“She was of fine person—very handsome in early life—pure in mind—spotless in virtue, intelligent and of a fine literary taste.”

AUGUST 13th, 1852.

“On Friday came Wm. Butler, Esq., and lady (our dear Letitia Thomas that was) and their lovely daughter, our great grandchild, their nurse and George and Mary Thomas, son and daughter of our son-in-law, Dr. Isaac Thomas, and Miss Mary Brinton that was, all cordially welcome. On Saturday evening came my nephew Charles Boswell, Esq., President of the Hartford Bank, rejoiced to see him. A time of as perfect enjoyment as human nature is capable of!”

October 16, 1852. “I was visited by Mr. Penn, G.

Grandson of Wm. Penn. He had called several weeks ago, with Judge Woodward and I was not at home. Social, pleasant, etc."

"NOVEMBER 27th, 1852.

"Thanksgiving Day. Had to dinner Mrs. Leggett, Mary Overton, Mary Hancock, Wm., Elizabeth and the children, Asher M. Stout, lady, nurse and children, Mrs. Julia Miner, Fuller, Charlotte and the 3 boys, Miss Abbott, Miss Searle and brother, Mrs. Adams and Mr. Abbott (her brother) Joseph W. Miner and Charles A. Miner. Had a turkey, young goose—pair of ducks—chicken pie and baked beans—boiled turkey and oyster sauce, mince pies (topping) apple pies, pudding, etc. Then from under our own roof tree we had grandmother Wright 84, myself 73, Sarah, our beloved grand-daughters Caroline D. Thomas and Lete M. Lewis, Jesse, Ellen, Lete, Isaac and the little ones. A delightful day and happy time."

A contribution to the *Pittston Gazette* gives an interesting picture: "* * * Young man! if you think you don't know anything, that written, will interest others, let me tell you what to do. Saddle up your horse some afternoon next week, or if you have no horse, go on foot through the mud—it will pay. Start from where you live, down the road or canal, it does not matter which. Keep your eyes well about you until you reach Sperring's old stand, upon the Plains. If you think then you have seen nothing worthy of thought, and of deep thought, too, turn down the cross road, by Captain Baily's, take first right turn, and the second house after you cross the bridge, (notice the beautiful view as you descend the hill). A low, neat snug cottage, with fine shade trees in front, is the 'Retreat.' Stop there, you have gone far enough. Go boldly to the door, knock and enter, ask if CHARLES MINER is at home. If he is, thank your stars—take the proffered welcome of a fine old gentleman, and a seat. You are at home. Don't be bashful—that is bad anywhere, but you will feel as little of it there as

at any place I know. If you are State born he knows your father or your grandfather, or if from North or East, he is sure to know those men of your county whose names have been familiar to you from childhood. After you are completely at your ease, perhaps he will say to you as he did to me once on a time when I called to pay my respects to a man whom all know, respect, and love—"Well, my young friend, what is the news in your place?" Certainly an ordinary question and I answered in the usual indifferent, drawling way, 'Nothing new, I believe, Mr. Miner.' 'Nothing new! why that is strange indeed—you forget that we cannot all live in one neighborhood and see with the same eyes—My eyes are getting old, too, they do not see so sharply as they did once, and I shall trouble younger eyes to see a little for me. Let us see! let us see if you have no news!' and question followed question on subjects that had been before me daily, and to me, were not new.

"Before I tore myself away, I found I could carry news even to him who is read up in all which effects the prosperity and well being of the Country—yes, and even impart information. 'You see,' said he, 'you know many interesting things I did not know, if you will only give yourself the trouble to think, and all my neighbors would be as much pleased to hear them as I have been. So go home, my dear boy, and write them down for friend Sisty, or some other county paper; they will all be glad to get them, and next time you come, bring me as much *news* as you have to-day, and you shall be as you and all are—very welcome.'

"I shall never forget the impression that visit made upon me, and I hope I may never lose its influence. I am only sorry I have not taken *all* the advice he gave." W.

But let us return to our chronological story.

Almost immediately on his arrival in Wyoming his thoughts turned to a subject which had deeply interested him for nearly thirty years: the history of the valley, with special reference to the massacre of 1778. The following

extracts from a letter from Chief Justice Marshall refers to an error in his "Life of Washington," bearing upon that massacre :

"RICHMOND, June 9, 1831.

"I am greatly indebted to you for your letter of the 5th of May, and its enclosures. * * * It is certainly desirable that historical narrative should be correct, and I shall avail myself of the information you have been so obliging as to furnish, so far, at least, as to omit the massacres and the charge of Toryism on the inhabitants.

"Mr. Ramsay, I presume, copied his statement from Mr. Gordon, and I relied upon both, as I knew that Mr. Gordon made personal enquiries into most of the events of the war, and that Mr. Ramsay was in Congress, and consequently had access to all the letters on the subject. It is surprising that they should have so readily given themselves up to the newspapers of the day.

"It was certainly our policy during the war to excite the utmost possible irritation against our enemy, and it is not surprising that we should not always have been very mindful of the verity of our publications ; but when we come to the insertion of facts in serious history, truth ought never to be disregarded. Mr. Gordon and Mr. Ramsay ought to have sought for it." * * *

This, and one dated February 15th, 1831, are printed in the History of Wyoming, but it may fitly take its place here. The earlier one, Mr. Miner notes, was in reply to one of his, after a lapse of twenty-five years, as if it had just been received, and in a note in the second edition of his "Life of Washington" Mr. Marshall states that, thanks to Mr. Miner's information he had very materially modified the story of the atrocities of the massacre."

In 1833 Mr. Miner zealously began to hunt up all available facts, in print or in manuscript, but still more by sedulous inquiry of "thirty or forty of the ancient people

who were here at the time of the expulsion." In these inquiries, for years, he was greatly aided, in his increasing deafness, by the companionship of his blind and highly intelligent daughter, Sarah, whose memory was extraordinary; as they drove about he asked questions and she stored away the answers in her mind. The first fruits of his investigations appeared in a series of papers called *The Hazleton Travellers*, published in the *Wyoming Republican and Farmers' Herald*, at Kingston, just across the river. The "Travellers" were represented as two men from Hazleton, leisurely going through Wyoming,—one familiar with all its history, the other anxious to learn it. The series appeared sporadically between 1837 and 1839; but as the material grew on his hands a more permanent use of it seemed desirable, and it finally took shape in his chief literary work. "THE HISTORY OF WYOMING, in a series of letters from Charles Miner to his son, William Penn Miner, Esq.;" Philadelphia: Published by J. Crissy, No. 4 Minor street, 1845, and in December of this year he was elected an honorary member of the Connecticut Historical Society.

The *History* was an octave volume of 594 pages, including a revised and enlarged edition of *The Hazleton Travellers*, (as far as material was not embodied in the text); a contemporary ballad of the massacre, various collateral matter, maps illustrating the Connecticut claims in Pennsylvania, and a lithographic view of the monument erected on the battlefield, for which Mr. Miner had been working for forty years,—by newspaper articles, personal appeals to the Connecticut legislature, etc., having written to Mrs. Hamilton Bowman, March 24, 1839: "The half-finished monument over those who fell at the massacre in defense of Wyoming, uninclosed, wrings my heart with anguish; the stain partly on us, principally on Connecticut." The shaft was completed, shortly before the publication of the history, by the efficient work, as a collecting committee, of the women of the region, some of them descendants of

those who had fought in the battle. Under its shadow, every third of July for many years, have been held commemorative exercises.

The *History* was published by subscription, Mr. Miner financing it. In his circular he said: "The author thinks proper to say that no pains have been spared to obtain information upon every point connected with his subject. He has flattered himself, as Wyoming has become classic ground, as innumerable errors have heretofore existed in regard to its story, and as its very interesting civil character has been scarcely touched upon, that almost every gentleman would desire for his library, in respect to it, an authentic narrative." The title-page bore the following mottoes: "Diligence and accuracy are the only merits which a historical writer may ascribe to himself." "I have carefully examined all the original materials that could illustrate the subject I had undertaken to treat."

Certainly no American book of local history was ever written with greater care in collecting and sifting original materials; and the work, while not of noteworthy literary form, has the merits of trustworthiness, interestingness, and an uncommonly logical procedure in the general plan and in the setting forth of subordinate details. It instantly supplanted the slight preceding works: Chapman's unfinished monograph and Stone's superficial "Poetry and History of Wyoming"; and it has remained the standard ever since,—being now rather hard to find in the shops of the antiquarian booksellers.

The author's original purpose, as brought clearly into his mind by the exaggerated accounts of the massacre copied by Judge Marshall, in the "Life of Washington," had been to show that, sad as the real story was, it had been magnified as a means of exciting American feeling against the British during the Revolutionary war. Again, says the preface: "Interesting as are the incidents growing out of the Revolutionary war, other matters of scarcely

less moment will claim the reader's attention. For nine years Wyoming, or Westmoreland, was under the jurisdiction of Connecticut; derived its laws from that state, and sent representatives to her assembly. For seven years civil war prevailed or raged between Wyoming and Pennsylvania. The events attendant on those unhappy conflicts demand from the historic pen a faithful record." How faithful the record, many commendations attest; of which but one may be quoted, as putting the whole into a nutshell. Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale wrote to Mr. Miner [New Haven, April 21, 1846]: "The people of the valley, the people of Connecticut, and the people of our wide country are under great obligations to you for rescuing from oblivion so many interesting facts, and arresting, while it was still possible, the traditionary stories of the surviving few."

In the comparative leisure of his life as farmer and historian, Mr. Miner delivered several occasional addresses,—for instance, at Wilkes-Barre, in 1839, on the centenary of John Wesley's birth. In a Fourth-of-July speech, the same year, on the fiftieth anniversary of constitutional government in the United States, he showed that absence from public life had not dimmed his sense of civic responsibility, or removed his opportunities of service to his fellow-citizens. Said he, in words which are still needed, three-quarters of a century after their delivery: "First, fellow-citizens, with the deepest solemnity let me say that our Federal Constitution was the result of compromise, of concession, of the yielding up not merely of prejudices and predilections, but the surrender on the part of the states of important interests and powers, for the purpose of forming the people of the United States, for all foreign and general purposes, into one nation, yielding the strength and resources of all for the protection, defense and prosperity of all. Concession and compromise, conciliation and forbearance, are inscribed on every pillar and column of the edifice.

'From turret to foundation-stone,' conciliation and compromise are blazoned all over in letters of light. Take this home to your memories and hearts. Next to their Bible and their prayers, teach this lesson to your children.'

On Washington's birthday, 1849, he gave an address on "Washington, Taylor, Cass, Van Buren, Fillmore," in which he again urged that the spirit of concession and conciliation, the parent of the Constitution and the preservative of the Union be sedulously cultivated; and, in particular, declared that "the wise of all parties should be consulted, that the distracting tariff question may be compromised to general satisfaction, and established upon a basis reasonable and permanent"—a task upon which the country is still engaged, sixty-four years after. Mr. Webster's commendation of this speech has already been quoted.

Meanwhile an occasional visitor of note came to his rural home; thus J. R. Chandler of Philadelphia (then at the height of his editorial and literary fame), having spent a little time as his guest, in 1844, wrote an article for his *United States Gazette* in which he said that Charles Miner was "the patriarch of the press"; "a part of the boast of the Valley of Wyoming;" and that his cottage seemed "more sacred than the abode of Wordsworth at Windermere." Mr. Chandler described his host's conversation as stimulating rather than didactic, and noted his gentle dignity and quiet humor.

In a letter to his granddaughter, Mrs. William Butler, of West Chester, Penn., Mr. Miner wrote, under date of September 12, 1850:

"Ten days ago I received a very high compliment—a *very distinguished honour*—two carriages drove up, with Dr. Miner in one, and the Hon. Mr. Beaumont in the other, accompanied by no less a person than the Hon. Mr. Bancroft, the eminently distinguished historian, our late minister to England. Immediately upon coming into the valley he enquired for Mr. Miner, and rode up—said he had come

to bring me the British Col. Butler's official letter, giving an account of the Battle, on the invasion of the British and Indians. It was refused by Lord Aberdeen to my friend Everett; but Mr. B. said he told Lord Palmerston he would not take *No* for an answer. To me a most welcome and important document. Wasn't it kind?"* In the Account Book he describes this kindness with many expressions of gratitude, adding: "So—I set down Saturday, the 24th of August [1850] as a bright day in the annals of my declining age. * * * And moreover within the fortnight I had received 5 documents from the Hon. Mr. Webster; and from Gen. Caleb Cushing his address at Newbury-Port July 4. And since Aug. 28 a letter from him in which he introduces to illustrate his subject the name of Mr. Bancroft."

Correspondence, however, was naturally more frequent than personal visits. Letters from many men in public life—senators, judges of the Supreme court, governors, cabinet officers, full of interesting personal or public news and discussion, cheered him in his retirement almost to the end; while requests and thanks for his aid in securing government positions were equal in duration. One of these has special interest to the Wilkes-Barré reader. It is impossible to make a 5 out of the date, but it is evident that it is to his nomination by President Polk as Justice of the United States Supreme Court, in 1845, that Judge Woodward has reference. The judiciary committee failed to confirm the nomination because of Judge Woodward's democratic views.

DEAR MR. MINER: Words are too poor to express the gratitude I feel for the generous support you have given me in this trying crisis. Should I come out of the ordeal alive, life with all its energies must be devoted to the work (alas! I fear it will be a vain endeavour) of justifying the too kind commendations of such men as Chs. Miner—Judge

*See "History of Wyoming," pages VII and 254. Unfortunately the letter cannot be found; it was the one that was "Disallowed at the Foreign Office."

Conyngnam & G. Mallery. I am humbled to the dust by such astonishing & unmerited demonstrations of confidence from such men. God forgive the errors of their too partial judgments, and reward the beneficence of their intentions. * * * I do not know that you could do more for me, unless you write to Mr. Webster who is on the Judiciary Comtee. I will not tax you with a request to do this. But I know you have the confidence of that great man, and if he could be propitiated, the whig party in the Senate would be likely to follow his lead. * * * I remain, your obliged and humble servant,

“G. W. WOODWARD.”

His old friend, Richard Rush, wrote from Sydenham, near Philadelphia, December 3, 1839: “Mr. Woodward gave me and my family the pleasure of his company out here where we live, during one of the days of his visit to Philadelphia. We talked so much of you that I cannot find it in my heart to let him return home without this line from me; so you will have to receive it, *volens volens*. One of the ancients, Anaximander, I think it was, but no matter, being asked how he would best like to have his birthday celebrated, replied: ‘Let all the boys of Athens have a holiday, when it comes round.’ Now I have learned some of *your* secrets; my kind, good, dear old friend. You beat this ancient hollow. The thirty-acre plantation, the incomparable garden, and the annual offering of fruits and flowers from ‘Charles and Letitia’ beats the old ancient all to pieces. Johnson said that the ‘Vision of Mirza’ was the most beautiful essay in the world. Wolfe declared to a brother officer, as the boats with his army were descending the St. Lawrence, that he would rather have the fame that awaited Gray’s Elegy (that poem being then fresh out) than any he could gain by successfully storming Quebec. Positively, your idea is as pretty as any of Mirza’s visions; and for my part I would rather have been the author of it than of any I ever remember just now to have

heard of in the region of chaste and beautiful and benevolent fancy. My wife and daughters and whole fireside can do nothing but talk about it. You see I speak right out, without beating the bush. * * *

"From yours, Always, Always, Always,

"RICHARD RUSH."

An extract from a letter from his nephew, Joseph W. Miner, written from Jalapa, Mexico, May 7, 184(6?), shows what an "open Sesame" the name of Charles Miner was during the Mexican war.

"Your letter to Gen. Cushing I had to leave at his room. * * * I came down with him, and he showed me every attention he could. You know he has been our Brig. Genl. at San Angel. When I was first introduced to him he asked if I was any relation to you. I told him you were my uncle, and he told me you and he had corresponded for a long time, and wished me to remember him kindly to you when I wrote. He always treated me very kindly, and made me Judge Advocate of Courts and Common Sessions, several times. When I went to Gen. Patterson before coming down he also asked me the same question, and when I gave him my answer, he said you were an old friend of his, and sent his best respects to you. Well, when I came here Col. Hughes, the Governor, asked me the same question and said he knew you when in Congress. So, you will perceive of how much benefit you are to me here without actually knowing it. * * * I must tell you of one other incident without being guilty of flattery. I was introduced to an officer of the 9th Regt. 'Are you any relation of Charles Miner who wrote the History of Wyoming?' he said to me. 'I am his nephew,' I answered. 'Well, that's enough!' as much as to imply 'if you are a nephew of the man who wrote *that* you need not aspire to anything higher. That is inheritance enough.'"

The following letter from William H. Seward shows that Mr. Miner was in touch with the newer politicians as

well as the older; and (apparently) that he was still interested in the slavery question:

“WASHINGTON, Jan. 28, 1850.

“I availed myself of a brief recess of the Senate to visit my family at Auburn; and on my return I have the pleasure of receiving your kind note of the 15th, for which I give you my thanks. I like both of the suggestions you make, and I thank you for them. You will perceive that I shall need to exercise caution in bringing them out. They are bold, and wise.

“Accept for this once, a brief reply to a letter whose kindness calls for one of generous confidence. Absence and illness have brought me far in arrear to many correspondents.

“I am with great respect,

“Your humble servant,

“WILLIAM H. SEWARD.”

This letter is endorsed “See N. Y. Tribune for Sept., 1850, for resolutions of Mr. S.” which prove to be a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, with the appropriation of \$200,000 (if necessary) for indemnity, and the proviso that unless the bill received the approval of the inhabitants within six months it should be void. It is interesting to remember that these were the same suggestions Mr. Miner made more than twenty years before; were they the “bold and wise” suggestions of this letter?

The pamphlet mentioned in the following note, October 27, 1850, from the once famous Mrs. Sigourney, a fellow-native of Norwich, was probably the Washington-Taylor speech of the year before:

“A few hours since, some one left at my door a modest looking pamphlet, to whose contents was appended your well-known and honoured name. It is scarcely necessary to write, what would be the experience of every reader (Norwich born), that it was not laid down until finished,

nor indeed without a second perusal. It is a perfect picture gallery, and as vivid as those in Carlyle's 'French Revolution.' You possess the true graphic style,—those short spirited sentences, which so few of the *literati* manage well. Moreover there is no winter in your thought, though you seem to intimate that your near approach to fourscore, is almost a Methuselah date. Now I don't think so at all."

That Mr. Miner was still a careful and constant reader is attested by the following characteristically discreet note [May 24, 1852] from the icy author of "Thanatopsis":

"It would be affectation in me to say that I am not pleased with your favorable opinion of some lines of mine lately published. Your commendation is of the sort I most highly value, since it does not seem prompted by the mere desire to say a civil thing.

"I am sir,

"Very respectfully yours,

"W. C. BRYANT."

President Fillmore, on the death of Daniel Webster [October 24, 1852], appointed Mr. Everett his successor as secretary of state; he filled the office four months, to the end of the administration. Intimately personal, and throwing new light upon the noble character of their writer, are the two following letters to Mr. Miner:

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 15, 1852.

"MY DEAR OLD FRIEND: I have yours of the 6th, and I assure you that I truly appreciate your kindness. You will readily believe that I have not come here with any expectation, at the heel of an expiring administration, of doing anything considerable; my only hope is to put the department in creditable order to be handed over to my successor, on the 4th of March. I have no expectation for the future; political advancement requires an amount of labor, not to say drudgery, in the field and on the stump, for which I have no strength or taste. I intend to devote the decline of

my life to the superintendence of the education of the children committed to my charge; to works of private duty (reckoning as the highest duty that of doing good to the utmost of our ability); and to preparation for that great 'election' which does not depend on the popular voice.

"I wish you would look in upon us this winter.

"Yours affectionately,

"EDWARD EVERETT."

"(Private)

"BOSTON, 17 July, 1855.

"My own health, greatly impaired last year, is considerably improved, though far from being robust. I am wholly retired from public life, which I have found to be a game of violence, fraud, and dupery. I do not mean that all politicians use these weapons; but so many do, that they give a character to the Career.

"Your ancient colleague and friend,

"EDWARD EVERETT."

It is interesting to note, in connection with the second letter, that considerations of the highest patriotism led Mr. Everett to accept, five years later, the vice-presidential nomination of the Constitutional Union party, the last attempt to preserve the Union on lines of Whig conservatism.

Meanwhile, the first muttering of the war-storm was sounding through the valley, and was deeply alarming the anti-slavery pioneer of 1826, who was no less the conservative patriot of 1855, the year of this letter from the life-long abolitionist, William Jay:

"BEDFORD, N. Y., Aug. 15, 1855.

"I was greatly gratified by your remembrance of me, as evinced by your letter of the 5th instant, as well as by the evidence it afforded that you continue, amid so many defections, true to the cause of human rights.

"I regard the times as portentous, threatening not the

dissolution of the Union but the destruction of those rights which render it worth preserving. The arrogance and violence of the slave power, and the meanness, servility, and corruption of northern politicians, and most especially of the so-called Democratic party, are tending to make our whole country 'a land of tyrants and a den of slaves.' The Democratic party, *as a party*, in the language of Scripture, neither fears God nor regards man. No sacrifice of northern freedom nor of the rights of humanity is, in the esteem of this party, too base and wicked to be offered in exchange for southern votes and federal office. Among the Whigs there are *individuals* as utterly profligate in these respects as Democrats; but they are exceptions, not the representatives of the moral character of the mass of the Whigs.

"The usurpations of the federal judiciary, as exhibited in the atrocities of Kane and Grier, are alarming symptoms of national degeneracy. What is to be done? You have suggested, in my opinion, the only possible remedy—a union of all opposed to the slave power, without regard to past political affinities. How far this is practicable depends upon the amount of virtue still left in our northern members of Congress. With your permission, I should like to send a copy of a portion of your letter to Mr. Seward and Senators Sumner and Wilson. Its suggestions may be useful to them. * * *

"At the present time there should be no timidity in the expression of anti-slavery sentiments. There never was a period when the words of the poet were more applicable: 'Fear, admitted into public counsels, betrays like treason.'"
* * *

When four years later, John Brown attempted to abolish slavery by the use of a dozen rifles, the old-time abolitionist of over thirty years before wrote to Eli K. Price of Philadelphia in no uncertain words:

“RETREAT, December 18, 1859.

“Here over the mountains, in Luzerne, we have 10,000 voters. I do not believe there is *one*—I never heard of one—so wicked and foolish as to wish the Union to fall. Several years ago, when Chester Butler was our representative and the so often recurring war-cry of dissolution was raised, I was *frightened*—absolutely *scared*, and I wrote to him: ‘The cry of Disunion sounds like the rattling terrors of the vengeful snake. And for Heaven’s sake put it down at any sacrifice.’ The present threat has not alarmed me the least. The act of violence and treason of old Crazy Brown has alarmed and distressed me. I said at once: ‘The man is crazy.’ The means were so totally and palpably inadequate to the proposed end; they showed as complete an aberration of the reasoning faculty as the simpleton that should attempt to upset the Blue Mountains with a straw * * * nor have I any notion of sympathy with old Brown, Cook, or any of the gang. I said at once: ‘Nonsense of his *sincerity*.’ I have no idea of a fellow going in to a community, scattering firebrands, arrows, and death, firing a magazine or stirring up a servile war, and crying: ‘I am a philanthropist! I go by the Bible!’”

Always a steadfast opponent of slavery, but unable to follow the impracticabilities of Garrison, John Brown, and other advocates of “immediate, unconditional emancipation on the soil,” Mr. Miner by lifelong conviction, study, and political experience, favored methods of emancipation which ranked him, as has been seen, with those who were called “conservative opponents of slavery.” But his moral detestation of the “institution,” and abhorrence of the tactics adopted by its extreme supporters, were as deep as theirs. A manuscript book of miscellaneous notes, entitled *Slavery or Freedom*, and dated May 30, 1854, leaves no uncertain effect in its stinging sentences, such as these:

“‘Your first duty,’ said the emperor Napoleon, ‘is to me! I am the state!’ ‘Your first duty,’ says the imperial

phantom of slavery to its vassals, 'is to me! I am the state!'"

"The Missouri Compromise is repealed. I fear it will be a fatal blow to the Union."

"Shall the free states cry 'Craven,' swallow the leek, and receive the brand?"

"Has Gen. Gage arrived at Boston?"

"Is Lord North reinstated in the ministry?"

"Is Bunker Hill blown up?"

"Is Lexington laid desolate, and a lake of oblivion spread over her?"

"Has the Declaration of Independence been burnt by the hands of the common hangman?"

"Are the shackles forged?"

"Are the sons of the Pilgrim Fathers learning their new creed: 'We believe our foolish fathers were mistaken in supposing their mission was to establish religion and freedom; modern light has taught us it was to extend the blessed area of human slavery?'"

Looking back, after just a quarter of a century, on his congressional speech of 1829 concerning slavery in the District of Columbia, Mr. Miner found little gain; for, in these notes, he sarcastically inquires: "As Maryland and Virginia, with the District of Columbia, pertinaciously insist on retaining slavery at the seat of government,—of no use to them and so obnoxious to the free states,—would it not be polite to let Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the other slave states vote what appropriations they may deem proper for the use of the District?" Elsewhere in the notes, he suggests the advisability of moving the Capital farther west.

Again: "Will the legislatures of the free states firmly decline, out of self-respect, to send, or desire the presentation of, wishes or resolves to this Congress?"

"Do not the free states stand much in the attitude the colonies occupied at the beginning of the Revolution, in

respect to petitions to the king and Lord North's administration? Have not the humble requests of both been equally treated with contempt, or disregarded?"

In 1856 he had published a thirty-five page pamphlet entitled "The Olive Branch; or, The Evil and the Remedy." It was composed of a Fourth of July address delivered in West Chester in 1821, with later additions, not very felicitously put together; but its sincerity of conviction appears on every page, while the ability of the older portion, at least, is attested by the fact that Chief Justice Marshall, at the time of its appearance, caused its republication in a Richmond paper. Mr. Miner's "remedy" for the evil of slavery which he held to be recognized by the Constitution, was the appropriation of \$100,000,000 by the general government for the gradual emancipation of slaves in the border states of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Arkansas, "this money to be apportioned among the states named, or either of them, which shall pass laws in the nature of irrevocable contracts with the Federal Government that no person born on or after July 4th, 1876, shall be a slave; and that after that day slavery shall cease to exist within the limits of the same."

As for the other slave states, "slavery confined to those states whose productions of cotton, rice, and sugar are supposed to require their [slaves'] labor, all danger to them from within or without would cease, and the utmost degree of prosperity they are capable of would ensue." The uncharacteristic weakness of this position is seen at a glance; for the rest, he urged that the government place a number of large steamers at the disposal of the Colonization Society, "the healthful highlands of Africa should be explored and purchased; the colored race be aided *home*, encouraged, defended; * * * civilization, knowledge, Christianity, would go in their train; and that fine country, so susceptible of improvement, so long a Paradise Lost, would, under Providence, by our and their instrumentality, become a Paradise Regained."

If all this, viewed sixty years after, seems sufficiently fatuous, let us remember that we too, in the early years of the twentieth century, are coming more and more to see that war is likely to be more foolish than peace; and that it is by no means impossible that certain parts of middle Africa will soon rival the extraordinary wealth of South Africa, nearly all of which has been developed since Charles Miner's day.

One little sign is all that remains to show that Mr. Miner, when the war had actually come, retained his old habit of frank suggestion or judicial commendation, in his correspondence with men in public life; and that suggestion and commendation were equally valued by their recipients. It is a short note from Gideon Welles, then secretary of the navy under Lincoln, to William A. Buckingham, the "war governor" of Connecticut:

"WASHINGTON, 24th April, 1862.

"I am very much gratified with the complimentary remarks of the Hon. Charles Miner, which you were so kind as to communicate in your letter of the 18th instant. The character of Mr. Miner is well known to me, and I have had some slight personal acquaintance with him in former years, dating back to the period when he edited the *Village Record* and was a representative for the double or triple district of Lancaster, Chester, and Delaware, with James Buchanan. His great experience and accurate and discriminating observations make his commendation able indeed, and I appreciate it most fully."

But the hurly-burly of politics was not the only thing that occupied his mind in his old age. As so often before, he turned a prophet's vision to the practical needs of the country. To Congressman Hendrick B. Wright he wrote, March 22, 1854:

"My old eyes only catch glimpses of what is going on in the world, so that I almost belong to the party of 'know-nothings'; but I think sometimes, if I had a seat there,

and possessed your powerful elocution, I would carefully prepare a speech of an hour; arouse the attention of the House from the seeming waste of time to the national, all-important matter: The Rail Road to the Pacific—indispensable in peace or war, for commerce or defence, for settlement and civilization of the vast world of the west.”

There are to-day [1915] eight railroads from ocean to ocean.

Looking back on his own life when past the *mezzo cammin* of Dante, Charles Miner estimated its success and failure with the impartiality of an outsider. A stray leaf from a “Common Place Book” dated November 1, 1843, preserves some thoughts suggested by reading Boswell’s Life of Johnson, of which one is specially interesting: “I do think Boswell’s character of Goldsmith’s mind is a just representation of my own: ‘His mind resembled a fertile but thin soil. There was a quick but not a strong vegetation, of whatever chanced to be thrown upon it. The oak of the forest did not grow there, but (rather exaggerated) the elegant shrubbery and the fragrant parterres appeared in gay succession.’” In 1844 he began his autobiography by these dispassionate words:

“Tuesday, May 7, 1844.—Commenced this sketch of my life. Checkered it certainly has been, as whose is not; vicissitudes common to all I have experienced, and yet in no remarkable degree. Joy and sorrow, prosperity and adversity have mingled in my cup, but not in excessive proportions. On the whole, my voyage down the stream of life has been comparatively smooth, and happier than falls to the common lot. At the age of sixty-four I look back not on disappointment, the scene filled with regrets and tinged with melancholy, but many a sunny hour springs to recollection, and the retrospect is, in the main, cheerful and satisfactory.”

“Vain would be the attempt to make myself out,” says a later passage, “a great man. My true position I well understand—respectable for talents and character, in the

middle rank of life. Had my early schooling been better, especially had I received the training, the mental discipline, of a collegiate and professional education, so as to have given solidity, self-possession, and polish to the talents nature had endowed me with, I might have made my way several steps ahead in public life. * * * To the character of philanthropist and clever fellow, anxious to promote the best interests of his fellow-men, I assert a just claim. Imprisonment for debt, now throughout the United States almost universally repudiated and condemned, was, when I was a young man, and had previously been, not only the law of the land but almost unquestioned as a moral code or Christian regulation. In 1806 I published a column of rhyme [on the subject]. If this and some other efforts to abolish that barbarous custom had some slight effect towards accomplishing the benign object, so far I should not have lived in vain:"

"Where Susquehanna journeying to the main,
Wyoming's fertile fields divide in twain,
Lies a small village, little known to fame,
From Wilkes and Barre that derives its name.
* * * * *

"A little onward, rising to the view,
A public mansion's seen, of stone, and new;
As you approach the gates of iron tell
Its awful name 'the sons of sorrows cell';
So the harsh creditor for sordid pelf,
Tears the fond husband from his dearer self.
* * * * *

"Relentless lure his fellow man confines,
Who robbed of every joy in sorrow pines."

He urges the "Sons of Freedom" who fought for national liberty to

" * * * take the name of tyrants, or no more
Punish a fellow man *for being poor.*"

—*Luzerne Federalist*, May 9th, 1806.

No less ardent but in much better literary style, is a prose plea on the same subject in one of the John Harwood papers, in the *Village Record* for June 16, 1819: "If a man steal your horse how is he punished? By imprisonment. If a man governed by the passions of a demon, sets fire to your house, how do your laws punish him? By imprisonment. And if a man perfectly innocent, by the change of times and fluctuations of trade be reduced to poverty—what is his punishment? IMPRISONMENT! Imprisonment for debt and imprisonment for crime confounds all distinctions and violates, I conceive, the soundest principles of policy and justice."

No part of the encomium passed upon him, after his death, by the veteran journalist, John W. Forney, of Philadelphia, would have pleased Mr. Miner so much as the last: "Charles Miner was a model journalist and statesman, the father of a school of sound thinkers, and the most practical philanthropist of his time."

This philanthropy, like Abraham Lincoln's, was based upon a deep inner conviction rather than glib external protestation. In his religious belief he sympathized with the Presbyterian church, but was never a member of it. No more satisfactory summary of his views could be asked than that given in a letter to his lifelong friend, Eli K. Price, of Philadelphia: "I am deeply interested in the vast and sublime theme of our immortal nature. I cordially agree with you, if there be not a life immortal, and the great doctrines of Christianity be not true, then is life without fruits and creation purposeless."

In his old age at the "Retreat" as he called his Wyoming home (the word not suggesting to his mind its later associations), he lived a long, simple, happy, helpful life with nature, his friends, his books and his memories, but with gradually decaying powers. Long before, in a letter to his wife, he had spoken of himself as "the little grayhaired fellow who takes your arm to feed the chickens," apparently

not fearing the too prophetic warning of a candid friend who wrote to him: "Don't let your mind rust out with the pigs and the chickens." The "cot beneath the Sycamore" was not only a gathering place for a large number of relatives and friends, but, as has been seen, a place of pious pilgrimage.

Sometimes a simple anecdote is a true revealer of character, and a number of these, as they have arisen in the minds of his descendants and others, may form a fitting close for this sketch. His daughter Ellen's memories have been often quoted. She used to say that his sincerity led to very definite views with regard to the personal apparel of his wife and daughters. Several times in his letters from Washington, he expressed disapproval of women flaunting ostrich plumes on their heads; he did not want them to use any kind of perfumery, and disliked very much, to have them wear an old afternoon dress for their morning work. A lady, he said, was much more a lady in a simple print frock for the morning. All of which suggests Ruskin's teaching, later, that to be sincere in character, from the inside out, one must also be sincere in dress.

Often he would go out to see the sun rise and quote:

"Night's candles are burnt out, and jocund day
Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops."

To the end of his life his favorite supper was the mush and milk of his early days by the Wyalusing; but after this simple meal he used to like to sit at the table and talk, says his grand-daughter, Emily R. Miner, who took the chief care of him in his very last days, until he would exclaim: "Em wants to clear up and make it ship-shape and bristol fashion."

Several stories have been told to Mrs. Oliver by the daughter of a woman who used to work in Mr. Miner's family; though not of himself, one that he would like to have recorded, is, that when the maid was terrified at a

thunder-storm, his blind daughter, Sarah, said she was "glad to worship a God who made such a beautiful sound"!

"One day some one came to borrow their brass preserving kettle and for some reason they could not have it, so Grand-father went to town, bought one, and took it to them, only telling them to bring it back when through with it, so he could have it to lend to the next one. Grand-mother was puzzled at the mysteriously rapid disappearance of little cakes she made, till she found he would fill his pockets, and go out to 'make the children happy.'" Mrs. Oliver adds: "The only thing I remember worth telling of Grand-father is this: I was sitting on his lap eating an apple and threw the core into the fire, and he said, 'My child, never throw anything in the fire that any living creature can eat.'"

Through the memory of Miss Simpson, Mrs. Thomas' loving companion and nurse for many years, comes another story of the habitual generosity of the family. After one of the good Christmas dinners such as are recorded in the account book, Mr. Miner said to his wife: "Letitia, I feel as if we ought to go see Granny Worden, and take her something." So they told Jacob to hitch the horse to the sleigh, packed a basket of good things such as they had been having for dinner, and drove to the house at the edge of a wood, to find that the daughter had said: "Mother, we ain't got a maouthful of food in the house." To which "Granny" had replied: "Don't worry, daughter, the Lord will provide." The next morning Mr. Miner sent them potatoes, a barrel of flour and a load of coal.

Here and there are recalled incidents showing his sympathy for his fellow creatures, other than human, to which must be added the memory that one severe winter he devoted a room in the house to the birds, carefully feeding those that sought refuge there.

A vivid personal memory of his grand-daughter, Mrs. W. M. F. Round, is of his sitting by a window, in his big

chair, telling her of the loveliness and beauty of her grandmother. He would ask for her picture from a drawer near by, would look at it, kiss it tenderly, and then have her put it carefully back; while his grandson, Isaac M. Thomas, remembers his grace of manner, not only to his friends, but that on meeting an old Irish woman on the street he would doff his hat with a courtly sweep and the Irish greeting: "Goidé mar tá tú"—"God be with you."

It has been said of him that he had a poetical quotation ready to fit every occasion, and from his daughter Mary's daughter, Mrs. James McKeen, comes a group of memories illustrating this habit: "My recollection of our Grandfather is of a dignified yet gracious personality. He always greeted us children with some playful remark, often some quotation from his loved poets *apropos* to our occupation or personal condition.

"I was playing chess with a young man whose visits did not wholly please my grandfather, and the evening having advanced to the seemly hour of nine, he entered the room, and with a courteous gesture of salutation began:

'Too late I stayed—forgive the crime!
Unheeded flew the hours:
How noiseless falls the foot of Time
That only treads on flowers.'

"It is needless to add the young man quickly retired. Grandfather liked to take a nap in the evening by the big blazing grate fire. One evening he suddenly awakened, and probably had dreamed some vivid dream, for he plumped his chair sharply on the floor and looking round began:

'For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing anxious being e'er resigned,
Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
Nor cast one longing lingering look behind?'

Mrs. McKeen also says: "He told me of Mrs. Sigourney and how he had jumped the broomstick with her when they

were boy and girl together [in Norwich]. His children and grandchildren dearly loved him, and with a love and pride which, as I now look back upon it, after sixty years, seems to me exceedingly rare among the children of men."

Another picture of his personality in his last years as given in a letter by his granddaughter, Mrs. William H. Sturdevant [July 21, 1913] to another granddaughter, Mrs. Charles F. Richardson, is so vivid that it must be quoted entire, even if repeating a little:

"I well remember the stately and dignified presence of Grandfather Miner, and how we children felt that he was one to be treated with great respect and consideration. I don't know what his height was, but to me he looked quite tall and handsome, with a beautiful white curl lying on his shoulder. Mother grew to look like him, and [Charles F. Richardson] is much the same style of man, more so than any of his grandsons.

"He was very much interested in our education—that we should form right literary habits. He encouraged us to learn poetry by heart, and rewarded us with the gift of a new dress for learning Gray's *Elegy*. I was to learn it all because I was oldest, the rest of you a few verses according to your years; you being a little thing, had probably only two or three.

"He used to write formal letters of invitation for me to dine with him. He was given to making complimentary speeches to the ladies; I remember some one saying: 'Girls, here comes Mr. Miner; now we'll all hear how pretty we are.'

"He was a very early riser; by four or five o'clock on a winter morning he might be found reading or writing by a glowing coal fire in a big grate, Aunt Sarah beside him. He read aloud to her whatever he wrote or whatever he was reading for himself; and you remember it was said that as he drove about the valley visiting the survivors of the massacre to get his information for the history, she went

with him to hear for him and retail to him what he wanted of their long stories. You know he called the home where he spent his last years 'Retreat'; I suppose because he had retired from the world and its business and imagined himself to be a farmer. He had chairs carried out to the field; took Aunt Sarah with him; and they sat together husking corn, and talking, I suppose of the history and literature of past ages.

"He was often spoken of as a man a hundred years ahead of his time, [and less politely as 'crazy Charles Miner'] for he was full of ideas as to the future of the valley, and sometimes prophesied respecting the developments that might be expected. You remember how beautiful the junction of Mill Creek and Laurel Run used to be—almost like a lake? He did not doubt but that some day there might be boats upon the water; and shortly after his death a boat appeared there—a canal boat; indeed it lay there as his funeral crossed the bridge. * * *

"[Now] I must tell you about his geese. I don't believe you remember them, for he had geese and taught them to dance for their food while he whistled the horn-pipe; I don't know how he managed to teach them, but I know he was above the use of hot plates. [Mrs. Richardson remembers being told that once he was surprised and grieved to find his pet goose dancing idiotically until it dropped dead, having eaten pumpkin seeds that had been spread to dry, and had fermented.]

"One morning when mother was very young, she and Aunt Sarah were up unusually early. Mother went wild over a rain of stars. Of course Aunt Sarah could not see that it was anything extraordinary, and thought it was only that mother was not accustomed to the early morning sky, so she did not tell Grandfather the sky was falling, and his distress was great, when the reports began to reach him from the astronomical world, to think how narrowly he had missed the wonderful sight.

“He enjoyed having his friends about him, and entertained liberally and graciously. Sally Slabach came to make mince pies and apple-butter, and to roast turkeys, and all that belonged to that rite, preparing for a family Thanksgiving dinner; he watched actively to be sure all were well served and appreciated the good things, but he ate sparingly, perhaps pouring a glass of wine for a friend and setting his own glass in the corner cupboard, where it remained undisturbed, which was as near as he came to obeying Dr. Miner’s injunction: ‘Now, Uncle Charles, you must drink wine to keep up your strength,’ and you know mother said he braved the indignation of his friends, while they were living in West Chester, by being one of the first to take liquor off of his sideboard. In the days that I remember he was the only important member of the family, called upon by all important strangers and home people, of course. I never in later years saw Judge Conyngham’s daughter, Mrs. Parrish, when praise of him was not the principal topic of her conversation—his dignity, graciousness of manner, and handsome face and figure were never forgotten.

“Do you remember the pretty note Judge Conyngham wrote asking permission to name his little son for Grandfather?

“‘There *is* something in a name,’ he wrote, ‘and as yet my little infant has none—I want him to have one which may be to him an example of good, one of which he may hereafter be proud and which at the same time may gratify the friendship of his parents—May we call him ‘Charles Miner’? I trust he will never disgrace it.

‘truly yr friend

‘JOHN N. CONYNGHAM

“Monday 27th July.’

“I often wished that mother and Aunt Sarah had had a habit of talking more about their father, Charles, and mother, Letitia. Mrs. Wright and Mrs. Beaumont told me

the most I ever heard about grandmother, her sweet voice, beauty, and literary taste.

"I suppose I ought to remember more clearly than I do about Grandfather; we lived in his house from the time Nellie was three months old till about your birthday. "He called grandmother 'Lete' and her name is mine."

[To the above letter of Judge Conyngham, Mr. Miner thus replied:]

Hon. John N. Conyngham,

My Dear Friend,

Your kind note of the 27th slept in my Brother's pocket till 3 this afternoon.

I cannot express to you the pride and pleasure the proposition to name your son after me, awakened in my breast. To obtain the favorable opinion of the wise and good has been with me one of the strongest incentives to action through life, and a manifestation of it, more flattering and agreeable could not have taken place.

But, with my prayers for, and my Blessings on, the boy, let me beg of you, while you call him Charles, that, for the middle name you substitute another than mine. The early loss of a lovely child named fully after me, by my excellent friends John and Sybilla Townsend, leads me tremblingly to fear, where I should dearly love, and causes the judgment to disapprove the earnest wish.

With the truest esteem

Your obliged friend

(signed) CHARLES MINER.

July 29th, 1840.

Leaving a request that his body be buried in the old graveyard, where "the mould was soft and pleasant," and he would be "surrounded by old friends," Charles Miner died at his home October 26, 1865. Here he was laid, but on the abandonment of the burying ground he was moved to the cemetery by the river, where he lies at the top of the hill, his grave being marked, according to his expressed wish, by

a monument of native stone. His health had long been feeble ; indeed, as far back as 1845, he had professed his inability to walk without great pain in a masonic funeral ; and the expression used by him in his letter seems to indicate that the weakness was not temporary. In 1855 he declared himself "too deaf to hear his friends without exertion by them in loud speaking." But to the last he was the punctilious gentleman described by his granddaughter, of singular benignity and courtesy of manners ; a kindly, suggestive, but not strenuous or egotistic talker ; and one who radiated an atmosphere of winning friendship. Hon. Eli K. Price wrote to Mr. Miner's daughter, Ellen, November 10, 1878 : "They cannot know, who never saw him, the perfection of his genial nature, his bland courtesy, his kindly politeness and amenity, that sprang from his loving heart. From what they may read they can judge he had a cultivated intellect, a most refined taste, and the fine imagination of the poet, but all the results of superior natural gifts."

In a commemorative address Mr. Price wrote : "I am reminded by a quotation made in one of his letters written many years ago, that he acted through life with a view unto the end : 'Oh, that the winding up may be well.' Seldom do we look upon one so good and perfect in character as was he of whom we now write. We rejoice that he completed so perfect an example for his fellowmen."

Of the other tributes one only may be added :

"He was easy and winning in manners ; scrupulously neat and precise in his dress, (and always a flower in his buttonhole, if he could find nothing but a hollyhock), courteous in demeanor to all who approached him ; open and generous with his purse, even to his own detriment ; and a lover of all those noble qualities which help to make up the true and honest man. In conversation he was peculiarly agreeable—no tongue more eloquent than his, so smooth in compliment, so polished its language ; and it is doubtful if

anyone ever left his presence without a feeling of self satisfaction and of pleasure for the interview. He never lost a friend—at least not by fault of his own. All who knew him intimately loved him dearly." E. Bowman Miner in *Record of the Times*, Nov. 8, 1865.

One Sunday, as late as 1885, attracted by his charming personality, and fine sermon, Mrs. Oliver, then living in New Jersey, invited a visiting clergyman, Mr. Edwin Reinhart, home to dinner. On returning to the room after a moment's absence she found him standing before her grandfather's picture with the tears streaming down his cheeks. "Mrs. Oliver," he said, "did you mean to spring it on me?" Bewildered, she said: "Spring what"? "Did you *mean* to spring it on me? Why Charles Miner was almost my best friend; his brother, Asher, *was* my best friend." Then he told her of having worked in their office, and of its having been Asher's influence that turned him to the ministry.

Very recently the daughter of an old friend has spoken of her vivid memory of the beautiful picture Charles Miner made when walking immediately behind the hearse of a venerable associate, his hat in his hand and his white hair floating in the breeze. Once seen, he was seldom forgotten. Even in his dress he suggested, by his ruffled shirt front and white cravat, the "gentleman of the old school"; and all who knew him, in old age, bear uniform testimony to the almost unique impression left by the snowy head, aquiline nose, eye undimmed by age, and kindly ways of him who, having begun life as a pioneer, ended it as a sage.

THE END.

Referring back to page 155, where Mr. William Rawle, in his letter of January 14, 1829, expresses the hope that Mr. Miner's efforts to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia would not be lost sight of", the biographer adds:

This hope of Mr. Rawle's has hardly been fulfilled; many writers of the history of his time in congress ignoring Mr. Miner entirely; this is true even of some who have devoted themselves to the study of the anti-slavery movement. Indeed it is rather hard to avoid the feeling that fate has worked against his due recognition. Misprints, wrong dates, omissions in indices and in congressional reports, etc., pursue him. In a large public library the small matter of the date of his birth was wrong until a short time ago; the date on one of the volumes of the Journal of the House accessible to the present writer was insufficient, and a wrong date in the text of that volume combined with omissions in the official reports to cause a long, laborious search through unofficial papers for facts that should have been easily at the trained student's disposal. Of a dozen cyclopedias examined only one gives a satisfactory sketch, and there is a slip in it. Even the accurate Bartlett, in his "Familiar Quotations," at first accredited "An Axe to Grind," to Benjamin Franklin. In the index of an unalphabetized biographical dictionary his name appears, but the pagination is wrong, and the item unfindable. Inaccuracy and omissions in the index of John Quincy Adams' Diary required a hunt to find several pleasant allusions, some of which are quoted.

Also, in his account of the "five ark-loads" of anthracite coal starting from Mauch Chunk, McMaster makes no mention of the senders, but tells the story of the man who slammed the stove door only to come back to a red-hot fire a little differently from the form family tradition has kept it for this memoir—perhaps his is the more accurate version of this trivial point.

The feeling of the House, too, that made it so difficult

for one of Mr. Miner's genial nature to persist, year by year in his self imposed task, has not been understood. A. B. Hart, editor of and writer for the *American Nation*, says: "Till 1830 there seems to have been no notion that slavery was a question which must not be discussed in congress." (Vol. 16, P. 164), while Von Holst says: "It was not until the next session, when Heister of Pennsylvania (Feb. 4, 1833), handed in a petition of the same tenor [as that of Mr. Miner in 1828], that the *first* traces of disquietude on the part of the south over this agitation showed themselves." Mason, of Virginia, said that "thus a course had been entered upon the end of which would be the abolition of slavery in the United States" (Vol. 2, P. 236), which was exactly what Charles Miner hoped for when he offered his first resolution on May 13th, 1826.

Again, as to leadership in the movement, James Freeman Clarke, *Anti-Slavery Days*, P. 40, says: "Passing over these preliminary skirmishes [of Josiah Quincy and Tristram Burgess of Rhode Island 1825-35] we come down to 1835, when the real battle commenced on the floor of congress. * * * Then came to the front a man—John Quincy Adams." While John T. Morse, in his *Life of John Quincy Adams in the American Statesman series*, P. 190, says: "It is possible now to see plainly that Mr. Adams was really the leader in the long crusade against slavery."

Forgetting all the work by the opposers of slavery from its beginning it is common to read, in many histories, in varied words, the statement even the careful Rhodes puts into this form: "While this controversy was going on, William Lloyd Garrison began the abolition movement by the establishment of the *Liberator* at Boston, January 1st, 1831."

If limited by some such qualifying phrase as "extreme radical" movement, or by Von Holst's careful distinction that the early anti-slavery societies were humanitarian,

while the abolition movement was political, this is true, or would be if it were not for the quaker, Lundy.

Returning to the question of the recognition of Mr. Miner's work on the floor of the house, we find that with one exception the historians ignore the resolutions of the first two years, while several mention the petition of 1828, and the resolutions of 1829.

Henry Wilson's "*Slave Power in America*," has already been quoted in the text. A. B. Hart, in *The American Nation*, says (Vol. 16, P. 165): "The abolitionists opened up a good point of attack against slavery in the District of Columbia. About 1828, Miner of Pennsylvania made himself the leader of the movement, introducing petitions and bills for the gradual emancipation in the District."

W. O. Blake in his "*History of Slavery and the Slave Trade*," summarizes the 1828 petition signed by 1000 residents of the District (House Document 215), adding "A stronger anti-slavery document has not in later years been presented to congress; nor did it receive any more efficient action than similar petitions have since received."

Von Holst quotes this petition in a note, and says "Here (District of Columbia) slavery could be abolished by law at any moment [some still honestly thought it could not]. Therefore not only the abolitionists but also more moderate opponents of slavery were convinced it should be done without delay. The matter was frequently agitated in congress. On the 6th of January, 1829, Miner of Pennsylvania moved the appointment of a committee which was, among other things, to 'inquire into the expediency of providing by law for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District.' The House rejected the cutting arguments advanced in favor of the motion." (*History of the United States, Vol. 2, P. 235.*)

But it remained for McMaster to trace each step, and do Mr. Miner full justice. He says: "Petitions were presented from time to time praying for the abolition of slavery in the District, but it was not till Charles Miner of

Pennsylvania became a member, that the existence of slavery and the slave trade was attacked in serious earnest by the introduction of resolutions which the House refused to consider. The attention which Mr. Miner could not secure in May [May 13, 1826, when it will be remembered he was refused a hearing amid great excitement] was readily secured in December [1826] at the beginning of the second session of the 19th congress."

Again, first session of the 20th congress, 1828: "One of the petitions [which Mr. Miner prepared, as has been seen,] bore the signatures of 1000 inhabitants of the District, but neither the number of signatures, nor the number of petitions, nor the sources from whence they came availed anything. The House went through the decent form of referring them to the committee for the District. The committee reported a bill that was not considered, and the petitioners, nothing discouraged, besieged the 20th congress during its second session, with the same energy with which they beset the first. The cause, moreover, again found a champion in Mr. Miner, who forced the House to action by resolutions of his own. An effort was made to strike out the preamble, member after member declared he was willing to vote for the enquiry, but had never heard of many of the allegations. Mr. Miner therefore proceeded to prove them."

McMaster then gives a full summary of this 1829 preamble and series of resolutions and speech, so similar to the one in this sketch as to suggest to the reader that one was taken from the other, instead of both being from the original. McMaster adds: "The House instructed the committee to make the proposed enquiry, which proved as fruitless as any that had gone before. The committee replied 'that this constant agitation must sooner or later be productive of serious mischief, if not danger to the peace and harmony of the Union and was greatly to be regretted. False hopes of liberty were held out to the slaves, exciting

them to insubordination, and creating a restlessness for emancipation incompatible with the existing state of the country. It upheld housing slaves of dealers in public prisons. * * * Abolition of the slave trade was most impolitic. It was best to let the matter rest.'” But “a few evils resulting from the quartering of large numbers of slaves in the city for a long time did need correction, and this was provided for in a bill which died in committee of the whole.”

It hardly seems as if the work could be called “fruitless” that caused one reluctant committee to bring in a bill repealing the objectionable laws of the District, and another to offer such a frightened retort. Rather, to revert to Mr. Rawle’s mixed figures, it seems as if Mr. Miner had cause to feel satisfied with the effect of his “entering wedge,” his “foundation.” Even though “nothing effectual” was done that session and slavery was not abolished in the District of Columbia until 1862 (when 3000 slaves were freed at the price of \$300 a piece) who shall say how much they helped to produce the “serious mischief” of later years?

CHARLES MINER'S FAMILY.

Charles Miner, born at Norwich, Conn., Feb. 1, 1780; died at Plains Township, Pa., Oct. 26, 1865.

Letitia Wright, born at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., June 8, 1788; married Charles Miner, Jan. 16, 1804; died at Plains Township, Pa., Feb. 27, 1852.

CHILDREN :

Ann Charlton, born at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., Oct. 24, 1804; married Dr. Isaac Thomas, of West Chester, Pa.; died at West Chester, Pa., Mar. 23, 1832.

Sarah Kirkbride, born at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., June 4, 1806; died at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., Jan. 14, 1874.

Mary Sinton, born at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., July 16, 1808; married Joseph Jackson Lewis, of West Chester, Pa., died at West Chester, Pa., Oct. 27, 1860.

Charlotte, born at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., June 30, 1810; married Stephen Fuller Abbott, of Plains Township, Pa.; died at Plains Township, Pa., July 28, 1859.

Letitia Wright, born at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., 1812; died at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., Aug. 14, 1813.

Ellen Elizabeth, born at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., Aug. 14, 1814; married Jesse Thomas, of West Chester, Pa.; died at Laurel Run, Pa., Mar. 25, 1913, in her 99th year.

William Penn, born at Wilkes-Barré, Pa., Sept. 8, 1816; married Elizabeth Dewart Liggett, of West Chester, Pa.; died at Miner's Mills (formerly Plains Township), Pa., April 3, 1892.

Francis Cope, born at West Chester, Pa., May 12, 1818; died at West Chester, Pa., Sept. 6, 1820.

Emily Hollenback, born at West Chester, Pa., Aug. 12, 1821; died at West Chester, Pa., Aug. 27, 1822.

Charles Townsend, born at West Chester, Pa., Dec. 19, 1823; died at West Chester, Pa., Feb. 23, 1824.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF CHARLES MINER
AND LETITIA WRIGHT.

This is to certify that on the sixteenth day of January A. D. one thousand eight hundred and four Before me William Rofs one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of Luzerne—Charles Miner and Letitia Wright of Wilkesbarre Having the consent of friends and no objection appearing were Legally joined in marriage—In Witnefs whereof the said Charles and Letitia (she assuming the name of her said Husband) as I the said William Ross, and other the Witnefses Present, have hereunto subscribed our names the day and year aforesaid

CHARLES MINER
LETITIA MINER

W ^m . Rofs	
Josephine Wright	
Sarah Wright	Ezekiel Hyde
Jesse Fell	Thomas Welles
Thomas Wright	John Robinson
Hannah Fell	Isaac Bowman
Nancy Miner	Jon ^a . Balkeley
Asher Miner	Laura Anibal
Mary Miner	Charlotte Schott
Will ^m Wright	Hanna Wright
Sarah Ann Wright	Mary Gordon
Josiah Wright (Seal)	Jane Ely—
Nathan Palmer	Harriott Welles
Rufha Palmer	Nancy Butler
William Caldwell	Eliza Nafs
Jane Caldwell	Ben. Perry
Sidney Tracy	Mary Perry
Edwin Tracy	Mary Nelson
Steuben Butler	Sarah Ingham
John Twiesdale	Sally Ann Wright
Sally Wright	Annamaria Miner

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTEREST IN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

BY THOMAS LYNCH MONTGOMERY, LIT.T. D.
State Librarian of Pennsylvania.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
DECEMBER 11, 1914.

Your former fellow-townsmen, Rev. Edward G. Fullerton, and I sat at the feet of a learned scholar and an inspired teacher, Robert Ellis Thompson.

It was his custom to ask the unwary Freshman, "What, sir, is the title of this book?" The young scholar had not thought of the title of the book, and had probably been very much distressed because he had to examine in a cursory way the first six or seven pages of its text. After a certain amount of halting the good Professor would then tell him the title of the book, and make him define each word in that title. This has become an academic habit with me, and when your Librarian, Mr. Hayden, requested me to speak upon "Historical Societies", I naturally turned to the dictionary. Why not? Does not the dictionary say of itself: "Dictionary. A book containing either all or the principal words of a language or words of one or more specified classes arranged in a stated order, usually alphabetical, with definitions or explanations of their meanings and other information concerning them, expressed either in the same or in another language!" Why not begin a dissertation upon Historical Societies by realizing what history means; but, if you do consult the dictionary you will find a full column of varied definitions, which leaves you in a state of uncertainty as to whether history is or is not an exact science. The only thing uplifting about the entry is: "History, verb, transitive to record; to relate," and then the quotation, "Keep no tell tale to his memory that may repeat and history his loss". (Shakespeare, Henry IV.)

Since the time of Heroditus people have been defining what history really is. Thucydides remarked: "Perhaps the lack of wonderful stories in my work will make it less pleasing to my readers, but it will be enough for me if it proves to be useful to those who want to have a clear knowledge of the past and thereby of that we judge, according to the course of human events, will happen again. Polybius, too, ventures: "It is not enough merely to describe the course of events one must seek to understand the why and wherefore of them in order to draw instruction therefrom." "There is a work in eight volumes," remarks Professor Cheyney, "in the University Library, with the title 'The History of England on Christian Principles'. This bias in the direction of instructing along certain lines by means of history is apparent in Macauley, who is a devotee of the Whig party, and is teaching its doctrines. Froude uses his history of England to exploit the evils of the Roman Catholic Church and to discredit Anglican Clericalism. Bancroft writes his history in such a way that Americans should think well of their country, just as Gilbert Stuart painted Washington in such a way that Americans should feel an admiration for the 'Father of his country.' Patriotic sentiment is not wanting in this class of writing. Green's history of the English people is permeated by a gentle and sincere patriotism."

The modern scholar's conception of history is to so approach the past of the human race as a geologist might study the physical formation of the country, its strata and its fossils; and to endeavor to understand, and then to describe the conditions they indicate. Just as a student of any branch of knowledge approaches his subject, so the historian may approach the past of the human race, study what mankind has done and said and thought and strive to explain it. He can look upon his subject as simply a body of facts, not with a view of praising or blaming any one but

simply take human history as his object of study. Such historians in our own time and in our own State were Henry C. Lee and John Bach McMaster. Certainly, in these days the historian need not be an apologist in his own field, although I lately heard the President of a college remark that he had been so busy with the present and the future that he had never had time to study the past. He did not explain, however, how he had secured his prospective. Coming more particularly to the class of institutions which we are considering to-night. The late Mr. Larned remarked that history, like charity, begins at home. There is no better introduction for the lower grades of school than the study of the community in which the school is placed. The best students of universal history are those who know some one country or some one subject well. American local history should be studied as a contribution to national history. American history in its widest relations is not to be written by any one man or any one generation of men. It will develop with the Nation. A multitude of historical associations gather around every old town and hamlet in the land. There are local legends and traditions, household tales told by Grandfathers, incidents remembered by the oldest inhabitants, but above all, in importance, are the old documents and manuscripts—records of the first settlers.

In a special report to the Bureau of Education in 1876 upon the Historical Societies of the United States, it was stated that from the time of the organization of the Government in 1789 under the Constitution there had been formed more than one hundred and sixty Historical Societies.

The report eulogizes the work done by these institutions in increasing the interest in historical matters and in preserving important records, and appends a list of the Societies known to the authors. From this it appears that the total number of books in all the Societies formed up to that time

was but a few thousand more than the number now contained in the Wisconsin Historical Association's Building.

The contrast in the condition of Historical Societies of the first class within the last forty years is very striking. The Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford, with its 70,000 books and 50,000 manuscripts; the Essex Institute of Salem, with 108,000 books and 376,000 pamphlets; the Minnesota Historical Society, with over 100,000 books and 28,000 museum objects; the State Historical Society of Missouri, with 136,000 books; the New York Historical Society, with 119,000 volumes; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with its membership of 2,300, its splendid fireproof building, and a collection of nearly 100,000 volumes; the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, with over 350,000 books; all give ample evidence of the change in conditions. All the State Libraries care for the local historical collections in some way. Arkansas has a Historical Commission; Illinois a State Historical Society; Kansas a State Historical Department; Mississippi a Department of Archives and History; Missouri a State Historical Library; Montana a State Historical and Miscellaneous Library; North Carolina a State Historical Commission; South Dakota a Historical Commission; Texas a Historical Commission, and Alabama a State Department of Archives.

In Pennsylvania a Division of Public Records was organized in 1903; a State Museum in 1905; the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies in 1906, and the Pennsylvania Historical Commission in 1913.

For years the State papers have been pillaged in various Departments, and the formation of the Division of Public Records was accomplished to save the remnants. It was later determined that, owing to the fact that all the county societies were accomplishing their local work without reference to what was being done by their neighbors, it would be well to federate all such societies, and to have that federation form a clearing house of historical activities. Each

year there is published in its proceedings an account of the active work done in each organization and in addition to this there is an interesting report on the care of the State and County Archives and a list of publications of special interest to Pennsylvanians.

In 1896 an admirable report was made by the State Commission upon the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania. The recommendations made by this Commission, however, were never followed up by the Legislature, and it was thought well to organize a State Historical Commission, with an appropriation, to place markers at important points, and to bring to the attention of the Legislature the incidents in the history of the State which should be commemorated in a more imposing fashion. Although the Members of this Commission were not appointed until late in the Spring of this year they have done excellent work by their suggestions and by increasing the local enthusiasm on this very important subject.

Of all the county societies outside of Philadelphia, this one, The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, is the best as to museum collections and books. I have never used the library, but I could go to the shelves with the greatest confidence that I could in a very few minutes find the book I desired. Over in that corner is a fine series of New England history; next to it is a valuable collection of Pennsylvania books, with many county histories; in the right hand corner are the genealogical books. Here to my right are books on the Civil War and back of me are the biographies. Down stairs you will find a good collection of State publications, many of which are now hard to get, and a well-arranged set of the United States publications. Up stairs you will find the ethnological books near the specimens, which number twenty-six thousand artifacts. Mr. Hayden has secured about every book published in Wilkes-Barré, and a collection of pictures of local objects

which lends character to the building. Every paper published in the city from 1797 to the present is here. I have lived among bookmen most of my life and I recognize in Mr. Hayden that combination of intelligence in knowing what he wants and of persistence in seeking it which characterizes all real book collectors. Ex-Governor Pennypacker is one of the best I have known. Such a man remembers what volumes are missing from a series and pounces upon them wherever he meets with them. This characteristic is evident in the volumes on these shelves where the series begin with volume one and continue in order to the latest in the series. You have in this organization a great city and county asset. See to it that the children are brought here and taught the value of the information here accumulated. And then what a splendid recreation is here afforded. The man tired with business can here find rest in change of employment. The historian is a good citizen. Pride in ancestry should be based upon a desire to do something worth while for the name which you bear. The pride you take in your city, in your county, in your state, will make you a better American.

246^a-

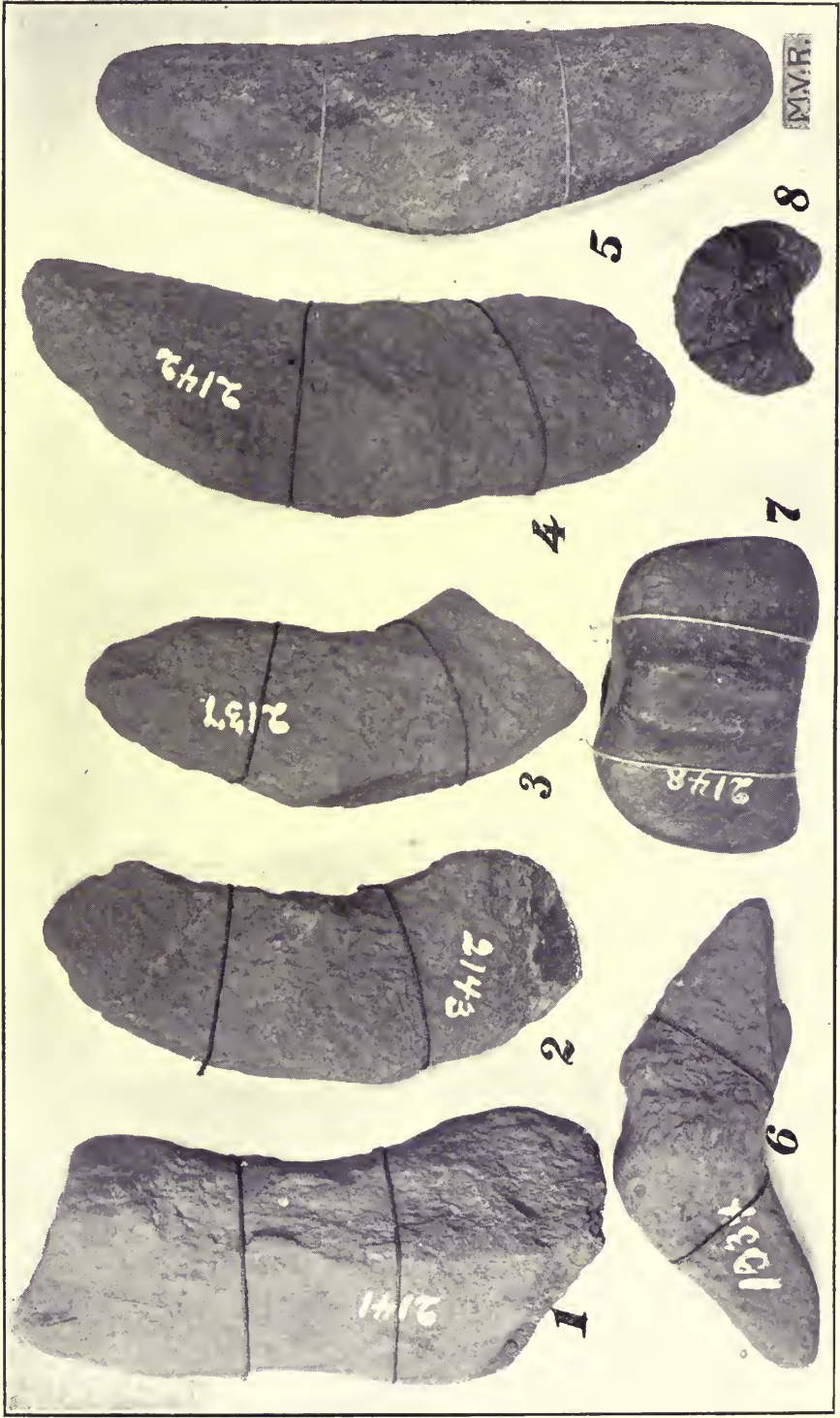


Plate No. 1. Figs. 1 to 6, the evolution of a "Butterfly" ceremonial. The specimens illustrated, two-thirds actual size, are from Lancaster county, Penn'a.
 (In the Berlin collection, Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.)

THE "ALFRED F. BERLIN" COLLECTION OF
INDIAN ARTIFACTS.

IN THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

BY CHRISTOPHER WREN.
Curator of Archaeology.

We have been asked at different times by museums, colleges and other institutions which are interested in American archaeology, whether any complete catalogue of the Indian artifacts in our collections has been made, to which we have had to answer that no such catalogue has yet been made.

As a beginning to giving such inquirers some idea of the things which are in our cases, a brief description is given on one of our fine collections.

The Berlin Collection has been gathered by Mr. Alfred F. Berlin of Allentown, Pa., during the past forty years, and consists of about three thousand specimens, many of them being very fine and rare.

While the attention of our Society is directed more particularly to the region of the Susquehanna river water shed, with the idea that a complete showing of a comparatively small territory, assembled in one place and fully identified, will be of more assistance to the scientific student than a promiscuous collection gathered from many distant localities, the Berlin Collection departs somewhat from this plan. All of the specimens in it are however fully identified with the locations in which they were found.

At the time when Mr. Berlin began his collecting the study of American archaeology had not attracted the attention which it has in these latter years, and he was able to secure, at nominal cost, many fine and rare pieces which it is almost impossible to get at the present time.

The collection includes specimens from Berks, Carbon,

Chester, Juniata, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Luzerne, Lycoming, Monroe and Northampton counties in Pennsylvania, the States of Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee and Washington, and from Denmark, Ireland and Switzerland in Europe. Much the larger portion of the collection is, however, from eastern Pennsylvania.

The collection was secured to our Society several years ago by purchase through the liberality of a number of our interested members.

The following is, in brief, an enumeration of the specimens in the collection :

PENNSYLVANIA SPECIMENS.

- 67 grooved Axes of Eastern Pennsylvania, including two of the rare two-grooved type.
- 12 perforated "Ceremonials"; banner stones, "butterfly" types, gorgets, pendants, etc.
- 15 Celts, large and small.
- 12 grooved pebbles, sinkers or plummets.
- 9 stones pestles, Pennsylvania.
- 1 clay pipe, Lancaster county.
- 1 perforated stone tube.
- 1 copper bracelet.
- 18 progressive stages of the development of a "butterfly" ceremonial.
- 1000 arrow and spear points, knives, scrapers, etc., besides numerous miscellaneous specimens difficult to classify, hammer stones, rubbing stones, net sinkers.

SPECIMENS FROM OTHER STATES.

- 18 banded slate ceremonials, including three "bird" type.
- 7 hematites, plummets, Celts, etc.
- 67 fine ceremonials of various kinds.
- 6 stone pipes from the southwest.
- 70 good "Oregon" arrow points.

- 6 Obsidian specimens from the West.
- 36 fine polished Celts from different States.
- 1 Chert hoe 13" long, 1 Chert hoe 12½" long, 1 Chert hoe 6" long.
- 1 grooved gouge from Saratoga, N. Y.
- 6 Ungrooved axes.
- 1 very large mound ax. Illinois.
- 25 grooved axes.
- 10 Bi-cave discoidals.
- 1000 arrow and spear points, knives, scrapers, etc.
- 7 bell-shaped pestles from California.

SPECIMENS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

- 50 Flint specimens from Ireland.
- 6 Danish hammer stones, 2 Danish polished flint Celts, 1 Danish crescent flint knife.
- 1 Green stone Celt, in original buckhorn handle, Lake Dwellers of Switzerland. A number of other specimens difficult to classify.

As Mr. Berlin is preparing a paper on some of these implements, to be printed in our next volume, no attempt is made here to give a detailed description of them.

A single illustration is herewith published of the progressive stages of development of a "butterfly" ceremonial. These partially finished pieces were all found in Lancaster county, Penn'a, or nearby territory, and were a part of the collection of Dr. Stubbs, secured by Mr. Berlin.

It is possible that the American Indian may have attached so much potency to this type of amulet or charm stone, that they felt that a mere suggestion of its shape might have influence for the good of the owner. In this view of the matter these apparently unfinished pieces may not have been intended to receive further work upon them.

The writer has several specimens of these unfinished implements made of a much harder stone than the ones shown in the engraving, which are made of micaceous slate.

These brief remarks bring us merely to the verge of a discussion of the arbitrary or fictitious importance that is attached to certain amulets, mascots, omens, signs and traditions which are found among all primitive peoples, but space does not permit a more extended consideration of them at this time. All primitive peoples had them, while we, with our greater intelligence, flatter ourselves that we are entirely free from them.

We do not believe in them, and yet how many people have a half denied objection to the number 13 as unlucky, that to find a four-leaved clover is a sign of good luck, that the opal is an unlucky semi-precious stone, etc., etc. The old Quaker lady had this idea in mind when she said to her young friend: "Dorothy, sometimes I think everybody is a little queer, but thee and me, and—it seems to me that even thee has some strange ideas at times."

THE PARISH REGISTER OF ST. STEPHEN'S
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
WILKES-BARRE, PA.

(Continued from Volume XII, page 198, of the Proceedings of this Society.)

When the publication of these Vital Statistics was begun in 1912, the Editor had intended including the entire data in one volume of the Proceedings. The extent of the material and the number of pages it would fill was not fully estimated. Then when Volume XIII was given to the press it was found impossible without crowding out papers of more general value to continue the Register. Hence it was deferred to the present volume. The remainder of the Register, the Confirmation and Deaths, from 1822 to 1866, will appear, if possible, in Volume XV.

REGISTER OF MARRIAGES 1822-1866.

BY REV. S. SITGREAVES.

1822. Asa Lansford Foster to Miss Louisa Trott Chapman.
[May 30] 1816. Mr. George Denison to Miss Caroline
Bowman (by Rev. Mr. Phinney).
18. Mr. Samuel Bettle to Miss Hannah Maria Tracy (by
Rev. Mr. Phinney).
Mr. Charles Wheeler to Miss Eliza Bowman.
— Ayres to — Lepper.

BY REV. ENOCH HUNTINGTON.

- 1824, Dec. 9. Rev. Samuel Marks to Miss Eliza Bostwick at
Wyalusing.
1825, Dec. 1. William T. Ross to Ruth Slocum.
1825, Dec. 8. Capt. Alden Brothwell of Fairfield, Connecti-
cut, to Mary Ann Smith of Plymouth.
1826, Jany. 26. Henry Pettebone to Elizabeth Tharp.
1826, June 8. Samuel Baldwin to Penelope Thomas.
1826, Sept. 11. Joshua Green to Jane McCoy.
1826, Sept. 21. Edward McGuiggin to Elizabeth Rimmer.

BY REV. JAMES MAY.

- 1827, Feb. 13. Thomas W. Miner, M. D., to Miss Lucy E.
Bowman.
1827, Oct. 25. Richard Green to Miss Margaret J. Meredith.
1828, Feb. 3. Elisha Atherton to Mrs. Caroline Ann Maffet
(widow).

- 1828, June. Thomas Stewart to Mifs Maria Worthington.
 1828, Oct. 23. James D. Hoff to Mifs Nancy Hancock.
 1829, Jan. 8. Rev. James May to Mifs Ellen Stuart Bowman (by Rev. Samuel Bowman).
 1830, March 18. Samuel Wilcox to Mifs Hannah Bailey.
 1830, March 28. John I. Adams to Martha Pettebone.
 1830, April 11. Thomas Carpenter to Mifs Elizabeth Craver.
 1830, June 21. Hiram McAlpin to Mifs Louisa Parson.
 1830, Septem. 5. Alden I. Bennet, M. D., to Mifs Mary Ann Bennet.
 [1831, January 1.] Charles Wright to [Mifs Elizabeth] Courtright.
 Horatio Martin to Mifs Alma Williams.
 Jan. 31, 1832. Joseph Wragg to Mifs Mary Ann Dulany Lewis.
 Feb. 5, 1832. Samuel Derrah to Mifs Mary Gray.
 Nov. 6, 1832. Chauncey A. Reynolds to Mary Denison.
 Jan. 1, 1833. Moses Miller to Mifs Henrietta Mock.
 Jan. 16, 1833. Elijah Worthington to Mifs Eliza A. Merritt.
 April 7, 1833. Robert Chapman to Sarah Wharram.
 May 1, 1833. Ebenezer W. Sturdevant to Mifs Martha D. Denison.
 July 18, 1833. Edward Jones to Mifs Julia Blackman.
 Sept. 19, 1833. Dr. Eben L. Boyd to Mifs Ruth A. Ellsworth.
 Nov. 21, 1833. George Lazarus, Jr., to Mifs Edith Sharps.
 Dec. 5, 1833. Jacob Sharps to Mifs Mary Ann Schooley.
 Dec. 31, 1833. Avery Hurlbut to Mifs Susanna Quick.
 Jan. 12, 1834. Washington Bennet to Mifs Jane Ann Bevans.
 April 24, 1834. William Willetts to Mifs Mary Oakley.
 Oct. 2, 1834. Albert McAlpin to Miss Mary Ann Wright.
 Oct. 23, 1834. William Sharps to Mifs Maria Brees.
 Jan. 13, 1835. P. McV. Gilchrist to Mifs Elizabeth Horton.
 Feb. 5, 1835. Thos. Truxon Slocum to Mifs Ann F. Dennis.
 Isaac Frederick to Mifs Jane Hannis.
 Mar. 30, 1835. Anthony Gilson to Mifs Hannah Wilkinson.
 Ap. 16, 1835. Peter Rhineheimer to Mifs Sarah Ann Craven.
 Ap. 17, 1835. Thomas Hughes to Mifs Frances Ann Booth.
 Ap. 21, 1835. Hendrick B. Wright to Mifs Mary Ann Robinson.

- July 16, 1835. Edward L. McShane to Mifs Martha S. Tracy.
 Aug. 11, 1835. Peter Mitchell Osterhout to Mifs Frances S. Carey (by Rev. F. T. Todrig in Mr. May's absence).
 Septem. 8, 1835. John Kreidler to Mifs Lydia Ransom.
 Oct. 13, 1835. Luther Kidder to Mifs Martha Ann Scott.
 Oct. 29, 1835. Matthias H. Laning to Mifs Ann Hartley Overton.
 Dec. 17, 1835. William Knowles to Mifs Isabella Holland.
 March 20, 1835. Anthony H. Emley to Mifs Elizabeth Myers.
 Aug. 30, 1836. Alexander Hamilton Arndt (of Green Bay) to Mifs Caroline M. Albright.
 Dec. 24, 1836. Adam Shafer to Mifs Susan Brown.

BY REV. WILLIAM JAMES CLARK.

1839.
 March 31. Mr. William Lamb to Miss Aurelia Wetherill.
 September 19. Mr. John Merrich to Miss Charlotte Holland.
 October 2. Mr. Maynard Labarre to Miss Ada Jenkins.
 October 30. Mr. Charles E. Clark to Miss Ann Guisey, daughter of Henry and Ann Mosely (Philadelphia).
 1840.
 February 6. Mr. William L. Cook to Miss Mary Horton, daughter of Colonel Miller Horton of Wilkes-Barré township.
 May 11-12. Mr. Philip Heiss to [Miss Christiana Miller].
 May 12-13. Mr. Amos Sisty to Miss Martha C. Bettle [see Farmer and Journal, May 13, 1840].

BY REV. B. R. CLAXTON.

- Sept. 12. Mr. Jonathan J. Slocum to Mifs Elizabeth C. LeClerc, daughter of Jos. P. LeClerc, Esq.
 October 13. Rev. Alexander Shiras (of Berryville, Va.), to Miss Frances Butler, daughter of Steuben Butler, Esq.
 1841.
 February 11. Mr. John Patrick (of Falls) to Miss Mary Harris at Kocher's Hotel.
 June 1. Mr. Daniel G. Bailey to Miss Maria Stott, daughter of James Stott, Esq.
 Sept. 1. Mr. Lewis Worrall, Jr. (by Rev. J. May in the absence of the Rector) to Miss Mary Jane Reddin, daughter of Reddin, Esq., at Pittston Ferry.

- Tuesday, August 31, 1841, in the Church of the Epiphany, Philadelphia, by Rev. S. H. Tyng, D. D., the Rev. R. Bethel Claxton, Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Wilkes-Barre, to Carolina P., daughter of B. H. Rand, Esq., of the former place. (Repub. Farmer 9.8.41.)
- Sept. 21. Mr. John C. Schmidt to Mifs Mary Fuerstein, 1842.
- March 20. R. W. Hinckley of Plainsville (by Rev. J. May) to Mifs Harriet S. Jones, formerly of Bridgeport, Conn.
- March 28. Mr. Edmund L. Dana to Miss Sarah H. Peters, daughter of Ralph Peters, Esq.
- Dec. 15. Mr. Henry Eiger to Miss Elizabeth Shiber. 1843.
- Nov. 16. Mr. Oliver Watson to Mifs Marrietta R. Scott, daughter of the late Hon. David Scott. 1844.
- Feb. 1. Mr. Orsemus H. Wheeler to Mifs Malvina F. Barnes, daughter of James Barnes, Esq., at Mauch Chunk.
- April 2. Mr. Michael Snyder to Mifs Catherine Blodher at V. S. Maxwell's.
- May 9. Mr. John Patterson to Mifs Mary Sinyard at Mr. E. Macey's.
- May 10. Mr. Henry Grubb to Miss Elizabeth Bower, at Jacob Kleman's.
- May 28. Mr. Charles H. Brightley to Mary N. Claxton, daughter of John Claxton, Esq., in Philadelphia.
- June 2. Reverend Robert Bethell Claxton (by Rev. Wm Suddards) to Mifs Elizabeth Scott, dau. of Hon. David Scott.
- October 15. Mr. William Streater to Miss Martha S. Pettebone, daughter of Henry Pettebone, Esq., at her father's.
- Nov. 28. Mr. John Totten to Miss Eliza R. Butler, daughter of ——— Butler.
- Dec. 12. Mr. John Lonabauch to Miss Louisa DeWitt at John Gardner's. 1845.
- March 31. Mr. John Weber to Miss Barbara Decker.
- May 19. Mr. Samuel Bowman to Miss Sarah Titus in Phila.
- June 7. Mr. Samuel Styler to Miss Lydia Turner.
- June 11. Mr. Frederick Myers Eickelberger of Virginia to Miss Harriet Myers, daughter of John Myers, Esq.

- August 20. Mr. Hiram Culver to Mrs. Maria Thomas.
 October 6. Mr. Benedict Difani to Miss Elizabeth Scherer.
 December 25. Mr. George Dalgarno to Miss Emma B. Ratheram.
 December 29. Mr. William Blackman of Pike, Bradford Co., to Miss Mary Benedict of Hyde Park.

1846.

- Feb. 12. Mr. Jacob Floërching of Bavaria to Miss Margaret Scheerer of Hamburg.
 April 2. Mr. Conrad Klippile of Frankfurt on Main to Miss Mary Ann Hutchins of Wilkes-Barré.
 August 4. Mr. George A. Wright, Philada., by Rev. R. Newton, to Miss Emma Purdon of Wilkes-Barré.

1847.

- May 24. Mr. Warren J. Woodward to Miss Catherine Scott, both of Wilkes-Barré.
 Aug. 15. Mr. Andrew J. Baldwin to Miss Mary Collings, both of Wilkes-Barré, by Rev. Charles D. Cooper.

BY REV. GEORGE D. MILES.

1848.

- June 8. Rev. Peter Rufsell of Mauch Chunk to Miss Sarah Sharpe of Wilkes-Barré.
 July 9. Mr. Isaac Kridler of Plymouth to Miss Catherine Casey of Plymouth.

1849.

- May 2. Mr. Gershom Hull of Stroudsburg to Miss Ruth Ann Turner of Plymouth.
 May 7. Mr. Wm. H. Butler of Wilkes-Barré to Miss Charlotte E. Lane of Wilkes-Barré.
 Oct. 16. Mr. Gideon Codman of Pittston to Miss Mary Ann Barber of England.

1850.

- Oct. 16. Mr. Joseph Reitz of Wilkes-Barré to Miss Magdaline Schrader of W.
 Dec. 23. Dr. Cyrus Dorsay Gloniger of Lebanon to Miss Julia Beaumont of Wilkes-Barré.

1851.

- May 6. Mr. Samuel M. Robinson of New Hope to Miss Adelaide Lochey LeClerc of W.-Barré.
 Oct. 12. Mr. Samuel P. Rowe of Stoddartsville to Miss Eliza Brittain of Stoddartsville.

1852.

Oct. 31. George Philip Frederick Christian Schrader, son of John Nicholas and Albertine Schrader, Brewer, of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Frankenthal, Germany, to Rebecca Bertels, daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth Bertels (both white), married on Sunday, Oct. 31, 1852, in the Borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to the "form of solemnization of matrimony" in the Protestant Episcopal Church, by the Rev. Geo. D. Miles, Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

1853.

Jan. 19. Charles Abbott Miner, son of Robert and Elisa Miner, Farmer of Plains township, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Wilkes-Barré township, to Elisa Ross Atherton, daughter of Elisha and Caroline Ann Atherton (both white) married on Wednesday, Jan. 19, 1853, in the Borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to "the form of solemnization of matrimony" in the Protestant Episcopal Church by the Rev. Geo. D. Miles, Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

Aug. 10. George Davis Miles, son of Daniel and Rhoda Miles, clergyman of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Boston, Mass, to Elizabeth Streater, daughter of Charles and Elizabeth Streater (both white) married on Tuesday, May 10, 1853, in the borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to "the form of solemnization of matrimony in the Prot. Epis. Church, by the Rev. R. B. Duane, Rector of Grace Church, Honesdale, Pa.

Aug. 4. Henry Boniface Brodhun, son of George and Dorothy Brodhun, Bricklayer, of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Weisenborn, Prussia, to Clementine Bertels, daughter of Jacob and Elizabeth Bertels (both white) married on Thursday, August 4, 1853, in the borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to "the form of solemnization of matrimony" in the Protestant Episcopal Church by the Rev. Geo. D. Miles, Rector of St. Stephen's Ch., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

Sept. 10. William Clift, son of Thomas and Jane Maria Clift, Miner of Pittston, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Birmingham, England, to Emily Barber, daughter of John and Mary Barber (both white) married on Saturday, Sept. 10, 1853, in the borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to the "form of solemnization of matrimony" in the Prot.

Episcopal Church, by the Rev. Geo. D. Miles, Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

Sept. 22. Asa Brundage, son of Moses S. and Jane Brundage, Lawyer of Wilkes-Barré, born in Conyngham, Luzerne Co., Pa., to Frances Bulkeley, daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth Bulkeley (both white) married on Thursday, Sept. 22, 1853, in the borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to the "form of solemnization of matrimony" of the Prot. Epis. Church by the Rev. Geo. D. Miles, Rector of St. Stephen's Church.

1854.

Feb. 12. William Roughsedge, son of Henry and Margaret Roughsedge, Engineer of Wilkes-Barré, born in Liverpool, England, to Mary Ann Johnson, daughter of George and Mary Ann Johnson (both white) married on Sunday, Feb. 12, 1854, in the Borough of Wilkes-Barré, according to the "form of solemnization of matrimony" of the Prot. Epis. Church, by the Rev. Geo. D. Miles, Rector of St. Stephen's Church, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

March 26. John Sparks, son of Barnard and Joanna Sparks, Confectioner, of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Worcester, England, to Harriett Evans, daughter of William and Elizabeth Evans (both white) married on Sunday, March 26, 1854, in the Borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to the "Form, &c. (same as last).

Sept. 7. Varo Hall, son of Richard and Catherine Hall, Miner, of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Durham, England, to Mary Gunton, daughter of Reuben and Barbara Gunton (both white) married on Thursday, September 7, 1854, in the Borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to the form, &c., by the Rev. Alex Shiras, Rector of Christ Ch., Pelham, Westchester Co., N. Y. (acting in the absence of the Rev. George D. Miles).

Dec. 26. Oscar Lewis, son of Abijah and Eliza Lewis, Lumberman, of Wilkes-Barré Borough, Luzerne Co., Pa., born Toronto Canada West, to Mary Dickover, daughter of Geo. and Catherine Dickover (both white) married Tuesday, Dec. 26, 1854, in the Borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to the form, &c., &c., in the Protestant Episcopal Church, by the Rev. Geo. D. Miles, &c.

Dec. 27. Robert Wilson, son of John and Francis Wilson, Merchant of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Yorkshire, England, to Sarah Maria Hutchins, daughter of Thomas and Mary Ann Hutchins (both white) married on Wednesday, Dec. 27, 1854, in the Boro. of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to &c., &c.

1855.

March 1. William Thatcher, son of William and Sarah Thatcher, Superintendent of Mines, of Pittston Borough, Luzerne Co., born in Gloucestershire, England, to Mrs. Emily Smith Profser, daughter of William and Elizabeth Cox (both white) married Thursday, March 1, 1855, in the Borough of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to the form, &c., &c.

Sept. 15. Daniel Gunton, son of Reuben and Barbary Gunton, Farmer and Gardener, of Kingston, Luzerne Co., Pa. Born in Cambridgeshire, England, to Elizabeth Dennis, daughter of John and Mary Ann Dennis (both white) married on Thursday, March 15, 1855, in St. Stephen's Church, Boro. of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne Co., according to, etc.

Sept. 29. Oscar F. Gaines, son of Ezekiel B. and Phebe Gaines, Clerk, of Pittston Borough, Luzerne Co., Pa., born in Montville, New Jersey, to Haloma Augusta Ellithorpe, daughter of Azairah and Ann M. Ellithorpe (both white) married on Thursday, March 29, 1855, in the Boro. of Pittston, Luzerne Co., Pa., according to, etc.

March 15. Daniel Gunton of Kingston to Elizabeth Dennis of Plymouth. S. S.

March 29. Oscar F. Gaines to Halonia Augusta Ellithorp, both of Pittston.

June 25. H. G. A. Miller to Sarah Josephine Myers, both of Wilkes-Barré.

Aug. 12. Benjamin Carey to Eliza Irene Ditrick, both of Hanover.

Nov. 1. Rev. Joseph Augustus Stone (Rector of Calvary Ch., Tamaqua), to Agnes Graham, of Dundaff, Susquehanna Co.

1856.

Jan. 8. Stephen Bolles of White Haven to Emily Horton of Wilkes-Barré.

Jan. 22. Elijah Davenport of Plymouth to Milly Ann Frantz of Wilkes-Barré.

Feb. 27. Thomas Kate to Mary Jane Kelly, both of Wilkes-Barré.

May 1. William Tomb to Elizabeth Wilson, both of Wilkes-Barré.

July 31. Rufus Belding of Kingston to Amanda Theresa Mills of Wilkes-Barré.

Dec. 8. Henry Colt to Margaret B. Jackson, both of Wilkes-Barré.

1857.

Jan. 8. James B. Crawford to Harriet Louisa Wells of Wilkes-Barré.

Jan. 24. James M. Dietrick of Iowa to Adeline C. Sleppy of Hendrickburg.

1858.

Jan. 8. Charles W. Dickover of Dubuque, Iowa, to Mary O. Willets of Wilkes-Barré.

July 13. Lieut. Henry Douglofs, U. S. A., to Isidore Bowman of Wilkes-Barré [daughter of the late Capt. Francis L. Bowman].

Sep. 30. Sidney B. Roby of Rochester, N. Y., to Sarah Eliza Loop of Wilkes-Barre (by Rev. D. W. C. Loop).

Nov. 10. Brice S. Blair of Rileyville, Wayne Co., to Marinda Davenport of Plymouth, Luzerne Co.

Dec. 24. Geo. S. Chase to Jennie E. Leas, both of Wilkes-Barré.

1859.

Mar. 30. Samuel Serfoss to Rosetta Edwards (at the American House).

May 5. Warren W. Davison to Laura E. Stone, both of Clinton, Wayne Co., Pa.

Sep. 27. James H. Hodgden of Philadelphia to Sarah A. Dana of Wilkes-Barré.

1860.

Mar. 24. Joseph B. Miller of Alabama to Lilly Feurstein of Wilkes-Barré.

April 25. Rufus J. Bell of New York to Mary C. Hillard of Wilkes-Barré.

June 19. Walter G. Sterling of Wilkes-Barré to Mary S. Elder, married by Rev. A. B. Claxton, D. D.

July 3. Sylvester Van Horn of Wilkes-Barré to Frances Wilson of Wilkes-Barré.

Sep. 15. Edwin L. Riggs to Elizabeth Wint of Providence.

- Dec. 1. William Howell to Janett Jenkins, both of Wilkes-Barré.
- Dec. 21. Walter Peters to Nancy Mack, both of Wilkes-Barré.
- 1861.
- Feb. 2. Robert Johnson to Jane Eaton, both of Wilkes-Barré.
- Feb. 3. Isaiah B. George to Mary Meechen, both of Wilkes-Barré.
- Feb. 9. Christopher Eldridge Hawley of Binghamton to Mary Elizabeth Wright of Wilkes-Barré.
- Feb. 12. John H. Pittinger to Mary Huston, both of Wilkes-Barré.
- Feb. 25. Jesse M. Bean of Texas to Elizabeth Ann Thompson of Pittston.
- March 26. Andrew Jackson Good of Franklin, Luzerne Co., Pa., to Lucinda A. Saxe of Exeter, Luzerne Co., Pa.
- April 17. George P. Benning of Wilkes-Barré to Arabella Gray of Wilkes-Barré.
- Oct. 31. Myron A. Holmes of Wilkes-Barre to Magdalena J. Reichard, Wilkes-Barré.
- Nov. 20. Isaiah M. Leach, Wilkes-Barré, to Diana P. Ketcham, Wilkes-Barre.
- Dec. 2. James Williams of Plymouth to Dorothy Davidson, Plymouth.
- Dec. 22. Nehemiah B. Welliver of Jerseytown to Adelaide Josephine Mills of Jerseytown.
- Dec. 23. John W. Gilchrist of Wilkes-Barré to Ruth Ann Reese of Wilkes-Barré.
- 1862.
- Jan. 7. William R. Dunham of Northumberland to Mary Elizabeth Haas of Kingston.
- May 22. Abijah Lewis of Gouldsboro to Mary Daggert of Binghamton.
- Aug. 14. Franklin Hawrecht of Wilkes-Barré to Hannah Strouse of the same.
- Aug. 20. William H. Kendall of Pittston to Hannah S. Shepherd of Pittston.
- Oct. 14. George N. Maus of Williamsport to Harriet M. Marcy of Kingston.
- Dec. 11. Thomas Hale of Plymouth to Elizabeth Shifer of Plymouth.

1863.

- Jan. 26. Daniel Foley of Plymouth to Elizabeth Beargen of Plymouth.
 Feby 12. William M. Camp of Wilkes-Barré to Cecilia Riley of Wilkes-Barré.
 May 15. Orrin D. Bartlett of Towanda to Sarah Fell Tracy of Wilkes-Barré.
 May 20. Peter H. Hay of Wilkes-Barré to Mary Ann Becker of Wilkes-Barré.
 June 20. Alfred Chamberlain to Emma Sophia Widnal.
 Aug. 3. Franklin Keenan of Kingston to Mary C. Wambold.
 Nov. 7. James Severn of Wilkes-Barré to Kate Ann Wildaw of Wilkes-Barré.

1864.

- May 12. Oliver Kidwell Moore of Wilkes-Barré to Martha Elder Kidder of Wilkes-Barré.
 June 21. Charles Parrish of Wilkes-Barré to Mary Conyngham of Wilkes-Barré.
 Aug. 3. Isaac K. Appleman of Mount Pleasant, Columbia Co., to Frances Stevens of New Columbus, Luzerne Co.

1864.

- Aug. 16. J. Henry Swoyer of Wilkes-Barré to Albertine Louisa Reichard of Wilkes-Barré.
 Sept. 22. Edson Mason of Wilkes-Barre to Anna Melinda Kemmerer of Union Co.
 Oct. 5. Abram Price of Pittston to Lavinia Jaggard of Pittston.
 Nov. 2. James H. Rollins, Lieut. of the Army, to Eulalie Bowman (married by Rev. H. A. Coit, D. D.)
 Nov. 22. Charles Heman Leonard of Wilkes-Barré to Catherine Fredrika Reichard of Wilkes-Barré.
 Dec. 6. William Lord Conyngham of Wilkes-Barré to Olivia B. Hillard of Wilkes-Barre.
 Dec. 24. Henry E. Wildermuth of Wilkes-Barré to Mary M. Bertels of Wilkes-Barré.

1865.

- Jan. 14. Jacob Phillips of Plymouth to Elvira Barney of Plymouth.
 Mar. 28. Perry Deen of Danville to Mary Jane Foolmer of Wilkes-Barré.
 May 2. George A. Kent of Scranton to Jennie Dietrick of Plymouth.

- May 9. Aretus H. Winton of Providence to Alice M. Collings of Wilkes-Barré.
 June 6. Samuel G. Turner of Plymouth to Ella G. Dietrick of Plymouth.
 July 4. Adam Baets of White Haven to Anna Maria Carpenter of Wilkes-Barré.
 Sept. 13. Miller H. Swainbank of Wilkes-Barré to Sarah F. Barber of Wilkes-Barré.

1865.

- Sept. 21. Henry Simmons of Scranton to Theresa Monz of Scranton.
 Oct. 5. Samuel Humphreys of Wilkes-Barré to Susan Roughsedge of Kingston.
 Oct. 12. Elijah Richards of Wilkes-Barré to Phebe Ann Carpenter of Wilkes-Barre.
 Oct. 15. Francis L. Behee of Wilkes-Barré to Maria E. Kittle of Wilkes-Barré.

BY REV. R. H. WILLIAMSON.

- Nov. 2. Martin Luther Hutchins, Mifflinville, to Mary E. Yohe, Mifflinville.

1866.

- Jan. 1. John R. Kilmer, Wilkes-Barre, to Elizabeth Hamilton, Wilkes-Barre.
 Feb. 15. Elisha Hancock, Wilkes-Barre, to Julia Reichard, Wilkes-Barré.
 June 2. James Hall of Pittston to Mary Ann Roughsedge, Wilkes-Barré.
 June 21. Jacob S. Dillinger of Allentown to Mary B. Collings, Wilkes-Barré.
 July 2. William S. Withers, Jr., of Wilkes-Barré to Eliza Ann Denn, Wilkes-Barré.
 July 19. James B. Hodgskin of New York to Helen C. Titus, Wilkes-Barré.
 Aug. 14. James Riley, of Wilkes-Barré to Elizabeth Riley, of Wilkes-Barré.
 Oct. 16. James May Rutter of Wilkes-Barré to Martha C. Burdett of Wilkes-Barré.
 Dec. 25. Edwin Henry Goff, Wilkes-Barré, to Nancy Blanchard Newcomb, Wilkes-Barré.

The Register of Confirmations from 1839 to 1866, and the Register of Deaths from 1822 to 1866, in St. Stephen's Parish, will appear in a later volume of the Proceedings of this Society.

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REV. HENRY LAWRENCE JONES, S. T. D.

OBITUARIES.

REV. HENRY LAWRENCE JONES, S. T. D.,

First Vice President of the Society.

The ancestors of Rev. Dr. Jones came from Great Britain to Maine early in the eighteenth century. They were members of the Society of Friends. Lemuel Jones, the first of the name to emigrate, settled at Brunswick, Maine. He was "a highly approved and accepted minister" among the Friends. He married and had a large family of twelve children, all of whom lived to an advanced age. Among them was Thomas Jones, who, like his father, was "a highly approved and accepted minister" in the Society at Brunswick. He married Esther Hacker, daughter of Jeremiah Hacker, a prominent merchant of Salem, Maine, who removed to Brunswick shortly after the Revolutionary War. Thomas and Esther Jones had—

The Rev. Lot Jones, M. A., S. T. D., born Brunswick, Maine, February 21, 1797, died at Philadelphia, October 12, 1865. He married first, in Augusta, Georgia, 1825, Priscilla McMillan, daughter of Alexander McMillan, a native of Edinburg, Scotland, whose wife was a daughter of Colonel Mead, of Bedford county, Virginia. Her sister married Judge Wilde, of Richmond county, Georgia. Mrs. Jones died in Leicester, Massachusetts, 1829. He married second, May 19, 1831, Lucy Ann Bullard, born November 9, 1809, died New York, August 15, 1898, daughter of Dr. Artemus Bullard, of West Sutton, Massachusetts, and his wife, Lucy White, eldest daughter of Deacon Jesse and Anna Mason White, of Northbridge, Massachusetts. Rev. Lot Jones was reared in the belief of his parents, and sent to Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, to be educated. He graduated from this institution with the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1821, and Master of Arts in 1824. He received from Columbia University, New York, in 1859, the honorary degree of S. T. D. After his graduation, under new convictions of duty he early terminated his ecclesiastical relations with

the people among whom he was born and reared, and with the purpose of entering the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, began the study of theology under the Rev. Thomas Carlisle, rector of St. Peter's Church, Salem, Massachusetts. He was ordained to the Diaconate by Rt. Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, D. D., of the Eastern Diocese of Massachusetts, January 1, 1823, and to the Priesthood by the same in 1824. He ministered in Marblehead and Ashfield, Massachusetts, was also Rector of Christ Church, Leicester, Massachusetts. In 1823 he went to New York City, where as the Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, he labored for thirty-three years with great success. "This was strictly a missionary enterprise, springing from an effort of benevolence to supply the wants of a populous but comparatively poor neighborhood. The sittings were all free, and its religious privileges have been blessed to multitudes of that shifting population." Long as it is since Rev. Lot Jones renounced the tenets of Quakerism, he retained much of the manner and tone which mark the members of that placid community. Among the Rectors of the Episcopal Churches in New York City few were older than he and none more highly respected. Besides several discourses in pamphlet form, he published a small volume called "The Memoir of Mrs. Sarah L. Taylor," (Bowdoin College History). Another writer says of him: "He was held in respect everywhere as the faithful and beloved Pastor. In literary and social circles of the metropolis he was no less esteemed as an accomplished scholar and one of the most genial of men. He died quite suddenly in consequence of an accidental fall while attending a church convention at St. Luke's Church, Philadelphia."

Mrs. Lucy Ann Jones, wife of Rev. Lot Jones, was the daughter of Dr. Artemus Bullard, of Sutton, Massachusetts, and his wife, Lucy, daughter of Deacon Jesse and Ann (Mason) White, of Northbridge. Her father was a prominent physician and a fellow of the Council of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and the son of Asa Bullard, a Revolutionary Soldier. Among Mrs. Lot Jones' brothers were: Rev. Artemus Bullard, D. D., of Amherst College, 1826; Rev. Asa Bullard, M. A., of the same college, 1828; Ebenezer Waters Bullard, M. A., of Miami University, Ohio, 1834; Talbot Bullard, M. D., and Jesse Muson Bullard, M. D.; and among her sisters were: Eunice White Bul-

lard, who has been so well known for many years as Mrs. Henry Ward Beecher; and Marie Waters Bullard, wife of Hon. Ira Moore Barton of Worcester.

Mrs. Lot Jones was born November 9, 1809, and died August 15, 1898, at her home in New York City. Her death brought sorrow to many hearts beyond the circle of her family and intimate friends, and marked the completion of an earthly life of never-wearying service for the Saviour. Consecrated to him from her childhood, she delighted to minister in His name. The work begun among the poor and sorrowing in her husband's Parish more than half a century ago, was to the end of her life a daily labor of love. Her fellowship with the Master had moulded her naturally strong character into His likeness. It developed a self-control, surrounded her with an atmosphere of purity, and imparted a beauty of holiness that deeply impressed those who knew her. Quiet and unassuming, shrinking sensitively from any intrusion or display of religion, her words unconsciously suggested that which is "pure, lovely, and of good report," and her sweet, calm face always reflected the glory of the King whom she loved, and now sees face to face. The writer will ever be grateful that he knew her, and could read the secret of "the crown of glory" that seemed to encircle "the hoary head" of this humble, yet sainted servant of the Lord Jesus. Her children and grandchildren "rise up to call her blessed", and her memory will ever be an inspiration to pure and holy living.

Rev. Lot and Lucy Ann (Bullard) Jones had five children: William Henry died in infancy; Marie Louisa, married George E. Moore, of New York, both deceased; Emily, died in infancy; Lucy Ann, died in infancy; and Henry Lawrence.

The Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, M. A., S. T. D., born New York, May 30, 1839, married, October 6, 1869, Sarah Eastman Coffin, daughter of Samuel Coffin, of Concord, N. H., and his wife, Harriet (Fox) Ayer. Dr. Jones graduated Bachelor of Arts, Columbia University, New York, 1858, Master of Arts, 1861; from his alma mater he also received the honorary degree of S. T. D., 1892. After his graduation he entered the Theological Seminary of Virginia, and graduated in 1861. He was ordained to the Diaconate, May 24, 1861, and to the Priesthood by Rt. Rev. Horatio Potter, D. D., LL. D., in 1862. After serv-

ing his Diaconate under his father in New York City, he accepted a call to Fitchburg, Massachusetts, where he organized Christ Church Parish, October, 1863, and remained Rector of the church for eleven years, resigning in 1874 to accept a call to St. Stephen's Church, Wilkes-Barré, where he has served as Rector for forty years. During that period he has held the highest positions in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Dioceses of Central Pennsylvania and Bethlehem, *i. e.*, Examining Chaplain 1876-80; president of the North-Western Convocation (now Archdeaconry of Scranton); and member of the Board of Missions 1876-87, when he refused to be re-elected; Deputy to the General Convention of the Church, 1886-1905; member of the Standing Committee continuously 1876-1914. He was also for years member of the Executive Committee of the American Church Missionary Society, of which Judge John N. Conyngham was the President. He was a Director of the Osterhout Free Library from 1881-1914, and President of the same 1893-1914; Vice President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society 1882-1914. He has for the past forty years or more been Past Master, Past Patriarch, and Past Commander of the Masonic Lodge, Chapter and Commandery of Fitchburg, Massachusetts; Past Grand Prelate, Grand Commandery Knight Templars of Massachusetts, and honorary member Dieu le Veut Commandery, Wilkes-Barré. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, 1894-1914, in right of his ancestor, Asa Bullard, who served in the Revolutionary army. Dr. Jones' church work was probably the most extensive in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, the mother Parish having charge of seven Mission Chapels, and the Rector a staff of five Assistant Pastors.

Mrs. Henry L. Jones descends from Tristram Coffin, of Butlers, parish of Brixton, county Devon, England, who died 1602. Tristman Coffin, 1609-81, had Tristram, Jr., who married Judith Greenleaf, 1602-1705, and had Nathaniel, who married Sarah, daughter of Captain Samuel Brocklebank, and had John, who married Judith Greenleaf, 1692-1772, and had William, who married Sarah Hazletine, whose son Enoch married Lois Cavis, and had Samuel, the father of Mrs. Jones. He married Harriet Fox Ayer.

Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Henry L. Jones had six children: 1. Harriet Louise, B. D., Columbia University; 1908,

Instructor in English, Wilkes-Barré Institute. 2. Lawrence Bullard, Yale College, A. B., 1894; was admitted to the Luzerne County Bar, 1896. He married, June 15, 1899, Martha Phelps Bennett; children, Henry Lawrence, George Bennett and Nelson. 3. Helen Crocker, died an infant. 4. Carleton Coffin, Yale College, A. B., 1898, married October 2, 1906, Mabel Haddock; children, Kathrine Carleton, Carleton Haddock. 5. Gertrude Fox, a graduate of John Hopkins Hospital School for Nurses in Baltimore, Maryland, married June 20, 1907, James Pryor Williamson. 6. Paul, A. B., Yale College, 1902, B. D., Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary, 1906. He was elected Rt. Reverend Bishop of Utah, and consecrated 1914; married, June 13, 1913, Mary Balch; children, Barbara Spaulding.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

MOSES WALLER WADHAMS.

Moses Waller Wadhams, a well known member of the Luzerne county bar, died January 10, 1915, at his residence, 275 South Franklin street. Mr. Wadhams was a member of one of the oldest and most prominent families in the Wyoming Valley. He was the son of Hon. Elijah Catlin Wadhams of this city, and his wife, Esther Taylor (French) Wadhams, both of whom left their impress on the social and civil records of Wilkes-Barré, Elijah Wadhams having been for twenty-five years a merchant, for twenty years justice of the peace, director for many years of Wyoming National Bank, and president and director of First National Bank of this city. He was the State Senator from Luzerne county in 1876 and active in church and Masonic history.

The Wadhams family trace its descent from John Wadhams, who came from Somersetshire, England, to Wethersfield, Conn., in 1645. His son, John, and Hannah (Bidwell) Wadhams, of Wethersfield, had Noah Wadhams, who married Anne Hurlbut, both of Goshen, Connecticut, whose son, Reverend Noah Wadhams, and his wife, Elizabeth Ingersoll, were active in the life of the church in the Wyoming Valley. Rev. Noah Wadhams, a graduate of Princeton College, and an ordained clergyman of the Congregational Church, was chosen in 1768 as their Pastor to

go with a colony from Connecticut into the wilderness of Pennsylvania, where they settled at Plymouth. Several years before his death in 1806, "he became a noted itinerant preacher in the Methodist Church, making long journeys on horseback through that then wilderness country."

Their son, Calvin Wadhams, who married Esther Waller of Connecticut, was the father of Samuel Wadhams of Plymouth, Pa., who married Clorinda Starr Catlin, and gave to Wilkes-Barré Hon. Elijah Catlin Wadhams, who was the father of the subject of this sketch. Esther Waller Wadhams, the wife of Hon. Lazarus Denison Shoemaker, and Calvin Wadhams, whose widow, Mrs. Francis D. Lynde Wadhams, is still with us. This genealogical tree records seven generations, whose history adds lustre to this section of Pennsylvania.

Moses Waller Wadhams was born in Plymouth, August 2, 1858. He was fitted for college at the preparatory school of the late William Robert Kingman of this city, and entering Dartmouth College at Dartmouth, New Hampshire, graduated Bachelor of Arts in 1888. He then entered the law office of "Edwin P. and J. Vaughan Darling" of Wilkes-Barré, and after the usual course of study was admitted to the Luzerne county bar, October 10, 1885, continuing in the practice of his profession until within a few years. He was active in social and business life, very fond of study and much devoted to his books and gifted in literature and his profession. He was one of the directors of the First National Bank of the city from 1892 to 1914; member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society from 1895 to 1914, and of the Westmoreland Club since 1896. He was a communicant of the Central Methodist Episcopal Church of this city since June, 1906.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

Owing to the severe illness of the Historiographer further Biographical notices of members must be deferred to Volume XV.

MEMBERS DECEASED SINCE ISSUE OF VOLUME XIII.

LIFE.

Miss Lucy W. Abbott, died December 3, 1914.
Henry Harrison Harvey, died February 4, 1915.
James C. Haydon, died May 29, 1915.
Charles James Shoemaker, died September 23, 1915.

ANNUAL.

Luther Curran Darte, died May 1, 1913.
George H. Flanagan, died January 10, 1915.
Hon. George Steele Ferris, died April 1, 1914.
Edmund Hurlbut, died October 30, 1912.
Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D., died June 17, 1914.
George Brubaker Kulp, died February 15, 1915.
Hon. Henry Wilbur Palmer, died February 15, 1913.
Captain Cyrus Straw, died March 7, 1915.
Moses Waller Wadhams, died January 10, 1915.

HONORARY.

Charles Francis Richardson, Ph. D., Litt. D., died October 8, 1913.

CORRESPONDING.

Robert Alonzo Brock, died July 11, 1914.
General John S. Clark.
Christopher Eldridge Hawley.
Frederic Nesbitt, died June 21, 1911.

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William M. Samson.
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*Hon. Charles Tubbs.
Samuel French Wadhams.
Abraham Waltham.
Mrs. Margaret (Lacoe) White.
William Alonzo Wilcox.

*Deceased.

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- Abram Goodwin Nesbitt.
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- Samuel Nesbitt Smythe.
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- *Gen. William Sterling Ross.
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- Hon. Sterling Ross Catlin.
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- *William Lord Conyngham.
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- *Hon. Eckley Brinton Coxe.
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- Mrs. Sarah H. (Wright) Guthrie.
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- *Hon. Garrick Mallery Harding.
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 *Henry Baker Hillman.
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 James Sutton.
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 *Percy Rutter Thomas.
 Miss Sallie Brinton Thomas.
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 *Hon. Samuel Gonsalus Turner.
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 Christopher Wren.
 Anthony Lawrence Williams.
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 Mrs. Margaret M. (Myers) Yeager.
 *Elias Baylits Yordy.

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†The payment of one hundred dollars at one time by a member not in arrears, shall constitute him a life member, with an exemption from all future payments.

"All moneys received on account of life membership, shall be securely invested by the Trustees in the name of the Society, and shall form a fund to be called "The Life Membership Fund", the interest only of which shall be available for the uses of the Society.

‡"Any person contributing to the Society at one time a fund of one thousand dollars or more shall be placed on the list of Life Members with the title of 'Benefactor'. The Life Membership list shall be published annually."

The life member is entitled to all the publications and privileges of the Society, free, and by the payment of his fee establishes a permanent memorial of his name which never expires, but always bears interest for the benefit of the Society. His is therefore always a *living* membership.

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 Oscar Herbert Dille.
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 Gen. Charles Bowman Dougherty.
 Miss Helen Dougherty.
 Francis Douglass.
 Mrs. Ella (Bicking) Emory.
 Charles Enzian.
 Barnet Miller Espy.
 Rev. James McCulloch Farr, D. D.
 *George H. Flanagan.
- *Alexander Gray Fell, M. D.
 Daniel Ackley Fell, Jr.
 Ralph Winfield Ferrell.
 *Hon. George Steele Ferris.
 Harry Livingston French.
 Joseph E. Fleitz.
 Mrs. Blandine J. Foster.
 Ferdinand S. Fowler.
 Hon. Henry Amzi Fuller.
 Edmund Junius Gates.
 Charles K. Gloman.
 Charles H. Gillam.
 Edward Gunster.
 *John Charles Haddock.
 Mrs. Mary Richardson Hand.
 William G. Harding.
 Miss Caroline Ives Harrower.
 Charles D. S. Harrower.
 Miss Mary Harvey.
 Oscar Jewell Harvey.
 Horace Edwin Hayden, Jr.
 Lord Butler Hillard.
 Oliver Charles Hillard.
 Tuthill Reynolds Hillard.
 Arthur Hillman.
 John Justin Hines.
 S. Alexander Hodge.
 Lyman H. Howe.
 John T. Howell, M. D.
 *Miss Augusta Hoyt.
 Charles Frederick Huber.
 John M. Humphreys.
 W. Frank Hughes.
 Miss Anna Mercer Hunt.
 Charles Parrish Hunt.
 Lea Hunt.
 *Edmund Hurlburt.
 Benjamin W. Jenkins.
 Miss Emma J. Jenkins.
 John E. Jenkins.
 Albert Beardsley Jessup.
 George D. Johnson.
 Mrs. Georgia P. Johnson.
 Mrs. Grace (Derr) Johnson.
 *Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S.T.D.
 Harry E. Jordan.
 Miss Ernestine Martin Kaehlin.
 Mrs. Amelia Maria (Carter) Kennedy.
 Frederick Charles Kirkendall.
 Charles P. Knapp, M. D.
 *George Brubaker Kulp.
 James F. Labagh.

*Deceased.

Elmer Henry Lawall.
 Charles Wilber Laycock.
 George Washington Leach, Jr.
 Edwin T. Long.
 Charles W. Lee.
 Henry Lees.
 Charles Jonas Long.
 Mrs. Dora (Rosenbaum) Long.
 Miss Martha Adelia Maffet.
 Harry Clark Mason.
 Andrew Todd McClintock.
 Gilbert Stewart McClintock.
 George Roberts McLean.
 William Swan McLean, Sr.
 William Swan McLean, Jr.
 Granville Thomas Matlack, M. D.
 Mrs. Helen (Reynolds) Miller.
 Benjamin Franklin Morgan.
 Charles Evans Morgan.
 Eugene Worth Mulligan.
 Charles Francis Murray.
 George Nicholson.
 Samuel T. Nicholson.
 Robert VanAlstine Norris.
 Robert VanAlstine Norris, Jr.
 Mrs. Anna (Miner) Oliver.
 *Miss Frances J. Overton.
 Miss Priscilla Lee Paine.
 *Hon. Henry W. Palmer.
 Frank Pardee.
 Major Harry W. Pierce.
 Israel Platt Pardee.
 Frank Ellsworth Parkhurst.
 William Henry Peck.
 Miss Myra Poland.
 Frank Puckey.
 Robert A. Quinn.
 John W. Raeder.
 John Butler Reynolds.
 Mrs. Mabel (Doudge) Reynolds.
 Hon. Charles Edmund Rice.
 Philip F. Rice.
 William Henry Richmond.
 Mrs. Elizabeth (Reynolds) Ricketts.
 Col. Robert Bruce Ricketts.
 Robert Patterson Robinson.
 J. Irving Roe, M. D.
Arthello Ross Root.

Miss Marion Virginia Rudrauff.
 Leslie Sturdevant Ryman.
 John Edward Sayre.
 Rabbi Marcus Salzman.
 Christian H. Scharer.
 Miss Cornelia Wilcox Stark.
 *Capt. Cyrus Straw.
 Seligman J. Strauss.
 Harry Clavton Shepherd.
 William Carver Shepherd.
 Walter Carlton Sterling.
 Rev. Winfield Scott Stites.
 Harry B. Schooley.
 Archie Carver Shoemaker, M. D.
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 Hon. William J. Scott.
 Mrs. Mary (Whittaker) Son.
 Archibald DeWitt Smith.
 Ernest Gray Smith.
 Dr. Louise M. Stoeckel-Lunquist.
 Frank Sturdevant Stone.
 William Romaine Stull.
 Dunning Sturdevant.
 Mrs. Mary Stark Sturdevant.
 Guy Sturdevant.
 William Henry Sturdevant.
 Walter Coray Sutherland.
 Prof. William E. Traxler.
 Miss Mary L. Trescott.
 Isaac Miner Thomas.
 Rev. Frederick von Krug, D. D.
 Theodore Constant VanStorch, Jr.
 Mrs. Francis D. Lynde Wadhams.
 *Moses Waller Wadhams.
 Ralph Holberton Wadhams.
 Levi Ellmaker Waller.
 Samuel D. Warriner.
 William O. Washburn.
 Hon. Louis Arthur Watres.
 Hon. Frank W. Wheaton.
 Henry Hunter Welles, Jr.
 Mrs. Stella H. Welles.
 Theodore Ladd Welles.
 Joshua Lewis Welter.
 James Pryor Williamson.
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Jan 1900



GENERAL ISAAC JONES WISTAR, U. S. A.

Coxe Publication Fund.

PROCEEDINGS

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE YEAR 1917.

EDITED BY

REV. HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN, M. A.,

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.



VOLUME XV.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1917.

PRINTED BY THE E. B. YORDY Co.
Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

PREFACE.

In presenting Volume No. XV to the members of The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, it should be said that the Rev. Horace E. Hayden, Corresponding Secretary, has corrected and edited all the matter which it contains.

It is with regret that we have to say that, just as the volume was ready for the press, Mr. Hayden became too ill to give it the final finishing touch by writing the Preface. This has, therefore, been done by the other members of the Publishing Committee. It is hoped that Mr. Hayden will soon be able to again take up his active work for the Society, in which he is so much interested.

Volume XV keeps closely to the line of subjects which fall within the scope of our Society, and we feel that it will not suffer by a comparison of its contents with previous publications of the Society.

The "*In Memorium*" to Eckley B. Coxe, Jr., will have a general interest, as Mr. Coxe was associated with large business affairs in our county, showed a real interest during his lifetime in the work and was a generous and liberal supporter of our Society.

The detailed descriptive paper of one of the fine Indian collections in our cases, by Mr. Alfred F. Berlin, will be of interest to Archeologists generally.

The selections from the "Reminiscences of Gen. Isaac J. Wistar," by Gen. Charles Bowman Dougherty, touches the activities of a very eventful life in many phases, especially during the California gold excitement in 1849.

The Vital Statistics of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, continued from Vol. XIV, covers the period from 1839 to 1866, and will be of interest to many members.

The volume includes, also, the current yearly matter, as printed in previous volumes: Obituaries of Members, Reports, Lists of Officers and Members, etc.

GEORGE F. CODDINGTON,
MISS MYRA POLAND,
CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Publishing Committee.

August 1, 1917.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

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Rooms open to the public daily, except Sunday, from 10 A. M. to 5 P. M.

Members receive all privileges free, also all publications of the Society.

The Society has published fifteen volumes and twenty-five pamphlets.

The Geological Library has over 2,000 volumes with all State reports.

The Society solicits donations of Indian relics, local especially, geological specimens and local antiquities.

Address,

Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,

Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

FORM OF A BEQUEST.

I give and bequeath to the "WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY," the sum of (*here state the sum to be given*), for the use of said Society absolutely.

FORM OF A DEVISE.

I give and bequeath (*here describe the real estate to be given*), unto the "WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY," its successors and assigns forever.

The Society will be glad to receive any parts of Volume 1 of its Publications that members may be willing to spare.

For sale, one set 2d Penn'a Geological Survey, 120 volumes (new). One set Grand Atlas, 6 volumes. One set Penn'a Mine Reports, 43 volumes.

Johnson's Historical Record of Wyoming Valley. 14 volumes, full of family and local history, \$15.00; reduced from \$21.00. No longer printed. Single volumes, \$1.50. Proceeds to create the Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund, 1770-1792. Founder of First Presbyterian Church, Wilkes-Barre.

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REPORTS AND COLLECTIONS
OF THE
Wyoming Historical and Geological Society

Volume XV.

WILKES-BARRÉ, PA.

1917

REPORTS.

**Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for the
Year ending February 11, 1916.**

*Mr. President and Members of the Wyoming Historical and
Geological Society:*

A coincidence that can occur but once in the history of this Society is the fact that this is the fifty-eighth anniversary of its organization which occurred fifty-eight years ago this night, February 11, 1858.

We have really celebrated the occasion properly by the issue of the fourteenth volume of our Proceedings, which in the character of its contents fully equals any of its predecessors.

It is with heartfelt congratulations that I am able to report a most important and sorely needed advance in the work of the Society in a larger membership than ever before, and an endowment that should make our hearts glad with thankfulness and with great hopes for the future of the Society.

You were last year urged most earnestly to take some action toward adding to both of these features of the work. The result of our efforts were the generous gifts from Mr. Abram Nesbitt of \$8,000 in good negotiable bonds, and \$2,000 from Mr. John Welles Hollenback, both of which liberal members had already added much to our endowment. These gifts, with the addition from life membership, has increased the endowment of the Society to over \$67,000.

But this is not all. The most interesting part of our annual volume of Proceedings just issued is the "Reminiscences of the Hon. Charles Miner, a Pennsylvania Pioneer," one of the earliest members of this Society in 1858, and the author of the "History of Wyoming, 1845," which has made

our section famous by its tragic narrative of the massacre of 1778. His granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Miner Richardson, whose husband, Dr. Charles Francis Richardson, Ph. D., Lit. D., was the editor of the "Reminiscence", has ordered 500 reprints of this fascinating narrative to be issued and has donated to the Society several hundred copies of the work bound like the annual volume. These are to be sold by the Society for its benefit. They will be offered to the many public libraries and book lovers in the country and the proceeds will be devoted to the formation of a "Charles Miner (Historian) Fund", to be added to the endowment.

This purpose has so well suited the desires of Mrs. Richardson that she has sent to the Treasurer the sum of \$500 to begin this fund, which the sale of the reprints will increase to \$1,000. Besides this fund, Mrs. Frederick C. Johnson has promised to add \$500 to the fund created by her last year and named for her late husband, so long our Treasurer and Historiographer, increasing that fund to \$1,000.

The necessary income for the Society is \$4,500. Membership, of course, makes up a part of this amount, but membership fluctuates as investments do not, unless it be in bonded securities. Members will die and the only way to lessen the financial loss that thus falls upon the Society is to have our life membership increased. That is a memorial membership, never decreasing, always invested and annually published in memory of the life member, while annual membership ceases with the death of the member. Among the six life members added in the past year, four were the names of deceased members made life members in their memory.

Reference has just been made to the binding of our many unbound books. The Society has about 500 books in its library awaiting binding, the only binding fund we have being the Andrew Hunlock Fund, which nets the Society annually fifty dollars for binding the historical and genealogical magazines. The continual additions of unbound books is easily explained.

There are between 200 and 300 Historical Societies in the United States, including over forty which are members of the Federated Historical Societies of our own State of Pennsylvania. The Librarian has enriched the Society

library during the past twenty years by a system of exchange with fully 150 of these societies, and that is one reason why this Society has such a wide reputation for its volumes of Proceedings. In this exchange some of the largest historical societies like the New York Society, the Pennsylvania, the Essex, the New Jersey, the Michigan, the Wisconsin, the Antiquarian and other such large societies have sent us in exchange what has quadrupled what we have sent them, thirty and forty volumes for our fourteen. Many students have come here for research after days of unfruitful visitation to the Library of Congress and other like institutions and have found here the very information they had in vain sought for elsewhere, because the Librarian is personally interested.

Now many of these societies of lesser size or finances than those just named are not able to issue their publications bound. Hence, coming to us unbound, if used in that condition, they are often worn out before binding is possible. You will recall that this Society, of which you are members, issued twenty-five pamphlets and eleven volumes of Proceedings unbound before the Coxe Fund of \$10,000 made it possible to give our members their volumes in binding.

It will cost us annually \$200 to bind the unbound additions to the library until all the 200 societies are able to send out their publications bound. Will not members think of this needed fund for the library, and will not some, who are rich in this world's goods, and, who cannot take with them their wealth into the other world, remember the Society in their last Will and Testament by a legacy for a general Binding Fund? All these designated funds are perpetual memorials of the givers. And the twenty-five names among the benefactors of the Society show their interest created by this method of keeping alive their generous deeds.

The Society has in its collection 26,000 Indian artifacts of great value, 13,000 minerals, 20,000 books, and 5,000 other articles of interest on which only an insurance of \$10,000 can be carried from lack of funds. Suppose this fine institution should be struck with lightning and burned? Ten thousand dollars will be but a drop in the bucket to cover the great loss that would be created.

The present insurance costs the Society just \$100 for three years. Ought we not to do something to double this amount at once? Two hundred dollars for three years is only about

\$68 per annum and it would seem a paramount duty to double the insurance at that rate to \$20,000. Will you not immediately authorize the Treasurer to take this necessity into consideration and act promptly?

Then the Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund, created by the gift from our late Treasurer, Dr. Frederick C. Johnson, of the entire edition of his "Wilkes-Barre Historical Record", in memory of his ancestor, the founder of the Presbyterian Church in this County, and which fund has now reached the sum of \$1,000 invested in mortgages, gives promise of being increased to \$1,500 by the sale of the remainder of the material donated to the Society for that purpose. This remainder consisted of about fifteen incomplete sets of the Record which the Society has been enabled to complete by reprinting the first number of the first volume, and is thus fortunate enough to be able to offer to the public that many additional sets to secure the needed \$500.

These Historical Records have charmed every one who has read them, and not one member who has invested in them will be found willing to part with them. But they need to be examined and read to realize what a mine of local history they contain. The Librarian makes a most earnest appeal to the reading public, especially those who are members of the Presbyterian Churches of the Valley, to examine and purchase the few remaining volumes as a matter of personal pride, and in honor of the first settled clergyman of Wyoming who stamped his individuality so distinctly on the religious life of this section by his nearly thirty years of earnest pastoral life in Luzerne county, the only Clergyman ministering to the multitudes here during all those years.

This Historical Record was published in fourteen volumes and was sold by Dr. Johnson for \$21. When he donated the entire edition to the Society the price was fixed by him at \$15 for the fourteen volumes. These fourteen volumes, bound in five volumes, in handsome buckram at the small price of five dollars, makes the cost to the buyer only \$20. They will repay any one who can spend that amount in adding these books to his library, and he will receive a full financial return for the outlay in the pleasure they will give.

In speaking of the enlarged endowment, let it be remembered that the annual interest of \$67,000 at 5 per cent. will

only be \$3,500, and with an ever increasing library and cabinets, with curators to compensate, and papers to be secured for the meetings, with books to be bound as well as purchased, with insurance and salaries to be paid, this income is surely little enough to keep up the largest Historical Society in the State of Pennsylvania, outside of Philadelphia.

The Society has held the four regular meetings during the past year required by the State law, which requires the County to donate to our treasury \$200 annually, in the month of January; that sum for 1916 having been placed in the treasury through the librarian on the 13th of the past month.

At the annual meeting on February 11, 1915, the officers of the previous year were re-elected, except the Senior Vice President, which office was vacated by the death of our honored member—Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D. His place was filled by the choice of Hon. J. Butler Woodward, who was elected Senior Vice President, and whose great interest in the Society was manifested during the past year by the addition of twelve new annual and life members.

The reports of officers were also read and several members were elected, and we were also deeply interested by an unpublished chapter from his "History of Wilkes-Barre", read by special request by Oscar Jewell Harvey, Esq., the Historiographer of the Society. It was entitled "At the Threshold of the Second Pennamite and Yankee War, 1783."

The quarterly meeting, April 16, 1915, was called to consider the financial condition of the Society with a deficit in the treasury of several hundred dollars. Plans to overcome the deficit were presented for consideration and approval.

The third quarterly meeting, held October 8, 1915, was devoted to hearing an interesting account from a diary of a young Philadelphian of a visit he paid to Wilkes-Barre in 1840. The diary was read by George R. Bedford, Esq., who added to its interest greatly by personal reminiscences of those early days and other comparisons of local history. The reader was warmly thanked and the diary referred to the Publishing Committee, to appear in the forthcoming volume fifteen.

The fourth quarterly meeting was held December 10, 1915, to hear another very interesting historical paper, being the report of the anniversary meeting of the Society held in the rooms of the Society on Franklin street, in the third story of the old Miners Bank Building, February 11, 1859. The programme of the exercises for that day extended from morning to night, the evening meeting occurring in the old Fell House in the room where Judge Fell made his experiment of burning anthracite coal in a domestic grate. The toasts at the morning meeting were responded to by such public men as Volney Maxwell, Esq., Rev. Dr. Peck, Dr. Charles F. Ingham, Judge Edmund L. Dana, Caleb E. Wright, Esq., Col. Hendrick B. Wright and Judge John N. Conyngham, all of whom have passed away. Mr. Bedford also read a most interesting letter, published in the Philadelphia North American of September, 1859, giving an account of a visit made to Wilkes-Barre and the Wyoming Valley in that year, referring to the then nearly completed court house on Public Square as a "handsome fireproof temple of inland litigation."

He spoke of the general business depression then in evidence in the valley and expressed a hope that conditions might be improved when an adequate protective tariff should be put into effect. Both of these papers were generously interspersed with illuminating historical comments by Mr. Bedford.

The unanimous vote of thanks to Mr. Bedford followed the reading of these papers and the papers were referred to the Publishing Committee for production in the next volume, fifteen, of the Society. At each of these meetings members were elected and business transacted for the advancement of the Society.

At the December meeting the Corresponding Secretary announced the generous gifts of Mr. Abram Nesbitt and Mr. John Welles Hollenback. Mr. Nesbitt's gift of \$8,000 and Mr. Hollenback's of \$2,000, with Mrs. Richardson's contribution to the Charles Miner Fund of \$500, with the life memberships increased the Endowment Fund to \$68,000. Can we not make it \$70,000 during the present year?

SOCIETY'S NEW MEMBERS.

During the past year the following persons were elected to the membership of the Society in the specified class:

BENEFACTORS.

Mrs. Elizabeth Miner (Thomas) Richardson, Boston.
 Abram Goodwin Nesbitt, Kingston.
 Abram Nesbitt Smythe.
 Samuel Nesbitt Smythe.
 Mrs. Sarah (Nesbitt) Smythe.
 Mrs. Emily (Hollenback) Taylor.
 Miss Anna Hollenback Taylor.

LIFE MEMBERS.

*Rev. Henry Lawrence Jones, S. T. D.
 John Markle, of Jeddo.
 Henry Haupt Derr, Jr.
 Albert D. Shonk, Plymouth.
 George Shoemaker, Kingston.
 Mrs. Fanny Vaughn (Loveland) Brodhead.

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

James Cool.
 Edmund Jayne Gates, Wilkes-Barre.
 Mrs. Ellen (Brisbane) Harding, Wilkes-Barre.
 Robert Harvey, Wilkes-Barre.
 *William N. Jennings, Wilkes-Barre.
 Harry C. Miller, Wilkes-Barre.
 Edward Wheeler Parker, Wilkes-Barre.
 Bruce Payne, Wilkes-Barre.
 Col. William Carroll Price, Wilkes-Barre.
 Edwin Shortz, Jr., Wilkes-Barre.
 William Sharpe, Wilkes-Barre.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Mr. Reuben Nelson Davis, Scranton.

Honorary Members.....	I
Life Members	7
Annual Members	II

**Report of the Curator of Archeology for the Year ending
February 11, 1916.**

*To the Officers and Members of the Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a.*

In the Department of Archeology and Ethnology of our Society the year just closed seems to have been more prolific of interesting results, as it has been in the eastern part of the United States, than has been the case for a number of years past. Students of the subject seem to be directing more attention to this field than they have done heretofore.

On October 15, 1915, a bronze tablet was dedicated at Sunbury (Shamokin), Pa., to Shikellamy, the "half king" or vice-regent of the Iroquois, who, for a number of years represented their interests among the surrounding Algonquins and with the Colonial government of Pennsylvania.

The ceremonies of the unveiling of the tablet were under the auspices of Fort Augusta Chapter, D. A. R., in conjunction with the Pennsylvania Historical Commission.

The boulder on which this tablet is mounted was quarried from the mountains of Luzerne county near Wapwallopen, and was secured through your curator of archeology, who also had a part in the ceremonies of dedication.

On the same date several tablets were unveiled at Selins Grove, a few miles from Sunbury, commemorating the massacre of white settlers by the Indians at Penn's Creek in 1755, an incident in the French and Indian War.

In April, 1915, Mr. E. H. Gohl, of Auburn, N. Y., discovered an old Indian village site at the north end of Lake Owasco, near Auburn, which has attracted widespread attention.

Representatives of The National Museum at Washington, D. C., Harvard, Pennsylvania and Yale Universities, The Museum of Natural History, New York City, Arthur C. Parker, State Archeologist of New York, and a number of others have visited the location, and all concur in classifying the implements and other things found as pure Algonquian, while the locality is in the heart of what is known as Iroquoian territory.

Mr. Parker, in an interview given the Auburn Advertiser, says: "The small village which was occupied for some period of time by members of the Algonquian nation is undoubtedly the basis for the discoveries. It is not possible to tell just what tribe of the Algonquins dwelt near the lake, but it must have been one similar to those which inhabited the region about the Susquehanna and the Hudson."

"The importance of the discoveries lies in the fact that the find affords a connecting link between the Algonquins of the Susquehanna and the Delaware as well as the Indians whose territory stretched westward along the Genesee and into Pennsylvania. The nearest discoveries of a like nature are those made at the southern end of Canandaigua Lake."

Some of the authorities place the date of the occupancy of this site as far back as five hundred years, probably prior to the time when the Iroquois selected this ideal location as the seat of their compact and powerful Confederation.

Another discovery of unusual interest in the past year was a village site, which is believed to be very old, on Rancocas creek, near Moorestown, N. J., east of Camden.

The attention of the University of Pennsylvania was called to this discovery, and explorations were carried on during a large part of the summer, under the direction of Mr. George L. Harrison, son of a former Provost of the University. From a preliminary report upon the implements and other things found, they seem to be of peculiar types, differing considerably from those previously found in New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania.

Further attention will be given to the locality by the University and a full report will be issued on it at some future time.

Special mention is made of these two discoveries, because they are in territory not far removed from our own region, and further investigations may show them to be related to the early inhabitants of the Susquehanna Valley, through similarities in the artifacts found, and thus help to solve some of the problems which puzzle the student of our region.

We have secured for this Society within the past few weeks a number of rare and unusual Indian specimens, collected along the Susquehanna, between Rupert and Northumberland, Pa., principally from the vicinity of Danville.

Many of these differ materially in their features from anything which the writer has previously seen in the region, and thus we add valuable material to our already large exhibit of the Susquehanna watershed.

They include (a) twenty stone and clay pipes, among them three of the "effigy" type—a large bird with outstretched wings, a frog modeled in the round, some kind of an animal (frog or monkey), in relief, grasping the bowl of the pipe with its four legs, two "Monitor" pipes, extremely rare in this locality, and a number of clay pipes, differing very much from any pipes which I have seen in this region.

(b) A number of "Gorgetts" or ceremonials, some with two and some with three perforations, not common.

(c) Several dagger like weapons or implements sharpened to an edge along the blade and pointed on one end and with a handle on the other. They are $11\frac{3}{4}$ and $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, respectively. They seem to be unique.

(d) A stone pick sharpened to a point on both ends with a groove around the middle for attaching a handle, an unusual specimen.

(e) Three almost complete shallow soapstone bowls with handles. These are $13\frac{1}{2}$, 10 and 9 inches long, respectively. These are so rare that our Society has but one whole specimen, found in Wyoming Valley.

One crude grooved axe 11 inches long, besides a number of other not common pieces.

A number of these articles were found on the grounds of the State Hospital at Danville, Pa., which tradition says was an Indian village and burial ground. Many of them have the appearance of being very old, differing in this respect from most of the artifacts found along the Susquehanna.

These acquisitions are a large part of the rare and scarce specimens in the collection of Mr. Charles M. Johnston of Danville, Pa., which he has gathered during the past thirty years, and, so far as I am acquainted with the collections in the Susquehanna Valley, I do not know where they could be duplicated.

If our members could know of the complimentary and commendatory things which have been said about the

Society in all its departments during the past year, they would appreciate more fully the place which The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is coming to hold among similar societies in our own State and throughout the country.

I cannot refrain from saying at this place that I feel that the continued and enlarged growth of the Society is due in largest measure to the loyal and unsparing manner in which our Corresponding Secretary, Rev. Horace E. Hayden, gives himself to its best interests, and that an expression of appreciation of his efforts by our members will cheer and encourage him in his work as the years pass.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRISTOPHER WREN,
Curator of Archeology.

February 11, 1916.

Treasurer's Report

Of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,
Year Ending December 31, 1915.

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand, January 1, 1915—Check Account	\$ 393.63	
Savings	3,514.07	
	\$ 3,907.70	
Membership dues	735.00	
Income from Investments	2,701.25	
Investment Account, Investments Paid, etc.	3,625.17	
Life Memberships	300.00	
Luzerne County Appropriation	200.00	
Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund	232.23	
Bills Payable	600.00	
Total Receipts	\$12,301.35	

EXPENDITURES.

Salaries	\$ 2,680.75	
Incidentals	120.00	
Telephone	30.00	
Insurance	100.00	
Interest on Specials Funds	1,249.50	
Books	100.00	
Sundry Expense	99.73	
Binding Account	73.38	
Investment Account	4,000.00	
Balance—Check Account	\$ 176.52	
Savings Account	3,671.47	
	3,847.99	
	\$12,301.35	

SECURITIES IN HANDS OF TREASURER, DEC. 31, 1915.

BONDS AND STOCKS.

Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 6%	\$ 500.00	
People's Telephone Co., 5%	1,000.00	
Frontier Telephone Co., 5%	1,000.00	
Scranton Gas & Water Co., 5%	5,000.00	
Wilkes-Barre Company, 5%	1,500.00	
Muncie & Union City Traction Co., 5%	1,000.00	
United Gas & Electric Co., 5%	1,000.00	
Columbia & Montour Ry., 5%	1,000.00	
Webster Coal & Coke Co., 5%	4,000.00	
Canton-Akron Railway Co., 5%	1,000.00	
Minneapolis Gas Light Co., 5%	1,000.00	
Spring Brook Water Supply Co., 5%	11,000.00	
Plymouth Bridge Co., 5%	6,000.00	
Sheldon Axle Co., 5%	2,000.00	
Indianapolis, New Castle & Eastern Tr. Co., 6%	1,000.00	
Lackawanna & Wyoming Valley Rapid Transit Co., 5%	1,000.00	
Eastern Wisconsin Railway & Light Co., 5%	1,000.00	
The Raeder Blank Book Lithographing & Printing Co., 5%	8,000.00	
Twenty shares stock Hazard Mfg. Co.	1,000.00	
Total bonds and stocks	\$49,000.00	
Seven mortgages, 6%	\$11,700.00	
One mortgage, 5½%	2,600.00	
	14,300.00	
Total investments at par value	\$63,300.00	

Respectfully submitted,

C. W. LAYCOCK,
Treasurer.

**Report of the Corresponding Secretary and Librarian for the
Year ending February 11, 1917.**

*To the President and Trustees of the Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society.*

GENTLEMEN: In presenting my annual report I have the very great privilege and pleasure of announcing to you that we begin this fifty-ninth year of this Society with the assurance that we are to-day a self-supporting Society. A retrospective glance will enable us to appreciate this fact with unusual gratification and thankfulness.

On this day, February, 1858, this Society was born, with marked promise of a successful future. The first anniversary of the organization was celebrated with a most enthusiastic meeting, the record of which was read to us by George R. Bedford, Esq., December 16, 1915. It shows that popular addresses were made before a large audience by such members and speakers as Rev. Dr. Peck, Judge E. L. Dana, Col. John B. Conyngham, Volney L. Maxwell, Esq., Dr. C. F. Ingham, Caleb E. Wright, Esq. The account of the day's attendance is thus given by the daily paper of that period:

"An eager crowd from early in the forenoon until late dinner time poured up the stairs of the hall and showed by their numbers the interest excited in town, and by their pleased and surprised countenances how well they considered the public repaid and deservedly earned."

Two years after this date the Civil War began and for the four following years the Society had a more or less fluctuating record. In 1859 General Ross presented the Society with "near 10,000 objects", according to the minutes. This gave the organization a character that invited other gifts and additions were made to the library and cabinets by others, and the activities do not seem to have lessened to any extent as shown by the minutes, until 1870. Meanwhile the Society had accumulated no reserve fund or endowment. But in January, 1870, a special circular was issued to the members and signed by such persons as Hon. J. N. Conyngham, Hon. E. L. Dana, Dr. Charles F. Ingham, Dr. E. R. Mayer, and others, calling a meeting for the twelfth anniversary of its organization in the following strong words:

"If the old men of the Society are becoming mentally and physically infirm, are there not young men in our midst who will strive to give new life to the institution. At least, let us all come prepared to give the Society decent burial."

This appeal had a marked effect, resulting later in the determination to acquire a permanent home and endowment for the organization. The Town Council was asked to donate to the Society a proper site for the proposed home. The response to this appeal was the gift to the Society of the old graveyard on Market street, now occupied by the handsome City Hall. Also a popular subscription was taken to secure the financial part, with the result shown by the minutes of February, 1871, when subscriptions were obtained from thirty-two members to the amount of \$5,350. Why this venture failed of realization the minutes show. But they do not record any endowment for the perpetuation of the Society until 1894, of which we will speak later. Meanwhile a new factor arose in the Society to whose indefatigable industry, intense interest, and whole-hearted devotion, the Society will ever owe a debt that cannot be paid except by making the Society permanently independent. I refer to that unusual man and student, Harrison Wright, A. M., Ph. D., who had graduated with honor at Heidelberg, Germany, and had become a member of the Luzerne County Bar. Independently wealthy, trained in scientific and historic lines, versatile, enthusiastic, attractive personally beyond the ordinary, he entered into the spirit of the Society indicated by its name "Historical and Geological", with zeal.

In 1873 he was elected to the office of the Recording Secretary, when he associated with himself such active and enthusiastic members as Charles F. Ingham, M. D., and Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., both men of leisure and students. They immediately gave new inspiration to the Society. From 1872 to 1885, a period of thirteen years, Dr. Wright was the soul of the organization, which increased greatly in members, in influence, and in effective work. His death in 1885 was a most grievous loss to the organization. The burden of the work then fell on Dr. Ingham and Mr. Reynolds, who in 1892 disposed of the lots donated to the Society by the City for \$4,500, and thus secured the first endowment for the purposes of the work. In 1894 Mr. Reynolds and the present Librarian increased this amount by securing thirty or more Life members, to the sum of

\$8,000. Dr. Ingham died in 1890 and Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., in 1895, a loss to the Society second only to that caused by the death of Dr. Wright. Meanwhile the generosity of Mr. Isaac S. Osterhout, who in founding the Osterhout Free Library provided a permanent home for this Society, resulted in the erection by the Library Trustees of the present handsome building occupied by its Library and collections. This has enabled the organization to maintain itself with credit and honor until to-day, the twenty-third year since the loss of its master hands, the endowment of \$8,000 had grown to over \$82,000, mainly by the generous gift of Mr. Abram Nesbitt, of Kingston, who during the past two years had added to our treasury over \$20,000, and others have given largely according to their means. In addition to this important and essential foundation of success the Society numbers among its 400 members 330 Life members at \$100 each.

One of the most important assets of the Society secured in its fifty-nine years of life is its publications, without which no organization of the kind can have permanent growth. The first title issued from our press was the valuable paper on "Mineral Coal," written and delivered before the Society in February, 1858, by Volney L. Maxwell, Esq. Nothing further issued from our press until the beginning of Volume I in 1881, followed by eight other similar papers in 1882, 1883 and 1884, Vol. 2 in 1885, and Vol. 3 in 1886. After this the press of the Society was silent until 1896, when Volume 4 was published by the present Librarian, followed during the succeeding twenty years by Volumes 5 to 14, with Volume 15 now in the press. These volumes are to be found in most of the United States Historical Society Libraries. One other very important help in developing this Society has been the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, organized at Harrisburg in 1905, with twelve local societies, of which this Society was one. Before our Society was born there were but five such organizations in this State. The oldest being the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, began 1744, the second being the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, organized 1824. For many years, even after this Society began its existence, it was the desire of the Pennsylvania Society to have all local Societies made adjuncts to its charter.

This Federation was promoted by the Philadelphia

Society. To-day forty-five such Societies compose the representation of the work in the Federation, the twelfth meeting of which was held last month. This meeting was most gratifying in its increasing numbers and the fine spirit manifested. The State will take special interest in the work of the Federation and a liberal support is promised. This Federation will in time so promote the study of local history as to develop a local Society in every county.

America is fully three hundred years old; the first settlement in New England, from which we descended, began 1620. The present generation can hardly realize that it has been only within the last thirty years that we of the United States have awakened to the fact that America had any history worth presenting to the coming generations. Only within that period have our American Colleges and Universities been aroused to the necessity of establishing a Chair of American History for instructing their pupils in this liveliest of secular subjects. The matter has been for so many years left entirely to authors, whose works since Bancroft's time have been voluminous. Now I believe it is taught in most American institutions of learning.

The Library of this Wyoming Historical and Geological Society is growing slowly, but with great care in selection. It is exclusively a Society of American History, Geology, Ethnology and Genealogy. We desire to impress on the public mind this fact. The Scranton and Osterhout Free Libraries no longer add to their treasuries the special books kept by this Society. The Scranton Library of 50,000 is, like this Society, a United States Depository for every title issued by the United States Government, but it is, with this Society, the only place in northeastern Pennsylvania where public documents are kept. They include, apart from the ordinary public reports, all the legal documents and publications issued by the Government. The Scranton Library refuses to keep genealogical works, of which we have about 1,000 volumes, but she keeps a full catalogue of the titles on that subject in this library and sends inquirers here for study. Thus both libraries are made useful without duplication.

It does seem important that the dwellers in this part of the State should know that this Society Library is a really Public Library. Not a FREE library, as that involves *circulation* of books. There was a strong desire on the part of

some when the Osterhout Free Library was started and this Society library was provided with a separate building to make both libraries somewhat exclusive, the Osterhout Free Library to Wilkes-Barre City and the Historical Library to its members. But that proposition failed. This Society made such a plan impossible years ago, when it secured the passage of a law by the State Legislature requiring the Public Printer to supply every historical and public library in the State with a copy of every title issued from the State printing press. Also by accepting the appointment by the United States Government of this Society as a public depository, both of which actions committed this Society to open its library to the public. Of the 20,000 books in this library fully 5,000 are government documents and are constantly called for by students.

The Society has during the past month subscribed to the Index of the New York Times, covering the contents of that valuable paper for the years 1913, 1914, 1915 and 1916. There are only two sets of this Index in this part of the State, and as they are invaluable for reporters of the papers and for students especially, of our public schools for essays and debates, the volumes are accessible to all who may wish to use them each week-day from 10 a. m. to 5 p. m. We warmly encourage their use, and if they do not appeal to the students and reporters of this section the Society will not subscribe for them after 1917.

During the past year the usual four meetings required by the State law of all Societies receiving county financial aid have been held. The first of these was the annual meeting held February 11, 1916, at which the annual reports of officers were read and Mr. Alfred Franklin Berlin of Allentown delivered his lecture on his unusual collection of American Ethnology, which has so long graced this Society. This collection the Society purchased in _____, and the address of Mr. Berlin, illustrated, will form the first paper in Volume XV, to be issued this year.

The second meeting of the Society was held April 14, 1916, when General Charles Bowman Dougherty read a most interesting paper entitled "The Reminiscences of General Isaac Jones Wister, U. S. A.," who was once President and Vice President of the Susquehanna Coal Company. The paper having double interest by giving his "Diary of a Trip Through Wyoming Valley, 1884."

The third meeting of the Society was held October 13, when business was transacted and members elected.

And the fourth meeting, of December 15, was held to listen to a paper read by George R. Bedford, Esq., on "Reminiscences of Wilkes-Barre by a Visitor in 1848," rich in its description of the valley and still more enriched by the recollections of the reader. At this last meeting the Society was delighted by the report of the generous gift of \$12,000 to the endowment fund by Abram Nesbitt, Esq., and \$1,000 from Mrs. C. D. Foster.

The Society is now unique as a "Historical and Geological Society", in that it covers all that is understood in these two names and its library, by purchase and exchange, contains nearly all the publications of fully 200 of the Historical Societies of the United States and Canada, with every magazine of Genealogy, besides the annual publications of fully sixty State Geological Departments and Scientific Societies. No such library probably exists in the State of Pennsylvania. The enlargement by the Trustees of its annual book allowance will in the future greatly enrich this literature.

During the past year the Library has been increased by the addition of 800 bound books, with many pamphlets. This included 200 books bound for the Society, for which the Hunlock Fund contributed \$50, Miss Anne Wright \$50, and the Librarian earned \$100 by sale of duplicate books. The Trustees have appropriated a special fund for binding purposes during the present year, 1917.

Mr. Nesbitt and Mr. John Welles Hollenback by their generous gifts have added to our list of Benefactors.

Mr. Abram Goodwin Nesbitt.

Mr. James Nesbitt, Jr.

Mrs. Mary (Shupp) Nesbitt.

Mrs. Sarah Myers (Goodwin) Nesbitt.

Mrs. Sarah (Nesbitt) Smythe.

Mr. Abram Nesbitt Smythe.

Mr. Samuel Nesbitt Smythe.

Mrs. Emily Hollenback Taylor.

Miss Anna Hollenback Taylor.

These names, with additions of Mrs. Charles Dorrance Foster and Mrs. Elizabeth Miner (Thomas) Richardson increase the number of Benefactors to thirty-four, making

the number of Life Members 231 and the annual members 180, making a total of 410.

During the past year the following Annual members have been added:

Lawrence Bullard Jones.
L. MacLean Wilson.

Eight members have been added to the Life List.

LIFE MEMBERS.

George Brubaker Kulp.
Miss Augusta Hoyt.
John Dorrance Hoyt.
Martha (Goodwin) Hoyt.
Abraham Goodwin Hoyt.
Edward Everett Hoyt.
Mrs. Anna (Miner) Oliver.

During the past year the following members of this Society have passed away from this life into the Life Eternal:

LIFE.

Andrew F. Derr.
Mrs. Mary D. (Fell) Derr.
Miss Juliette Genevieve Hollenback.
Mrs. Anna (Miner) Oliver.

HONOURARY.

Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker.
Hon. John Gosse Freese.
Rev. James J. Pierce.

ANNUALS.

Col. Eugene Beauharnais Beaumont, U. S. A.
Mrs. Frances D. Lynd Wadhams.

BENEFACTOR.

Eckley B. Coxé, Jr.

**Report of the Curator of Archeology for the Year ending
February 11, 1917.**

*To the Officers and Members of The Wyoming Historical
and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Penn'a.*

During the year 1916 the occurrence of greatest interest in our local Archeological field was an expedition conducted by Mr. Warren K. Moorehead, of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., and Mr. Alanson Skinner, of The Museum of The American Indian, New York City (formerly the George G. Heye Museum).

The object of the expedition was a survey and mapping of the Indian remains, camp and village sites, etc., on the North Branch of the Susquehanna river and its principal tributaries, the West Branch and the Juniata rivers.

Besides Messrs. Moorehead and Skinner the party consisted of Mr. Ernest O. Sugden, surveyor, four Maine woodsmen and watermen, who handled the boats, kept camp and did excavating and exploring, and the son of Mr. Moorehead, who was on his vacation from college. The Rev. Dr. George P. Donehoo, Secretary of The Pennsylvania Historical Commission, was also with the party during a portion of the trip.

They were equipped with four specially large Indian canoes, a complete camping outfit to take care of themselves out of doors, a photographic outfit, and everything to live independently of the country through which they were traveling.

It was the most extensive party which has ever attempted an exploration of the Susquehanna Valley, the cost of maintenance being \$30.00 per day, borne jointly by the institutions which they represented.

The expedition started from the headwaters of the river at Lake Otsego, N. Y., of May 15, but the first month they were out was so unusually rainy that nothing was accomplished until they reached Athens, Pa.

On the west bank of the Chemung river, opposite Athens, on the farm of Mr. Millard P. Murray, a large Indian burial ground was located and more than forty bodies were uncovered. Besides these bodies a number of Indian implements were found, including fragments of pottery and those of stone, which seemed to be of a very early date.

Mr. Skinner told me that they found three of the stone notched disks, illustrated in our Volume No. XIII, used on the pottery vessels as covers. This seems to be the first positive evidence which we have that they were at times used for this purpose.

The expedition moved rapidly down the river from Athens, reaching Wyoming Valley on June 29, and making camp on the river bank below the town on Shawnee Flats at Plymouth.

They spent four days at Plymouth and then went down the river to Chesapeake Bay. Some of the party made a short trip up the West Branch from Sunbury as far as Lock Haven by railroad.

While the party was at Plymouth the writer had the experience of going with Alanson Skinner and other members of the party along an old Indian trail crossing the mountain below Wanamie, and exploring a rock shelter about three miles back from the river. We found evidences of Indian occupancy consisting of fragments of pottery, bones of animals which had been used for food, some flint chips and marks of fires. A fine spring was located near the ledge of rocks from which they got their supply of water.

Mr. Skinner has had much experience in exploring rock shelters on Manhattan Island and at other points about which he has written.

The work of the expedition was not as productive of results as it was hoped it would be, as no great amount of material was secured, but they did make a preliminary view of the field they traveled over.

Mr. Moorehead told me that it was the work of five years instead of a single summer to cover the field as it should be done.

While at Harrisburg the Archeologists had a meeting with the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, appointed several years ago, and it is hoped that the result of their consultation will be an increased interest in the Indian history of our State and the establishment of a State Museum, similar to those in some other States, and which will be a credit to us.

The expedition closed its work in August at Harrisburg.

In the year just closed our Society has secured some rare and fine local artifacts that are valuable additions to our collections, which will be described at some future time.

It is becoming more evident as the years pass that our Society is doing pioneer work in the field of local archeology, which will be more appreciated in the lapse of time.

Respectfully submitted,

CHRISTOPHER WREN,

Wilkes-Barre, Pa., February 9, 1917.

Curator.

Treasurer's Report

Of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society,
Year Ending December 31, 1916.

RECEIPTS.	
Balance on hand, January 1, 1916, Check Account.	\$ 176.51
Savings " "	3,671.47
	\$ 3,847.99
Membership Dues	740.00
Income from Investments	3,848.85
Investment Account, Investments Paid, etc.	1,452.57
Life Memberships	1,200.00
Luzerne County Appropriation	200.00
Hon. Charles Miner (Historian) Fund	500.00
	\$11,789.41

EXPENDITURES.	
Salaries	\$ 2,686.00
Incidentals	175.00
Telephone	30.00
Insurance	13.74
Binding Account	100.00
Interest on Special Funds	972.00
Interest	27.00
Books	50.00
Sundry Expense	121.11
Bills Payable	300.00
Investment Account	5,000.00
Balance—Check Account	\$ 490.52
Savings Account	1,824.04
	2,314.56
	\$11,789.41

ACTUAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR YEAR 1916.

RECEIPTS.	
Membership Dues	\$ 740.00
Income from Investments	3,848.85
Luzerne County Appropriation	200.00
	\$ 4,788.85

EXPENDITURES.	
Salaries	\$ 2,686.00
Incidentals	175.00
Telephone	30.00
Insurance	13.74
Binding Account	100.00
Interest on Special Funds	972.00
Interest	27.00
Books	50.00
Sundry Expense,	121.11
Bills Payable	300.00
	\$ 4,474.85

Respectfully submitted,

C. W. LAYCOCK,
Treasurer.

SECURITIES IN HANDS OF TREASURER, DEC. 31, 1916.

BONDS.	Par.
Pacific Gas & Electric Co., 6%	\$ 500.00
People's Telephone Co., 5%	1,000.00
Frontier Telephone Co., 5% (Certificate of Deposit)	1,000.00
Scranton Gas & Water Co., 5%	5,000.00
Wilkes-Barre Company, 5%	1,500.00
Muncie & Union City Traction Co., 5%	1,000.00
United Gas & Electric Co., 5%	1,000.00
New England Power Co., 5%	5,000.00
Columbia & Montour Electric Co., 5%	1,000.00
Lackawanna & Wyoming Valley Rapid Transit Co., 5%	1,000.00
Webster Coal & Coke Co., 5%	4,000.00
Canton-Akron Railway Co., 5%	1,000.00
Minneapolis Gas Light Co., 5%	1,000.00
Columbus, Newark & Zanesville, 5%	3,000.00
Chesapeake & Ohio Rwy. Co., 4½'s	4,000.00
Spring Brook Water Supply Co., 5%	11,000.00
Plymouth Bridge Co., 5%	6,000.00
The Raeder Blank Book Lithographing & Printing Co., 5%	8,000.00
Eastern Wisconsin Railway & Light Co, 5%	1,000.00
Sheldon Axle Co., 5%	2,000.00
Indianapolis, New Castle & Eastern Tr. Co., 6%	1,000.00

STOCK.

Twenty (20) shares stock Hazard Mfg. Co.	1,000.00
	<u>\$61,000.00</u>
Eight Mortgages, 6%	\$15,400.00
One Mortgage, 5½%	2,500.00
	<u>17,900.00</u>

Total Investments at Par Value

\$78,900.00

The Charles Dorrance Foster Fund	1,000.00
Savings Account	1,824.00
Hon. Charles Miner (Historian) Fund	500.00
Dr. Frederick C. Johnson Fund, pledge	500.00

Total Funds

\$82,824.00

C. W. LAYCOCK,
Treasurer.

GENERAL FUNDS, JULY 1, 1916.

1. George Slocum Bennett Fund	\$ 1,000.00
2. Hon. Charles Dorrance Foster Fund	1,000.00
3. Colonel Matthias Hollenback Fund	4,000.00
4. Dr. Charles F. Ingham Fund (minimum \$1,000).....	500.00
5. Rev. Jacob Johnson Fund	1,000.00
6. Dr. Frederick Charles Johnson Fund (minimum \$1,000)	500.00
7. Fred Morgan Kirby Fund	1,000.00
8. Hon. Charles Miner (Historian) Fund	1,000.00
9. Sidney Roby Miner Fund	2,000.00
10. Abram Nesbitt Fund	11,000.00
11. James Nesbitt, Jr., Fund	4,000.00
12. Mary S. Nesbitt Fund	4,000.00
13. Mrs. Sarah Myers (Goodwin) Nesbitt Fund.....	2,000.00
14. Captain L. Denison Stearns Fund	1,000.00
15. Dr. Lewis H. Taylor Fund	1,000.00
16. Edward Welles Fund	1,000.00
17. Life Membership Fund	22,700.00
18. General Fund	4,300.00

\$63,000.00

SPECIAL FUNDS.

1. Colonel Zebulon Butler Fund, Ethnology	\$1,000.00
2. Coxe Family Publication Fund	10,000.00
3. Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden Fund, Geological Lectures	1,500.00
4. Andrew Hunlock Fund, Binding	1,000.00
5. Ralph D. Lacoë Fund, Palaeozoology	1,000.00
6. Augustus C. Laning Fund, Lectures	1,000.00
7. Hon. Charles Abbott Miner Fund, Geology	1,000.00
8. Sheldon Reynolds Fund, History	1,000.00
9. Hon. Stanley Woodward Fund, Historical Lectures...	1,000.00
10. Dr. Harrison Wright Fund, Heraldry	1,000.00

\$19,500.00

General Fund

\$82,500.00

Savings Account

\$1,824.00

Johnston Fund Pledge

500.002,324.00Total.....\$84,824.00

EXPLANATION OF THE SPECIAL FUNDS.

It will be noticed that of the "Invested Fund of \$82,000, reported on page 30, fully one-fourth, or about \$19,500 is marked for special purposes, leaving only \$61,000 for general purposes. This is fully explained in Volume XII, page 20a. It is briefly referred to here for the benefit of members.

These Special Funds are all of private origin, given only for the purpose specified in the gift, hence could not be used for the current expenses of the Society, for which the remainder, \$61,000, is not sufficient if the Society expects to grow in usefulness.

Fund No. 1 was given by the heirs of Colonel Zebulon Butler exclusively (as a Memorial to that distinguished officer), and designated for the Ethnological department of the Society.

Fund No. 2 was given by the Coxe family of Drifton exclusively to provide for the annual Publications of the Society and cannot be diverted to other uses.

Fund No. 3 was created by Rev. Mr. Hayden to secure an annual Geological address before the Society.

Fund No. 4 was given by Mr. Andrew Hunlock to meet the very great need of binding books.

Fund No. 5 was created by the family of Mr. R. D. Lacoë and the Society to provide for the large Lacoë Paleozoic collection presented by that gentleman.

Fund No. 6 was given by Mrs. George Cotton Smith in memory of her father, Augustus C. Laning, Vice President, 1861, to provide annually an Historical address before the Society.

Fund No. 7 was designated by the givers, the family of Hon. Charles A. Miner, so long a Trustee of the Society, for Geological purposes.

Fund No. 8 was given by the immediate family of Sheldon Reynolds, Esq., President, 1895, to establish a Memorial library of rare American history.

Fund No. 9 was created by the sons of our honoured founder and President, Judge Stanley Woodward, also to provide an annual Historical paper to be read before the Society.

Fund No. 10 was the gift of the relatives of Harrison Wright, Ph. D., to whom the Society is so deeply indebted, to create a Memorial library of English heraldry and genealogy.

All the rest of the Funds of the Society are devoted to general purposes and contributed as such by individuals, except the Life Member Fund, which is created by the Life Members fees, all of which are invested.

There are other needs for which members are urged to contribute to meet the growing work of the Society, the only organization of its kind and importance in the State outside of Philadelphia. Why cannot members mention in their Wills gifts for the increase of these Funds and so perpetuate their own names by useful giving that will live after them?

IN MEMORIAM.

ECKLEY BRINTON COXE, JR.
1872—1916.

FOUNDER OF THE "COXE PUBLICATION FUND"
OF THIS SOCIETY.

Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr., sustained the name and usefulness of one of the most distinguished families that this country has produced.

Dr. Daniel Coxe, of London, from whom he was directly descended, was in 1678 the proprietor of West New Jersey and of Carolina, which included all the territory between north latitude 31st to 36th parallels, and prepared the first general plan for a union of the colonies. He died 1686.

Hon. Tench Coxe, the great-grandfather, 1723-1801, was at the age of thirty-three a member of the Continental Congress, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to Alexander Hamilton in 1789, filled many important posts until his death in 1824, and it was said of him that he "was never forgetful of the duty of exerting his peculiar talents for the good of his country."

Charles S. Coxe, the grandfather, was a Judge of the District Court, noted for its eminent Judges, and rendered, among others, a most important decision relating to the privileges of consular as distinguished from diplomatic officials recognized generally by writers on international law.

Major Charles Brinton Coxe, the father of the subject of this sketch, was the youngest of the five sons of Judge Charles S. Coxe, all of whom were men of unusual force of character and distinction. The eldest, Brinton Coxe, was one of the most learned lawyers of his day, as shown in his work on Bracton and his unfinished analysis of the Constitution of the United States. The second son, Eckley Brinton Coxe, Sr., an eminent mining engineer, born Philadelphia, June 4, 1839; died, May 13, 1895, was a Life



ECKLEY BRINTON COXE, JR.



Member of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, and a Vice President from 1884 to 1895, and a liberal contributor.

Major Charles B. Coxe, born February 4, 1823, died January 3, 1873, in Egypt, was a scholar of a high order having taken the highest rank in the University of Pennsylvania in the class of 1862, that included many of our most successful citizens, among them two provosts of the University.

His services in the army, having been Major of the Sixth Pennsylvania Cavalry, the only lancer regiment, were most conspicuous for bravery and unselfish devotion. He was equally popular with his fellow officers and men. Several of those in his company were long in the service of Coxe Brothers & Co., of which Charles Coxe was a member. He married Miss Elizabeth A. Sinkler, daughter of Charles Sinkler, of Eutawville, S. C., and his wife Emily, daughter of the late Thomas I. Wharton of Philadelphia.

Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr., their only son, was born 1872. He was less than a year old when his father, Major Charles Brinton Coxe, died in Egypt. This event, with the circumstances attending it, was not without its effect in shaping the son's inclinations and achievements. Between the time when he was twenty-one and the time of his death, he made many journeys in Egypt, and his taste for Egyptology grew with his personal knowledge of the ruins in the Nile Valley. In 1904, after the Soudan had been reconquered from the Dervishes and made accessible to Europeans, he traveled through that country and visited Khartoun. During this journey he saw for the first time evidences of an ancient and unknown civilization, which he was later to be instrumental in bringing to light.

In 1907 the "Eckley B. Coxe, Junior, Expedition to Nubia" was sent out by the Museum. Excavations were conducted at several points during a period of four years, under the immediate charge of Dr. D. Randall-MacIver. The results of this expedition and of the publications based thereon were to give the world its first knowledge of an extinct civilization that had flourished in ancient Nubia, and to place in the Museum a fine collection illustrative of that civilization. At the time when that collection was first exhibited it was the only one of its kind in existence. Since that time other museums, guided by the work of the Coxe

expedition, have acquired similar collections, and thus the old Nubian culture, with its paintings and sculptures and inscriptions has been made widely known.

At the beginning of 1915 the "Eckley B. Coxe, Junior, Expedition" to Egypt went out from the Museum. Important concessions were granted to this expedition by the Egyptian government; a strong and efficient organization was formed for the purpose of working these concessions in the interest of science and of the Museum. This organization, with a splendid record of discovery already to its credit, was in full working order at the time of Mr. Coxe's death. The latest report from Mr. Fisher, written at the Ruins of Memphis and received the day before his death, lay under his pillow when he died.

In the field operations of this Egyptian work, as well as in its scientific bearings, Mr. Coxe took a deep personal interest. He visited the excavations in Egypt and Nubia, he followed closely the doings of the expeditions that bore his name, and he understood thoroughly the historical significance of the discoveries that were made under these liberal auspices.

In 1910 he was elected President of the Board of Managers of the Museum, a post which he held until the time of his death.

Mr. Coxe's interests in the Museum were by no means confined to the Egyptian expeditions. That particular interest may, indeed, be taken as typical of his larger participation in all of its activities. He entered into its labors with zeal, he shared its trials with a cheerful spirit, and he rejoiced with a heartfelt pride in the successful issue of its enterprises. In each person connected with its work he showed at all times the warmest personal interest, and by his fine sensibilities he won the affections of everyone.

Mr. Coxe, though not of vigorous frame, was full of determined energy and untiring in any work he undertook. Unlike many young men of independent means, he had but one object in life, which was to be useful, following the example of his great-grandfather.

Mr. Coxe did not limit his interest to educational fields, but every charitable movement appealed to him.

The Children's Hospital, the College of Physicians, the Orthopedic Hospital, many fields of work in aid of the

miners and their families in the anthracite coal region, and the Episcopal Diocese of Central Pennsylvania are only some of those that could be mentioned to which he has contributed on a very large scale.

There was a quiet, dignified reserve, with a gentleness of character, in Eckley Coxe rarely met with. Firm and decided wherever he had a positive view, it was always a pleasure to him to meet the wishes of those who appealed to him.

His generosity was not measured; but was indulged for the benefit of others, with little thought of himself. The concentration of wealth in the hands of such a man is productive of more good to the community than any possible distribution among many could produce.

His life was spent for the benefit of others, and he maintained a reputation without a blemish. To those who learned to appreciate his generous thought and to his immediate family his loss is irreparable.

He showed the value of inherited worth, and did not fail to sustain in every way what might have been expected of him."


[The above notice of Mr. Coxe was taken by special permission of Mrs. C. B. Coxe and of Dr. G. B. Gordon, Director of the Philadelphia University Museum from the Museum Journal of September, 1916, who also kindly loaned the portrait which graces this volume.]

At the Annual Meeting of the Wyoming Historical Geological Society, held February 11, 1917, the following action upon the death of Mr. Coxe was unanimously adopted:

"The Trustees of the Society have learned with great and sincere sorrow of the death of our benefactor, Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr., the founder of the "Coxe Publication Fund", which occurred September 12, 1916, and we request the Corresponding Secretary to communicate with his mother, Mrs. Charles Brinton Coxe, our warmest sympathies in this sore bereavement. We also request that the Corresponding Secretary ask of Mrs. Coxe such a photograph of her son as she will prefer to be published in our next annual volume of Proceedings to issue this spring, with such a sketch of him as she will approve to accompany the portrait.

"The Trustees will also be very grateful if at some time Mrs. Coxe can present to the Society a portrait of our benefactor to be placed in the gallery of the Society."

In 1907, when Mr. Coxe was in Wilkes-Barre, he visited the rooms of this Society with the President, Major Stearns, and manifested unusual interest in its work. So that knowing the great need of the Society for a "Publication Fund" he promptly pledged himself for \$5,000 to create such a fund. His check for that amount was sent to the President on his return home. The importance of such a fund was so fully realized by the Coxe family that within the year, by the generosity of Mrs. Sophia E. Coxe, who gave the sum of \$1,000, and Mrs. Sophie G. Coxe, who added the sum of \$4,000, it was increased to the present sum of \$10,000. The names of these three members of the Coxe family will be found on the list of "Benefactors" of the Society.



“THE ALFRED FRANKLIN BERLIN COLLECTION”
OF AMERICAN INDIAN ARTIFACTS IN THE
POSSESSION OF THIS SOCIETY.

BY ALFRED FRANKLIN BERLIN.

READ BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY,
FEBRUARY 11, 1916.

INTRODUCTION.

Prehistoric Archaeology as a science is still young and has but lately made good its right to claim recognition as a branch of the sciences. It is the most complicated of all stories, for in it is involved almost every science, and the history of almost every art and craft in which the human being has ever exercised himself.

The first effort to rend the veil which once covered the life of Prehistoric man, was made in Western Europe in 1774. It is true that numerous relics of *Genus Homo* were found before that time in this part of Europe; but they were merely looked upon as curiosities, and then laid away in some out-of-the-way corner and forgotten.

There came a time, however, when men began to look scientifically into the matter, and from then on mysteries were unveiled which caused the greatest amount of interest.

Doubters, learned scientists there were, who refused to believe the statements of discoveries made, and they treated the matter with indifference. They insisted that the so-called implements of flint said to have been made by some prehistoric race, were but stones naturally fractured.

“The world is indebted principally to M. Boucher de Perthes, to whom was erected a statue in Abbeville in 1908, for the great discovery of prehistoric man in the paleolithic, or rude stone period. He lived at Abbeville, on the river Somme, about half way between Paris and Calais. In 1841 he found in a sand-bank, then being worked at Menchecourt, a piece of flint, rudely fashioned to an edge and point which

excited his attention and wonder, for he asked himself, 'How could this stone have taken this form by any other than human intervention?' He continued his investigations at occasional intervals, chiefly in the excavations and fillings at Abbeville, and in the gravel which was being removed he found many of the same implements. In the year 1846 was published his first work on the subject, in which he announced his belief that these were implements made by human hands, and of the same age as the gravels in which they were found."

"This statement made but few converts; nevertheless, being an enthusiast, and pressing his belief always in season and sometimes, possibly, out of season, he came to be regarded as what would now be called a 'crank.'"

Dr. Rigollot, in 1853, was the first to make such examinations of the locality by which, finding the implements *in situ*, he became a believer in the new theory. M. Boucher de Perthes was no exception to the rule that prophets are without honor in their own country. At last, however, the tide turned in his favor, and the writer can not do better than to quote Sir John Lubbock, a banker, and brilliant scientist, himself one of the actors in this affair, who writes of the event: "In 1858 Dr. Hugh Falconer, a geologist, passing through Abbeville, examined the collection of M. de Perthes, and on his return to England called the attention of Mr. Joseph Prestwich, a wine merchant, Mr. John Evans, a paper manufacturer and antiquarian, and other English geologists, all brilliant scientists, to the importance of his discoveries. In consequence the valley of the Somme was visited in 1859 and 1860, firstly by Messrs Prestwich and Evans, and shortly afterwards by Sir Charles Lyell, Sir Richard Murchison, Messrs. Busk, Flower, Mylne, Goodwin-Austen, and Galton; Professors Hinslow, Ramsey, Rogers; Messrs. H. Christy, Rupert Jones, James Wyatt, myself and other geologists."

Mr. John Evans, in his "Ancient Stone Implements of

Great Britain," describes the same event: "they examined the local collections of flint implements, and the bed in which they were said to have been found, and, in addition to being perfectly satisfied with the evidence adduced as to the nature of the discoveries, we had the crowning satisfaction of seeing one of the worked flints still *in situ* in its undisturbed matrix of gravel, at a depth of seventeen feet from the original surface."

"The locality was also visited by the French savants who were especially qualified for such a scientific investigation. M. M. Mortillet, d'Acy, Gaudry, de Quatrefages, Lartet, Collomb, Herbert, de Verneuil, and G. Pauchet; Dr. Gosse of Geneva, was also an earnest and ardent investigator."

Mr. John Evans further says: "Indeed it turned out, upon examination, that more than one such discovery had already been recorded, and that flint implements of similar types to those of Abbeville, and Amiens had been found in the gravels of London at the close of the Seventeenth Century, and in the brick earth of Hoxne, in Suffolk, at the close of the Eighteenth, and were still preserved in the British Museum, and in that of the Society of Antiquaries."

After the visit of these learned scientists to the gravel pits just mentioned, and their acknowledgment to de Perthes of the correctness of his claim, similar finds were made in various other parts of Western Europe, and savants who before doubted his discoveries, came to take their position under the Frenchman's standard. Here then was born the new science of Prehistoric Archaeology, recognized since then not only as a science, but wherever and whenever it has been studied and understood it has been given dignity and importance and received an impetus which has elevated it to the rank of the most important sciences.

The literature of the subject is enormous, and no one, however omniverous his reading, could possibly learn and digest it all. The theories and opinions of the earlier

writers often conflicted, which caused the story of the primitive human's home-life, written too technically, and often in a quite unintelligible manner to become almost incomprehensible to the ordinarily educated reader.

An interesting legend, which the writer quotes from "Prehistoric Man and His Story," by G. F. Scott Elliott, M. A., B. Sc., and mentioned by a Mr. Waterman as current amongst the Diequeno Indians of California, follows: "These people were one day called to meet at a certain place to humbly and obediently listen to the Great Serpent. This snake, who had swallowed all learning, was going to teach them how to dance. But as he came coiling in through the roof, and kept on coming in with an apparently endless series of coil after coil, they became thoroughly frightened at the indefinite amount of him, and hastily set fire to him and the house."

After the interesting reports made by scientists of different nations of their discoveries, students began to search everywhere for the flint tools made by prehistoric people. They were not satisfied with scouring the earth's surface; but began digging underneath rock-shelters, and began exploring and excavating in many dry caves, and from both took a large amount of rare and interesting implements. From the lakes of Switzerland, and those of other parts of Europe upon which lived prehistoric lake dwellers many were brought to the surface. From tumuli, graves and shell heaps were also taken many specimens.

Many interesting books were written by men who made these discoveries, and who also in their explorations accumulated large private cabinets. One may mention here the collection of Dr. Gustav Klemm, who expended many years of time and energy in gathering what has been considered the best collection of objects of human culture in Europe. It became after his death the nucleus of a museum of universal ethnology at Leipsic, Germany.

Dr. Klemm, considering nature as the foundation of

culture, regarded with special attention those objects from its three kingdoms which furnished man the means of subsistence and action without further preparation, and which became the models of his earliest manufactures. Among these are the frost formed, water-worn and pierced tablets, immense deposits of which are found in many places, and which assume almost every shape, afterward adopted for tools in the stone age. To these are to be added hooked sticks, curiously twisted and knobbed roots, spiral vines, tubes of reed, combinations of wood and stone, thorns, teeth, bones, claws, hedgehog quills, shields and many other objects, a fine collection of which graced his celebrated museum. Other notable private collections were also gathered by such prominent archaeologists as Sir John Lubbock; Rev. William Greenwell; E. B. Tylor and Sir John Evans, Englishmen; Professor Worsaae, Denmark; Dr. Keller, Switzerland; Professor Sven Nilsson, Sweden; Professor Mortillet, France; Professor Gastaldi, Italy, and many others less prominent. In fact a general interest was taken in the gathering and hoarding of them. Many museums in every part of Europe began to send out their representatives on exploring expeditions, who obtained many specimens for their respective institutions, and they now hold an enormous quantity of objects, not alone in stone and flint, rude and polished, but in gold, silver, bronze, copper and iron.

"To Denmark must be given," says Thomas Wilson in the "Report of the Smithsonian Institution, for 1888;" "the credit of the discovery of the existence of man on earth in the ages before history was written. The historic period proper of Scandinavia began about 1000 A. D. But for centuries before that time there had been made, frequently on stone monuments, and also in other ways, runic inscriptions, and the poetic legends of the early times of that country, called Sagas. The antiquarians of Denmark in the past century delighted in studying these Sagas. In this pursuit they discovered Kjokenmoddings, the Danish name for kitchen

refuse, the dolmens, the polished stone hatchets, or celts, the beautifully chipped flint poignards, and the daggers, knives, spear and arrow-heads, for which that country has been so justly celebrated. They became impressed with the idea that these belonged to a more ancient race of people than that which had written the Sagas and had erected the runic stones. They were able, by their examination and study, to separate their implements found into three grand divisions, which they designated, respectively, the ages of stone, of bronze, and lastly of iron. These ages were found to have endured in these countries for a long period of time and came to a high perfection. Thomson published his memoir in 1836, announcing these discoveries. The conclusions were that the Kjokenmoddings were places of habitation of prehistoric man, or, at least, places occupied by him, and that the shells which formed the heaps were but the refuse from his kitchen. The pieces of flint and bone were his implements, the dolmens were his tombs, and the polished and beautifully worked flints were but his tools and weapons. They placed his earliest occupation of these countries at from three to four thousand years B. C., and continued it down through the epochs of the different ages until that period when the written history of their country began."

"Public attention became attracted to the subject of prehistoric man by Dr. Ferdinand Keller in 1853, when he discovered in Lake Zurich the remains of the Swiss lake dwellers of prehistoric times. He found the same ages of stone, bronze and iron as have been found in Scandinavia. Other men took up the investigation, and finally the opening of the canal between Lakes Bienne, Neufchatel, and Morat not only brought to light the great deposit of the iron age at La Tene, but so lowered the waters in the two former lakes as to expose their shores, and to turn loose upon them an army of seekers after the implements of prehistoric man."

It may interest my readers to know what scientists of the different countries in Europe have done to place the science of prehistoric anthropology on a broad and firm foundation.

"The department of prehistoric anthropology in the British Museum has for its curator an eminent man of science, who receives a salary of £1,500 per annum, equal to \$7,500."

"The museum of the Irish Academy of Dublin possesses a greater value in prehistoric gold ornaments alone than it has cost the United States for our entire museum, with all its specimens, services, management and furniture."

"The Prehistoric Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh, Scotland, is also extensive. It is devoted exclusively to the antiquities of its own country, and forms a complete museum in itself."

"The Prehistoric Museum at Copenhagen is so extensive and so rich that it might be classed as one of the wonders of the world. It occupies the entire palace of the Prince, has eight exhibition halls, with a full corps of professors, curators, etc., who occupy the highest ranks in the science. The riches of this museum are almost beyond computation; resting there are ten thousand polished stone hatchets, and axes, the contents of eleven workshops, one alone of which furnished two hundred hatchets, fifty-eight tools for drilling, four thousand scrapers, one thousand four hundred and twenty-six arrow-heads, *trenchant transversal*; fifty-one cases of bronze implements and armaments; and gold objects so numerous and valuable, that, though kept on exhibition during the day—under lock and key of course—are taken out each night and stored for safety in an immense steel safe."

"Stockholm, Sweden, has a national museum devoted entirely to prehistorics, for which the government has organized a bureau, and erected a fine museum building."

"The desire of the museum at Christiania, Norway, to keep its own antiquities, is so great that they refuse to exchange them with any other country."

Mr. Wilson further writes: "I need not mention the great prehistoric museums of Germany, that at Berlin, Munich and others dotted over the country in every city from the Baltic sea to the Alps; that at Paris; the great display in the museums of Switzerland, which was the home of the prehistoric dwellers on its beautiful lakes. Berne, its capital has three governmental prehistoric museums. In Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchatel, Constance, Zurich the people are industrious in gathering for their respective cities the remains of the prehistoric people who lived there ages ago."

"Many cities in Italy possess extensive museums in which are carefully kept the remains of prehistoric people. One may see them in Genoa, Pisa, Turin, Milan, Florence, Rome and many others. Turkey, Russia, Austria, Hungary, Poland and Spain are equally active in gathering the remains of the primitive people once living in these countries." In 1842, James Smithson, an Englishman, bequeathed to the United States of America the enormous sum of almost \$550,000 to found at Washington, D. C., an establishment for the diffusion and increase of knowledge among men, which was to be called the Smithsonian Institution. The bequest being only made for the educational benefit of mankind, and the government of the United States only named as a trustee to carry out the design of the testator, it rested upon Congress to bring about certain requirements in establishing the Institution. One of the conditions was to appropriate a part of the income annually to make ethnological researches, particularly with reference to the different races of men in North America; also to make explorations and accurate surveys of the mounds and other remains of the ancient people of our country. To also gather their implements and store them where they can be studied by those interested in them; and to publish annually original memoirs upon the material gathered. These *memoria*, which are now rare and almost impossible to obtain, were first published in quarto volumes as "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," and began with the

monumental and authoritative work by Squier and Davis, the title of which is "The Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley." Later on were issued as "contributions," such interesting productions as "Antiquities of Wisconsin," by Dr. Silas Lapham; "Antiquities of Tennessee," by Dr. Joseph Jones; "Antiquities of the State of New York," by E. G. Squier; "Prehistoric Fishing," by Dr. Charles Rau, and numerous other issues devoted to the same science not quite so voluminous.

The reports of the Smithsonian Institution, which began to be published in 1847, have, since then, been issued annually. These publications contain much that is of interest to the student of prehistorics.

Later on began the issuance of the reports of the "Bureau of Ethnology." These are also issued yearly, often in two parts. They teem with valuable archaeological matter from which the student inclined to this fascinating science can gain much information.

Then too are often issued, "Bulletins," by the same "Bureau" which contain matter of great scientific value.

Expeditions composed of experienced men under the auspices of the Smithsonian, which has lately been merged with the National Museum, are sent out into different sections of our country to obtain the remains of our aboriginal people, the result of which has been the accumulation of an enormous amount of prehistoric material, most all of which is now displayed for examination in the National Museum at Washington. Men outside of the influence of the Washington institution have written numerous books on the subject. Great museums in which are displayed the relics of prehistoric races are to be found in all of our large cities. Notable ones are the "Peabody Museum" at Cambridge, Massachusetts; at Andover, same State; the "Natural History Museum," at New York; the "Academy of Sciences," at Philadelphia; the New York State Museum, at Albany; that of the Davenport Academy of Sciences, Iowa, at St. Louis,

and smaller displays are shown in cities in every section of the United States.

This effort on the part of scientific institutions to gather for safe keeping the artifacts of prehistoric people tended to interest laymen, many of whom in course of time gathered for themselves very fine private cabinets in which can be seen specimens, some of which may be classed as unique. These will all in time find their way into some public museum, where they will be for all time carefully preserved.

The writer in his younger days took great interest in reading about the antiquities of our prehistoric aboriginal people, although at that time he made no effort to collect them. In 1874 while living at Reading, this State, he had the pleasure of meeting the late brilliant Dr. Walter J. Hoffman, then a member of the staff of writers and explorers connected with the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Then began a friendship which was only ended when this talented man was called to his last account. Our minds in the matter of archaeological science ran in the same direction, and of the writer of this essay a scientific collector of American antiquities was soon made. In 1875 he had the pleasure of having come to him his first instalment of stone implements made by our aboriginal people. Encouraged through the kindness of the giver of these specimens, further efforts to become possessed of more was made. Short collecting tours were made to places which were once the encampments of the Red people. Correspondence with other collectors—not only of stone implements; but of natural history specimens—throughout the United States was solicited. With them were exchanged for relics of stone, butterflies, moths, land and water-shells and beetles collected in the writer's vicinity. And before many years had gone by there was brought together a cabinet containing many fine objects, a large number of which are now very rare, and not easily obtained. The result of this effort is now resting in your fine museum, and is known as the

“ALFRED FRANKLIN BERLIN COLLECTION.”

We are all aware of the fact that before the arrival of the Europeans upon our shores, there lived here a race of aboriginal and natural people who are known to have been hospitable to strangers when treated with respect ; but called savages by those who were only interested in dishonestly exploiting them, and who made of them the fiends and monsters which they afterwards became. In a study of the artifacts shown on the many plates in this work, and which the writer is about to describe it will be seen that none of them appear warlike. In the mind of the writer they were not intended to be used in the destruction of human life ; but in making their homes comfortable, in tilling their ground, in hunting, in preparing their clothing, and in the many ceremonial rites to which these primitive and natural people were addicted. The first to be described are those of their tools having grooves which have been picked up so plentifully in many parts of the United States and called *Grooved Axes*. These implements peculiar to the United States and Canada, and very nearly all made of a hard and tough stone, are taken from burial mounds, are picked up on the sites of old villages or encampments ; in cultivated fields, and also in relic beds. As before stated they are found in abundance, and a general use was made of them by our aboriginal people. Many of them show the roughest kind of use, and in some cases they are found having their cutting edges so often reground or resharpened that nearly the entire blade has been worn away. Cleverly hafted, they would in stalwart hands, and at close quarters, constitute a formidable offensive weapon, whether the blow be delivered from the edge or the head. They vary greatly in size. The smallest specimen in the United States, not quite an inch long is in the possession of Mr. H. K. Deisher of Kutztown, Penn'a. It is perfect and weighs little more than an ounce. The larger implements are often twelve or more inches long and weigh as much as thirty pounds. These monstrous

axes may have taken part in some aboriginal ceremony, while the smaller were amulets or talismanic. They may also have been the playthings of children.

Like the grooveless axes or celts they are found most artistically formed, and very often in perfect condition, while others exhibit the roughest kind of treatment.

In the making of the grooved axe it was necessary that a hard fine-grained and tough stone be sought for. A long experience in the nature of rock-properties taught the aboriginal workers in stone which rock would serve his purpose best in making an axe.

"Man," Professor Collie says in his: "Aboriginal Discrimination in the Selection of Materials for Tools," published in the Wisconsin Archaeologist, 1908, "learned by slow degrees and by experience the nature of rock properties. He learned to distinguish between different types of rock much as a modern geologist does in the field by taking account of two features, namely; (1) the mineralogical composition; (2) the texture of the rock. I do not mean to imply that early man was absolutely guided by the quality of the rock; other factors entered into the choice, but rock character was always a prominent factor. "All artifacts are the resultant of an interaction between several factors,—character of the rock, need of the worker, form of the blank selected, and skill of the worker. If the toolmaker was in a hurry for a utensil he would be likely to choose material easier to work than ordinarily would be the case,—material that he could shape hurriedly. If he were not skillful he would spend time to look for a blank that was a close approximation to the desired tool, that he might be spared the necessity of sharpening it with his unskilled fingers." This would often mean the selection of poorer material than might have been the case under different circumstances. "Primitive man," as a recent writer has pointed out, "had to exercise more real mental acumen and sagacity, had to be more agile and alert and bring into action more varied

qualities of mind and body in order to live, than the great mass of our present population. He used his mind and his judgment in the selection of materials, he weighed all the pros and cons in the choice of material for artifacts, just as he did in all the concerns of life. A prevailing notion that he picked up any old stray piece of rock that came conveniently to his hand is a mistake; his choices were results of purpose and intellectual efforts. To illustrate my position, allow me to select one type of tool, the grooved axe, and discuss the choice of materials for that particular utensil. * * * It must also be remembered that there are three general classes of rocks. Viz: the igneous, clastic and the metamorphic. The igneous rocks are of two general types, the coarser-grained intrusives, such as the granites, and their finer textured extrusives like basalts and their close relations the diabases, though the latter is often coarsely crystalline."

"In selecting material for axes the aboriginal employed both types of igneous rocks."

"Clastic rocks are of two general types, those deposited in solution from water and those deposited from mechanical suspension. Flint, chert, etc., are examples of the former, sandstone, limestone, etc., are instances of the latter. The aborigine really used this type of rock for axes. The metamorphic rocks are made from the two preceding types by heat and pressure. They have certain structural features, as a rule, such as cleavage and fissility. There is a banded arrangement of the material not due to deposition but to dynamic action; hence arises the familiar banded structure of such metamorphic rocks as gneiss and schist. This type of rock was used by early man for axes to some extent. Nine-tenths of the axes in a given collection are made of igneous rocks, and the great bulk of the igneous rocks used are the fine textured rocks, especially basalt and diabase. No rock is better suited for pecking and polishing than the finer grained igneous rocks, nor on the whole are any more

resistant to fracture, none are tougher. These are qualities of prime importance in axes. The very fact that so large a percentage of axes are made of the best obtainable material is significant of the fact that early man deliberately sought for certain qualities and looked until he found them."

"It shows how truly he was a judge of rock composition and texture, of the suitability of any given rock for a given purpose. Let us consider in more detail some of the features which he sought, or those which he rejected. In selecting a rock for axe purposes, other things being equal, he would take first of all a quartzite type. If it were a question between granite, which contains quartz, and syenite, which has little, he would almost invariably select the latter. The axe-maker was aware apparently of the hardness of the mineral, of the difficulty with which it was worked, and he naturally avoided rocks that contained it in abundance when seeking axe material. He recognized the mineral, because in rocks which have such similarities as syenite and granite he chose the former, that is, he did not depend upon color or texture alone to guide him, but he must have looked for that glassy mineral that we call quartz."

"Then again the axe maker selects rocks that are relatively free from mica. Rocks rich in that mineral are used for pendants and ceremonials, but not for axes or other tools that have to undergo hard usage. Micaceous rocks flake readily, and they also show a marked tendency to disintegration through hydration. Here again the aborigine recognized a mineral which contributed undesirable qualities to a rock and he rejected it. Again he refrained from using coarse-grained types of rocks as a rule. He chose rather those of fine and even texture. Experience taught early man the inefficiency of such materials and his judgment, of which we are speaking, kept him from wasting his time in experimenting with them."

"Again the aborigine avoided the use of rocks that contain Gniessic and schistose structures. Rocks that contain

well developed planes of any sort are obviously unfit for axes, as they tend to split along these structural planes and become unfitted for use; hence metamorphic rocks are not useful for axes and are not commonly employed save the greenstone, a metamorphosed igneous rock which was used quite extensively. Greenstone possesses a fine texture. It is hard and tough and forms an ideal material in many respects, but it has this one drawback, it does contain a great many structural planes, and the axe sooner or later comes to grief. Clastic rocks lack the cohesion and hardness that is desirable in axes; they break easily, become dull very readily and need constant attention. The Aborigine did not restrict himself to this somewhat limited choice of materials from volition. Wherever opportunity afforded he selected unusual types of rock and thus showed his desire for variety and wide range of material. This is shown by his employment of jadeite, hematite, actinolite, etc., wherever they were obtainable. It is noticeable that in this country, the axe-maker sought a type of material that could be pecked and polished."

"What has been said regarding the axe illustrative of aboriginal judgment and knowledge might be repeated for each type of artifact. In each case we should find that the worker had particular reasons why he selected material for a certain artifact, and that these reasons were founded on an understanding of the mineralogical and structure differences in rocks. If we study ornaments and ceremonial stones, we shall see that ordinarily he selected a soft ornamental rock, specially the banded slates, but if he chose to use igneous rocks he rarely employed the types used for axes, but ordinarily the handsome porphyries which make showy and attractive objects. If he wished material for net-weights or sinkers for lines or weights he took the easily worked and abundant sandstones and limestones, which he rejected for other and harder usage."

The battering or pecking operation still plainly visible on

the grooved objects shown in Plates I, II and III was the first application in the manufacture of these interesting implements.

"All, or nearly all, primitive peoples with whom we are acquainted," says Mr. W. H. Holmes in the "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," "understand and practice the art of shaping stone by battering and its auxiliary processes. Archaeologists have reached the conclusion, from a study of certain groups of prehistoric remains, that the battering abrading operations belong to a somewhat advanced stage of human progress, and that their employment was preceded by a period in which fracturing processes alone were practically used. This is probably in a broad way true of the race, and is certainly true of many peoples or nations. The reason for this order must be sought in (1) the nature of the operations involved; (2) in the materials available to primitive artisans, and (3) in the capacities and needs of men."

"Of the four leading shaping acts, which may be designated as fracturing, battering, abrading, and incising, it may be hard to say which is the most elemental. However, the ease with which, or the order in which they would come into actual use would not depend on the simplicity of the single act, but, supposing materials and needs uniform, on the ease with which they could be made to produce desired results. Without going into details, it may be stated that although the flaking act is not more simple or elemental than the others it is not decidedly more difficult, and that it has an enormous advantage over them in being capable by a single operation—a simple blow—of producing effective and constantly needed implements for cutting and piercing, whereas the other acts must be repeated many times without marked results, and repeated in such manner and order as to bring about a result not comprehensible save through long periods of experiment. Therefore I conclude that where materials are favorable the power and wants of men

will tend most decidedly to the adoption and general practice of the flaking processes in advance of the other stone shaping processes. At the same time it would seem that there need be assumed no great gulf between the two classes of operations. It is indeed hard to see how one could exist for a long period without the development of the other. Assuming that in general flaking is the first to be utilized, we can understand how the other process would be suggested to man. When a mass of stone is to be broken and flaked into shape, a flaking stone or hammer is called for. This hammer in use becomes bruised and gradually takes upon itself a purely artificial shape—the result of battering. If irregularly ovoid, it is in use turned between the thumb and fingers until its periphery becomes symmetric. Viewing this result it would seem but natural that the workman should understand and apply to producing other shapes the processes by means of which the tool in his hand is reduced to specialized shape. Again, the stone flaked, if somewhat tough, is often battered on the edges by the hammer in vain attempt to remove flakes, so that portions of the surface are changed in contour and exhibit the battered character.”

“It seems remarkable that such operations should go on for long ages producing visible results without attempts to utilize the means of modifying shapes thus distinctly suggested. At any rate the time did come when primitive men recognized the adequacy of battering as a means of shaping stone. Natural forms were first modified in use and the operations came to be understood and applied. Battering, called in its typical development pecking, was resorted to as a means of increasing the adaptability of available forms to ordinary needs, and a new and important group of shaping operations sprang into existence.”

“The materials employed for shaping by the battering process must possess a high degree of toughness combined with the hardness necessary to effective use when finished. Quartzite, quartz, flint, chert, and various other brittle

forms of rock are ill fitted for reduction by pecking, and were not extensively used for highly finished tools. Granites and certain varieties of eruptive rock were preferred; these are heavy, hard, tough and fine-grained."

"The manufacture of implements in large numbers required abundance of material, the deposits of which had to be uncovered and then broken up and removed, and this resulted in the opening of quarries and in the accumulation of large bodies of debris. This is true of the manufacture of flaked and cut-stone implements, as we have seen, but the battered-abraded tool used in limited numbers usually had a sporadic or random origin, suitable pieces of stone being picked up and utilized; the amount of the product depended very considerably, no doubt, on the plenitude of convenient pieces of stone. Rarely, therefore, do we find sites where the making of these forms was carried on extensively. The phenomena of manufacture by pecking and grinding, being scattered, have not been so well understood as the phenomena of flaking." While the celt or ungrooved axe is found in every part of the "Old World," the same can not be said of the grooved axe which was almost unknown to the prehistoric people once living there. Prof. Sven Nilsson figures two, one of horn-blend, the other of diorite on Plate VIII of his "The Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia." Both implements were found in Sweden. "To this division," referring to a celt with a perforation he writes: "belong probably the edged tools round which runs a transverse furrow, unless, indeed, they have not rather been wedges with which to split wood. Mr. John Evans fails in his finely illustrated work, "The Stone Implements of Great Britain," to show them, and in Dr. Ferdinand Keller's "The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and other parts of Europe," containing ninety-six plates, one seeks in vain for an implement of this form.

It is said that these grooved implements are not as plentiful west of the Mississippi River as in the Eastern and

interior States. This is easily explained by the fact that in the east thousands of diligent collectors have carefully searched not alone for grooved axes, but every other form of stone implement, while up to within a few years in the West little attention was paid to them.

The manufacture of stone axes, and their use by the North American aborigines was as cited by numerous authorities very general. Loskiel, "History of the Mission of the United Brethren," tells us that "their hatchets were wedges, made of hard stones, six or eight inches long, sharpened at the edge and fastened to a wooden handle. They were not used to fell trees, but only to peel them, or to kill their enemies."

Beverly, "History and Present State of Virginia," London, 1705, writes: "Before I finish my account of the *Indians* it will not be amiss to inform you that when the *English* went first among them they had no sort of iron or steel instruments; but their knives were either sharpened reeds or shells, and their axes sharp stones bound to the end of a stick, and glued in with turpentine. By the help of these they made their bows of the locust tree, an excessive hard wood when it is dry, but more easily cut when it is green, of which they always took the advantage."

Lafitau, who spent some time with our aboriginal people, writes an interesting story of the manner of manufacturing and hafting of this stone tool in his work, "Moeurs des Sauvages Ameriquains;" "Stone axes have been in use in America from time immemorial. They are made of a kind of very hard and tough stone, and it requires much labor to make them fit for use. They are prepared by the process of grinding on a sandstone and finally assume, at the sacrifice of much time and labor, nearly the shape of our axes, or of a wedge for splitting wood. The life of a savage is often insufficient for accomplishing the work, and hence such an implement, however rude and imperfect it may be, is considered a precious heirloom for the children. When the

stone is finished the difficulty of providing it with a handle arises. They select a young tree, of which they make a handle, without cutting it. They split one end and insert the stone. The tree grows, tightens around it, and encloses it so firmly that it hardly can be torn out."

Captain Bossu informs us in his "Travels through the Part of North America formerly called Louisiana," that this method of hafting a stone axe, was also practiced by the Indians of Alabama and Louisiana. "They" he says, "chose a young tree in which—having made an incision with a flint or pebble as sharp as a razor—they inserted a stone cut into the form of a hatchet. As the tree grew up, it encased the stone which by that means became inseparable from it. Afterward they cut off the tree at the proper length, so as to have a handle to the axe of convenient form." The same writer intimates that lance-heads and darts were fastened to their shafts in a similar manner.

Du Pratz in his "Histoire de la Louisiane," tells us that the axes of the Louisiana Indians were made of a fine-grained dark-grey stone. "Whether these stones," he writes, "were naturally flat or were ground on other hard stones, such as the sand-stone found in Louisiana, certain it is they succeeded in making axes. These stone axes are an inch or more thick at the head, and half an inch in thickness for three-quarters of their length. The edge is beveled but not cutting, and may be four inches wide, while the head is only three inches in width. This head is provided with a cavity—deep enough to admit a finger—in order to facilitate the fastening of the blade in the split end of the handle; and this end is, moreover, firmly bound, to prevent further splitting. In using these axes it was not possible to cut wood, but merely to bruise it; and therefore they always hacked the tree close to the ground in order that the fire which they kindled here might consume more readily the fibres of the wood bruised by the axe. Finally, by dint of labor and patience they succeeded in felling the tree. This

labor requires much time; and formerly, therefore, they were much more occupied than at present, being now provided with axes which we trade to them."

Adair in his "History of the American Indians," mentions that the Cherokee Indians: "formerly had stone axes, which in form commonly resemble a smith's chisel. Each weighed from one to two or three pounds weight. They were made of a flinty kind of stone. I have seen several which chanced to escape being buried with their owners, and were carefully preserved by the old people as respectable remains of antiquity. They twisted two or three tough hickory slips, of about two feet long, round the notched head of the axe; and by means of this simple and obvious invention they deadened the tree by cutting through the bark, and burned them, when they either fell by decay or became thoroughly dry."

In opposition to the statements made by the foregoing writers and observers, who inform us that the Indians could not fell a green tree with only the aid of their stone axes, I place before my readers the assertions of Professor George H. Perkins, who writes on "The Stone Axe in Vermont," in Vol. XX. of "The American Naturalist." as follows: "I do not think that archaeologists have given the grooved axe sufficient credit for utility as a cutting implement. They seem for the most part to be of the opinion that at best these axes could be used only to cut into the bark and bruise the wood so that a fire kindled about a tree so prepared should have greater effect. This may very properly have been a common, perhaps the common, method, and yet the accounts given us by the early explorers of America seem to me to prove that trees were cut, and cut so that they came down, with stone axes. We must always be on our guard against rendering judgment as to the usefulness of a stone implement if we have no other basis for our decision than the results accomplished by it in our unskilled hands. We all know that stone implements that

would be wholly useless in civilized hands are yet of very great efficiency in the hands of savages who have learned how to use them. Many of our stone axes do indeed seem quite unfitted for use as cutting tools, and they may be so, but all are not; some are made from very hard stone and have a smooth, regular edge which, although it may not be comparable to that of a modern steel axe, is yet able to cut soft green wood if not that which is harder. To cite in proof of this only a single writer, let me call attention to one or two statements made by Champlain. The earliest edition of the writings of this explorer, which is now at hand, was published in Paris, 1830, a reprint of course of earlier volumes, but sufficient for our purpose. In his account of a journey which he took with a party of Algonquins in 1609, Champlain speaks several times of the stone axes as used to fell trees, and some of these were 'gros arbres,' and the account shows that the cutting must have been done with somewhat of expedition. His party had iron axes as well as stone, but our author does not compare the two, but calls them all 'meschantes.' In describing the customary method of camping when enemies were supposed to be near, he tells us that as soon as the Indians had chosen the place for a camp, they immediately began to cut down trees to make a barricade, and he says that they know so well how to do this that in less than two hours they have so strong a defence that five hundred of their enemies would not be able to break into it without great difficulty and loss of life. Then in another passage he speaks of the Iroquois cutting down trees for a similar purpose. Nowhere does he speak of fire as an aid in the process. Indeed in the first case where he tells us of so strong a barricade, he says that they make no fire lest the smoke reveal their presence to their enemies."

"From these and similar accounts it seems quite probable, to say the least, that stone axes were used as axes for cutting timber, and with not altogether unsatisfactory results."

It appears that the use of stone implements lasted for a long while after the advent of iron. Mr. E. H. Knight writes in the Smithsonian Report, for 1879, "that the stone battle-axe was used by many of the Anglo-Saxons at the battle of Hastings, and some of the Germans were armed with them at so late a period as the 'thirty Years War'."

S. H. Long who belongs to a later generation of writers, tells his readers in his, "Expedition to the Rocky Mountains," "that travellers saw the western Indians use on the plains similar implements to chop up the vertebrae of buffalos, which were boiled to obtain the marrow."

In describing the grooved axes shown on Plates I, II and III, I shall follow the descriptive terms as given by Mr. Gerard Fowke, in his "Stone Art", published in the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

"EDGE refers to the sharp or cutting portion; BLADE, to the part below the groove, *i. e.*, when the cutting portion of the implement is held downward; POLL or HEAD to that part above the groove; FACE, to the wider or flat portion of the surface, SIDE, to the narrower part; FRONT, to that side farther from the hands; and BACK, to the side nearer the hand when in use."

I shall also, in preparing this paper make use of his tabulation, which appears as follows after being placed into groups. "A. Grooved entirely around, elliptical in section, polls dressed differently. B. Long, narrow, and thin, giving a much flattened elliptical section. C. Grooved on both faces and one side; back hollowed, usually in a straight line the whole length; front drawn in from the groove to give a narrower edge. D. Same method of grooving; back is rounded, and may be in a straight or curved line the entire length, or a broken line straight in each direction from the groove. E. Grooved like the last; same general form, except that the back is flat. F. Grooved on both faces and one side, with both sides flat."

On Plate I, as well as on Plates II and III, are shown a

number of finely grooved specimens which present admirable work done in stone by our aboriginal people. To the mind of the writer, when examining the very fine polished stone implements now resting in museums, and which are supposed to have been made by the prehistoric Indians, is always brought the ingenious idea advanced by the late Major J. W. Powell, in life the able director of the "Bureau of Ethnology," who writes in his article entitled, "Prehistoric Man in America," published in *Forum*, Vol. VIII, pp. 492-93, "that the white men who first came to this country, perhaps made with civilized appliances, many of the fine relics, such as pipes, axes, etc., prized by the Indians, and now resting in our cabinets as mementoes of an almost vanished race." For this opinion Major Powell cites no authority—there is none—nor does he wish his readers to believe that it is true. It is simply a suggestion on his part.

Fig. 1, Plate 1, found on the surface near Riegelsville, New Jersey, represents a grooved implement which possesses many interesting features. It is made of granite, and its shape has been produced by the pecking process. The cutting edge is the only part polished. It has a prominent ridge on each side running parallel with the groove which completely encircles the axe. This distinctive feature may have been produced to give greater strength to the specimen. No signs of rough usage are seen about it. In section it is elliptical, and its sides down to the front are formed into a slight, gracefully lengthened ogee curve. Its form is exceptional. Dr. C. C. Abbott figures a similar specimen, not quite as perfect in his "Stone Age of New Jersey," published in the Smithsonian Report for 1875, and about it writes the following which aptly fits our implement. "Fig. 18 represents the finest specimen of a large stone axe that we have ever met with. Very many that we have seen have been as large; a number have been of more finished workmanship, but no one has as many features of interest as this. The conical head does not appear to have met with



Plate I. Size two-thirds. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

any hard usage, and was probably intended for ornament. It would seem as though the ridges, at each margin of the groove, would be of great advantage in securing the handle to the axe, inasmuch as it secures greater depth to the groove without cutting too deeply into the body of the implement itself." Our axe has a polished groove, which smoothness may have been caused by friction when hafted. The fine condition of the axe clearly indicates that its aboriginal owner prized it highly. All the implements on Plate I are shown as one-third actual size.

Fig. 2, pecked or battered into form is of interest because its groove, which completely encircles this tool is placed almost in the middle of the specimen. Its sides, though nearly straight, are rounded and taper in a direct line to the cutting edge, as well as to the end of the poll which is slightly rounded, and indicates its use at times for pounding. It is made of granite and was found on the surface in Carbon County, Penn'a.

Fig. 3, the material of which is granite is a finely made implement, and is pecked into the shapely form which the figure conveys. It is grooved on both faces and on one side. Both sides are flat, and curve gracefully toward the edge. Its shallow groove showing polish through friction by the handle, is also, as one can see very narrow, and for so large a specimen has a very small poll. The marks of the pecking tool are clearly evident on every part of its surface. It was found in perfect condition—the large chip showing on its edge being knocked out through carelessness while in the hands of the finder—who picked it up on his farm, ten miles north-east of Reading, Penn'a. The writer drove twenty miles to secure the object, which after much entreaty he secured, and which was the first axe to add to his collection. In the foregoing tabulation it may be placed in class D.

Fig. 4, a minute granitic implement, finely polished, was found on the surface in Macon County, Missouri. The

shallow groove encircles both faces and one side of the axe. Like Fig. 3, it can be placed in class D. Whether a weapon of ceremony or the play-thing of an aboriginal child it is difficult to tell.

Figs. 5 and 6, double-grooved objects found in considerable numbers in the pueblos of the south-western United States, are extremely rare in the States bordering on the Atlantic Coast, as well as in the States lying in the Mississippi Valley. As they are both small implements the utility of the second groove is not evident. Fig. 5, with its secondary and shallow parallel groove placed around the centre of the specimen is made of a fine-grained brownish sandstone. It is pecked into shape, and only the cutting edge which is almost pointed is polished. Its principal groove completely encircling the tool is wide as well as deep. It was found on the surface in Berks County, Penn'a.

Fig. 6, also shaped with the stone pick is a curiously formed and interesting implement. It has a small rounded head or poll, and its larger channel which reaches around it is both wide and deep. The secondary parallel furrow is narrow, very shallow, and also encircles it. While one of its sides extends in an almost straight line to the edge which is polished, the other one opposite is slightly curved. It is made of diorite, and was picked up from the surface near Slatington, Penn'a.

Fig. 7, a nicely formed and polished axe was found on the surface near Cherryville, Penn'a. Many of the relics made by the Indian have been found in the vicinity of this village and the spot is still called the "Indian Land". It was the first reservation for the Indians in the United States. When found its cutting edge was completely battered away, proving very rough treatment. We are told that the Indians often dug graves with these grooved implements. If this assertion is true, one can easily understand why the edge was so badly battered. Its sides extend edgewise in almost a straight line. The furrow which is rather shallow, extends around

one side, and two faces of the axe. It may be placed in class F. One is inclined to ask how an implement of this kind was placed when hafted, which side was on top, and which the lower? This thought causes the writer to quote Dr. Abbott who says: "The universal exception that co-exists with every rule here obtains in the pattern of axe that is grooved upon each side, near the head and across one margin, but whether the top or bottom is uncertain. * * * So far as the continuation of the groove across one margin is concerned, we find that a forked sapling can be best attached to such axes by placing the flat margin in the fork of the handle and drawing the ends together *over the groove*, thus making it the top or upper margin of the implement. * * * Careful examination also of the edges of such specimens as we have had seem to us to show also that this manner of securing the handle was that pursued by the people who made and used these axes."

Fig. 8, is a polished, and slightly weathered object of limestone. Its furrow both wide and deep crosses the implement in a diagonal direction which causes the blade to incline backward. Dr. Abbott in his "Primitive Industry," writes, that the majority of grooved axes found in the valley of the Susquehanna River in Penn'a have the groove oblique with reference to the edge. Its sides, one of them flat, and the other rounded form a straight line to the edge of the tool which is very sharp. Wedges were placed between the flat sides of such axes and the curves of their handles for better security. Mr. Fowke of the "Bureau of Ethnology" seems to think that specimens of this form are unusual. The relic was found in Joanna, Penn'a.

Fig. 9, is a polished granite implement which is grooved on both faces and one side. The sides run in a straight line to the cutting edge which is as wide as the body of the axe. It is a fine and very interesting object. Its groove is also slightly diagonal. It was picked up near Pleasantville, Penn'a.

On Plate II, on which are figured five rare axes,

shown one-half actual size, can be seen an uncommon form of a double edged implement, made of a red, close-grained sandstone, the central part of which is completely encircled by a deep and rather narrow groove. There is every indication that this specimen was used in girdling trees. Its edges are chipped and dull and show rough usage. The Indians could with an implement of this kind fell a tree by bruising its bark close to the ground, and then with the aid of fire more readily destroy the crushed fibre. It was found near Crawford, Mississippi, is eight inches long, five inches wide, two inches thick, and weighs six pounds.

Fig. 2 is a perfect and fine tool of rarest form. The writer has never seen an axe like this in any of the cabinets of stone relics examined by him, nor has he seen one figured in his many works, in his large library, devoted to the science of archaeology. Completely encompassing it is a deep and wide groove, which is met by a second broad and shallow furrow running around the poll almost in its centre. The reason for this extra channel is obvious. It was made by the pecking process, and the only sign of polish is at the cutting edge. The two sides one curved, the other straight, extend in a slanting line toward the cutting edge, which is about one-half as wide as the broadest part of the specimen, and which is to be seen at the face end of the furrow. It is made of a close-grained red sandstone and is here shown one-half natural size.

Fig. 3, an almost similar axe, also pecked into shape, and made of the same material, has a groove not quite as deep as the preceding encircling it. The flattened poll which is the broadest part of the object, has a small notch connecting with the main channel, on each side. The sharp cutting edge, caused by a fault is not as wide as that of Fig. 2. One of its edges, on account of this defect extends in a much curved line to the edge, while the other passes in the same direction in a straight manner.

Fig. 4, also formed by pecking, and of red, close-grained



Plate II. Size one-half. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

sandstone is completely ringed by a wide, diagonal groove, polished, which was caused by friction when hafted. The imperfect butt end which is somewhat narrower than the main portion of the tool is notched. Axes having a cutting edge much broader than the poll are not often found.

Fig. 5, is a polished close-grained axe of gray sandstone with an almost imperceptible furrow encircling it. It is notched on each side with an extra indentation in the centre of the poll. Professor Perkins shows as Fig. 3, in his "The Stone Age in Vermont," in the "American Naturalist," for 1886, a similar implement which he calls "a specimen of singular form, and in some respects unique. The notches are very deep though the groove is quite shallow, and the form of the head above the groove is unusual. The Perkins' specimen shows signs of rough treatment which causes it to have a rude appearance. Our specimen is in perfect and fine condition. Crawford, Mississippi, is the home of these remarkable implements. All of them are shown one-half size.

Last, but not the least of the grooved axes is the monster artifact shown on Plate III. It weighs thirteen pounds and six ounces, and was plowed up with a number of other relics, from a low mound near Virginia, Illinois. On each side of the crack, which the picture shows as passing obliquely across the centre of the blade from top to bottom, are placed two shallow parallel furrows. The aboriginal owner, fearing a complete fracture wrapped rawhide or some other clinging material around it. When found it was completely covered with that which appears to be a black paint. Most of this covering was scraped off by the two farmer boys who found it, and who also broke the axe into two parts because of the idea that there was money on the inside of it. Upon the reception of this uncommon specimen by the writer, he at once wrote regarding this point to Dr. E. R. Boardman, the giver, who at that time was a responsible citizen of the town near which it was found.

He returned an answer in which he said that the axe came into his possession a few hours after it was discovered, that he questioned the boys about the black paint, and that they insisted when they picked it up that every part of it was covered except the poll. Its great weight precludes the idea that it was used as a weapon of defense or in the more peaceful occupations. The prehistoric American before he came into contact with European civilization and its attendant vices was a natural strong man. But he would not use as weighty and ponderous an object when implements not so heavy would serve his purposes much better. That it was an object used in their savage rites, a "ceremonial weapon," is the belief of the writer. It may have split and crushed the head of many a poor victim taken a prisoner during battle with other Indian tribes. It has been suggested to the writer that this black covering may at one time have been blood. The sides and faces of the axe are nicely polished as is also the very wide and deep groove which extends around three sides of it. The finely rounded poll is pecked. Its sides are flat, one of them extending in a straight line toward the broad cutting edge, while the other stretches in a slightly curved line in the same direction. The implement is made of diorite, is ten inches long, six inches broad, and measures three and one-quarter inches in thickness at the butt. Its deep furrow is one and one-half inches wide. Much labor and time must have been spent in making this large and unwieldy object. Colonel C. C. Jones says in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," that it often required a lifetime to make a grooved axe. Can this be said of this very interesting implement? Dr. Boardman who so kindly presented to the writer this uncommon tool, once in a letter told him that a Winnebago Indian chief who lived near him, and with whom he was very friendly, informed him that the indians of his tribe never made any axes but always found them, and that they were made by a race of



Plate III. Size 10 in. long, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. thick, weight 13 lbs. 6 oz. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

people who lived in that part of the country many years before their arrival.

Deposits of grooved axes, sometimes numbering many specimens, and carefully placed together are found under the surface. Dr. Abbott mentions several of these discoveries: "Whatever may be thought of the scientific value of single specimens of these axes, that value is enhanced perhaps, or at least interest is attached to the specimens, when we occasionally have the good fortune to unearth a so-called 'deposit' of these specimens, sometimes numbering several hundred."

"In one case, in digging a cellar in Trenton, New Jersey, one hundred and twenty were found 'all closely huddled up together,' as my informant described them. They were about three feet below the surface, and a 'foot deep' in the gravel underlying the soil. They were surrounded by, and entirely covered with a bright brick red powder. Again in digging the receiving vault of the Riverside Cemetery, near Trenton, a bushel-basketful of these axes was found, packed closely together, 'six feet deep in the ground.' On the face of the bluff fronting the Delaware River, immediately below Trenton, several such instances have come to the notice of the writer. In the first two instances, the specimens were all grooved cobble-stone axes. In another instance, the 'axe (?),' fifty in number, were of the ungrooved pattern, all of porphyry, well polished, and appeared to have been carefully deposited, and not thrown pell-mell into the hole dug to contain them."

Celts. One of the most important stone implements used by prehistoric or primitive man is the so-called celt, a name which is not a good descriptive term, but which is given because a better can not be found. They are often also called ungrooved axes, and are chanced upon either polished or chipped into shape. They were used in every part of the globe where the stone age once prevailed, and are more generously distributed than the grooved axe. They are

made of flint and other hard and tough stones, they are of various patterns, and they vary in length from one inch to sixteen inches. Their weight ranges from half an ounce to twenty pounds. The purposes for which they served were many. Not only were they used as defensive weapons, but they also served in the making of canoes, in scraping away charcoal from wood; as chisels; in peeling bark from trees; as adzes; as knives used in skinning animals; in cutting flesh, and in grinding their paint. The finer made specimens, usually very sharp, were no doubt, implements of warfare, while those roughly made were used about their encampments. It is uncertain whether the name of this interesting world-wide implement is derived from the Latin *celtis* or *celtes*, a chisel, or the British or Welsh *cellt*, a flint. The first use of the term says Sir John Evans in his "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," "that I have met with is applied to antiquities in Berger's 'Thesaurus Brandanburgicus,' 1696, where a bronze celt, adapted for insertion in its haft, is described under the name of *Celtes*."

Of the manner of the making of the ungrooved axe from its beginning, the writer again takes pleasure in quoting Professor W. H. Holmes, now the director of the United States National Museum, at Washington, D. C., who aptly writes in the "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology" as follows: "The shaping processes by means of which stone was made to assume artificial forms adapted to human needs are varied and ingenious and their mastery is of the greatest importance to all primitive peoples. These processes are distinguished by such terms as breaking, flaking, cutting, drilling, scraping, pecking, grinding and polishing. All are purely mechanical; none are chemical, save a possible use of fire to induce changes in the rock in some parts of the quarry work. A wide range of manual operations is represented and these may conveniently be arranged in four groups: 1, *fracturing*, practiced extensively by the American Indian, and represented by the

terms breaking, flaking and chipping; 2, *incising*, including cutting, picking and scraping; 3, *battering*, including such acts as bruising, pecking and hammering; 4, *abrading*, as in rubbing, drilling, boring, sawing and polishing. These acts are employed according to the nature of the stone or the results desired; as for example, fracture is employed where the stone to be shaped is brittle, like flint, jasper, or quartz; incision is employed where the stone is relatively soft, such as soapstone, serpentine and the like; battering is applied to tough materials capable of resisting the shocks of percussion, like granitic rocks and many of the eruptives. Nearly all varieties are capable of being shaped by grinding and rubbing."

"The processes employed in a given case were determined by the nature of the material, by the intelligence and skill of the workman, by the character of the object designed, and by a number of minor considerations."

"The evolution of the celt may be explained in this manner. The aborigine wishing to make one would look for a waterworn or any other tough, close-grained stone approximating in general outline this tool. He would then with another stone remove a few flakes thereby making the edges thinner and sharper thus saving a large amount of pecking. He would then take a globular stone or pecking hammer and begin to pound away the rugged edges and excrescences caused by flaking. The surface of the implement evened in this manner the grinding or polishing process would begin and this would be kept up with the aid of sand and water until the celt was nicely polished."

Hafted they often were, and in the following manner:

1. A hole was bored through a stick, and the celt roughened in the middle was inserted so that it projected from both sides, and then more firmly secured with some sticky substance.
2. The hole was cut partly through the handle, and the celt would be pushed in as far as it would go, and then secured with gum or glue.

3. The top of the celt was set in a socket of deerhorn, then fastened in a handle as in 2. Of this class many have been taken from the Swiss lakes.

4. A stick was split its entire length and a single turn taken around the tool, the ends being brought together and tied thus forming a round handle.

5. A stick was split part way, one fork cut off, and the other fork wrapped once or twice around the implement, then securely tied, thus forming a round handle of solid wood.

6. The fork of a root or branch was trimmed so as to make a flat face at any desired angle, to which the celt was lashed, a shoulder, against which the end of the celt was set, being sometimes cut in the wood.

In securely fastening and tightening their ungrooved axes they certainly also used rawhide or sinew which when placed on in a green state in drying contracts and closely binds

On Plate IV. are figured a number of celts of different form and size. All of them except figure two are finely polished. Fig. 1 is a long slender implement of argillite, with a prominently rounded and sharp cutting edge, and an almost pointed, truncated top. In section it is elliptical, and its sides are straight. Its entire surface is nicely polished, and it shows no signs of rough handling. It was found on the surface near Grassy Cove, Tennessee, and is shown on the plate is one-third natural size, as are all the other specimens.

Fig. 2 shows signs of much pecking. Roughened in this manner, it would hold much better in its handle. Both top and cutting edge which are rounded show traces of considerable use. It was picked up in Jefferson County, Ohio, and is made of diorite.

Fig. 3, a large and finely polished, perfect specimen is made of a light-colored, close-grained sandstone. Its sides curve slightly to the edge, and its top is almost pointed. It was found on the surface near Crawford, Mississippi.

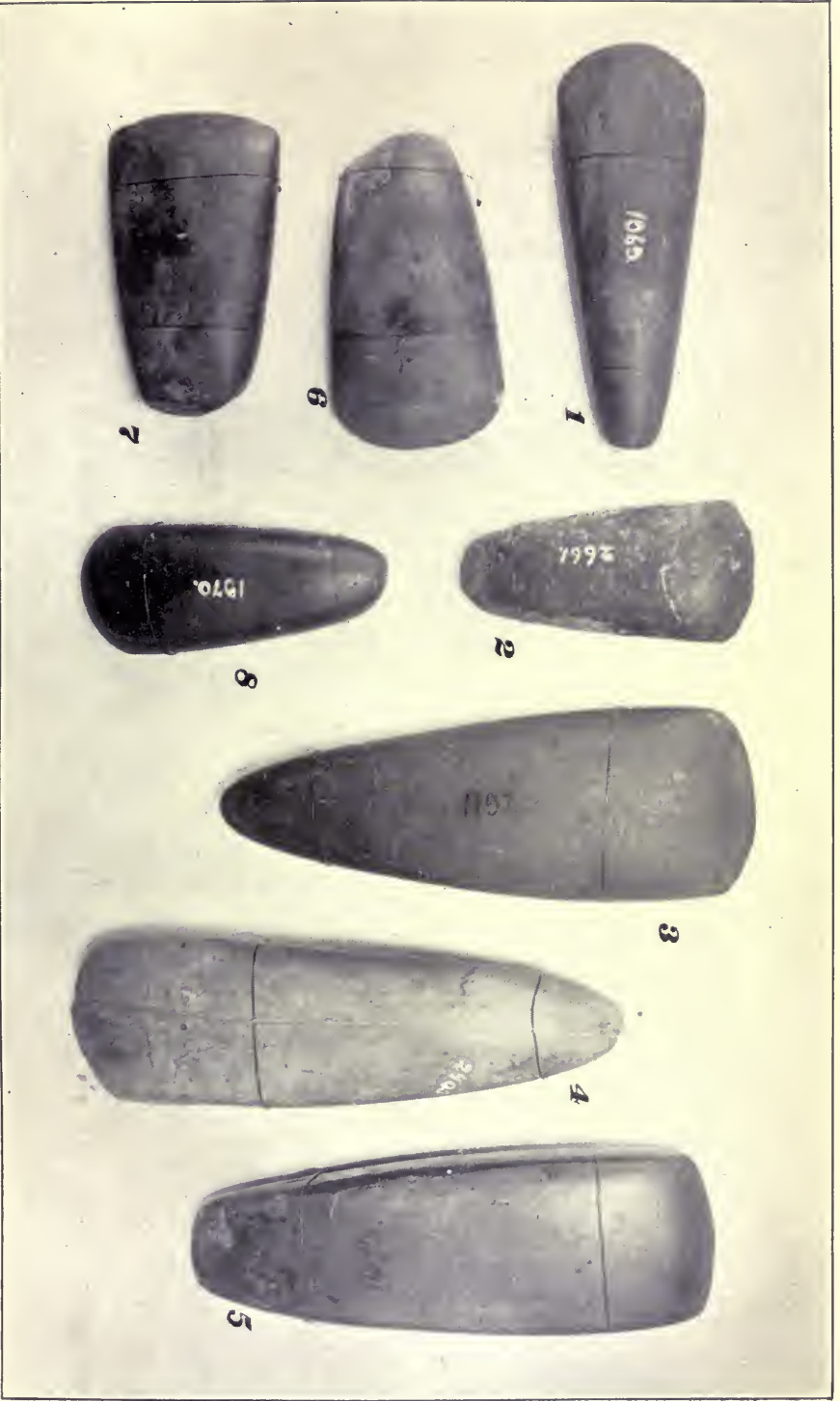


Plate IV. Celts, size one-third. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Fig. 4, another well polished object, somewhat irregular in form, is made of a light green-colored green-stone. It was found in Alabama.

Fig. 5, a splendid specimen, also of a compact dark green-stone, nicely polished is also from Mississippi. Its sides are square, and curve slightly to the cutting edge which is sharp. Its top is truncated, and in section it is rectangular.

Figs. 6 and 7 are short, clumsy tools probably at one-time much longer, but worn away by continual sharpening. While they have sharp edges, their tops indicate considerable usage. Argillite seems to be the material from which they are made. Both are from Mississippi.

Fig. 8, is as fine a celt as can be found. It is as perfect now as it was in the days of its maker, and its polished surface glistens. It is made of a very close-grained rock. It was picked up near Grassy Cove, Tennessee.

Many of the small celts were set into a piece of deer antler, and then fastened into a short wooden handle in which capacity they were used as knives or scrapers. They were also used on the flat surface of a stone to grind into a powder the paint with which the Indians adorned their bodies.

The writer once showed to the late Dr. John Detwiller, then living at Bethlehem, Penn'a., who for two years lived with the Indian tribes of the United States of Columbia South America, two finely polished, very small celts, who upon seeing them said that he often while with the Indians saw them use similar small implements on a flat stone to prepare their paint, which was done by holding the object between the thumb and the two first fingers of the right hand, and that in a short time they ground into powder as much paint material as they wished for decorative purposes.

In the manufacture of their many forms of stone implements the ingenuity and skill of the prehistoric workmen found varied expression. Much time, labor and great pains were often expended in bringing them to the desired shape. Years were sometimes spent in fashioning a fine stone tool.

To note some of the ideas that have been held in different countries respecting the nature and origin of the celt may interest my readers. Sir John Evans, in his very learned work "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain," says: "The country folks of the West of England still hold that the 'thunder axes' they find fell from the sky. In Cornwall they still have medicinal virtues assigned to them; the water in which a 'thunderbolt,' or celt, has been boiled being a specific for rheumatism. In the North of England, and in parts of Scotland, they are known as 'thunderbolts,' and are supposed to have preservative virtues, especially in diseases of cattle. In Ireland the same superstition prevails, and I have known an instance where a stone celt was lent among neighbors to place in the troughs from which cattle drank, on account of its healing powers."

"In most parts of France, and in the Channel Islands the stone celt is known by no other name than *Coin de foudre* or *Pierre de tonnerre*; and Mr. F. C. Lukis gives an instance of a flint celt having been found near the spot where a signal staff had been struck by lightning, and which was proved to have been the bolt, by its peculiar smell when broken."

"In Brittany the stone celt is frequently thrown into the well for purifying the water, or for securing a continued supply; and in Savoy it is not rare to find one of these instruments rolled up in the wool of the sheep, or the hair of the goat, for good luck, or the prevention of the rot or putrid decay."

"In Sweden they are preserved as a protection against lightning, being regarded as the stone-bolts that have fallen during thunderstorms."

"In Norway they are known as *Tonderkiler*, and in Denmark the old name for a celt was *Torden-steen*. The test of their being really thunderbolts was to tie a thread round them, and place them on hot coals, when if genuine, the thread was not burnt, but rather rendered moist."

"In Germany the celt is regarded as a thunderbolt; and,

on account of its valuable properties, is sometimes preserved in families for hundreds of years."

"The German belief is much the same as the Irish. Stone celts are held to preserve from lightning the house in which they are kept. They perspire when a storm is approaching; they are good for diseases of man and beast; they increase the milk of cows; they assist in the birth of children; and powder scraped from them may be taken with advantage for various childish disorders. It is usually nine days after their fall before they are found on the surface."

"In Holland in like manner, they are known as *donderbeitels*, or thunder chisels."

"Among the Portuguese and in Brazil the name for a stone axe-blade is *Corisco*, or lightning."

"In Italy a similar belief in these stone implements being thunderbolts prevails, and in Greece the stone celts are known as *Astropelekia*, and have long been held in veneration.

"In Japan they are known as thunderbolts, or as the battle-axe of Tengu, the Guardian of Heaven; and in Java as lightning-teeth.

"In Burmah and Assam stone adzes are called lightning stones, and are said to be always found on the spot where a thunderbolt has fallen, provided it is dug for, three years afterwards. When reduced to powder they are an infallible specific for ophthalmia. They also render those who carry them invulnerable, and possess other valuable properties."

"Among the Malays the same idea of the celestial origin of these stones prevails; while in China they are revered as relics of long deceased ancestors."

"In India they are regarded as sacred, and often adorned with red paint."

"It is the same in Western Africa. There also the stones, or thunderbolts, which Sango, the Thunder God, casts down from heaven, are preserved as sacred relics. In

appearance they are identical with the stone hatchets picked up in the fields of America."

"Bacchus was in one instance worshipped in the form of a hatchet; and on a Chaldean cylinder a priest is represented as making an offering to a hatchet placed upright on a throne. Attention has also been called to the fact that the Egyptian hieroglyph for *Nouter*, God, is simply the figure of an axe."

"In Brittany the figures of stone celts are in several instances engraved on the large stones of chambered tumuli and dolmens."

"There are two deductions which may readily be drawn from the facts just stated; first, that in nearly all, if not indeed in all parts of the globe which are now civilized, there was a period when the use of stone implements prevailed; and, secondly, that this period is so remote, that what were then the common implements of every-day life have now for centuries been regarded with superstitious reverence, or as being in some sense of celestial origin, and not the work of man's hands."

A number of years ago the writer was shown a finely polished and perfect black celt, owned by a person living at Allentown, Penn'a. He prized the object highly, for he found the "thunder-stone," as he called it, immediately after an electric storm at the foot of a tree where it had been cast by a lightning bolt. He would have it no other way, so he was left with his "thunder-stone" with which he would not part. In my collecting tours throughout Eastern Pennsylvania, especially in districts inhabited by the so called Pennsylvania Germans, I often met people who kept in their possession flaked implements as well as chips of flint which they used for the purpose of incantation. They could not be induced to part with these ceremonial objects.

It would appear difficult or impossible," says Mr. Fowke, "to do with their rude tools any work for which an axe or hatchet is commonly used; yet by the aid of fire, or even

without it, the primitive people contrived to accomplish a great deal with them."

"The Maori of New Zealand do all their wonderful work of wood carving with only a chisel or adze (of stone or shell). Among the Iroquois, in cutting trees, fire was applied at the root, the coals were scraped away with a chisel, and this process was repeated until the tree was felled. The trunk was divided into lengths in the same way. Canoes and mortars were hollowed out in the same manner."

Implements of celt-like form have been found in prehistoric soapstone quarries where they were used in cutting out blocks from which they made their pots, as well also as in hollowing out these vessels. The marks of their use can plainly be seen on the unfinished specimens, on the cores, and also on the face of the quarry.

But few hafted implements of this class have been found. Professor Perkins says in "Prehistoric Implements," that a celt hafted in a wooden handle can be seen in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. Sir John Evans figures a few in his "Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain." In the Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1896, a celt still held in its original handle is also figured. If there are more, of which there is no doubt, they are not known to the writer. One found in Switzerland hafted is in the Berlin Collection.

Hematite Objects. Hematite, an iron ore, was very often a factor in the manufacture by the prehistoric Red people of their grooved and ungrooved axes, ornaments, ceremonial weapons, and other small objects the use of which is problematical, and as well also in the production of red paint for the purpose of decoration. It is found in almost every section of the country where iron-ore abounds. From the Iron Mountain district of Missouri, and the Marquette region of Michigan vast quantities have been taken. It has been found in Ohio, Western Virginia and Arkansas.

Traces of ancient iron ore mining by the Indians were discovered near Leslie, Missouri, in 1903, where old excavations were seen going down into the soil from one to five feet. Digging still further into the deposit of ore it was discovered that the prehistoric miners had fairly honey-combed the deposit, and that passage ways extended even below the present floor of the mine. "There were many partially filled galleries, generally narrow and sinuous, but now and then larger openings appeared, two of these being of sufficient dimensions to accommodate standing workmen."

"It was observed in approaching the mine," says Mr. Holmes who made a study of this iron deposit. "that the exposed surfaces of the ore and the ground about were everywhere a brilliant red. The workmen were red from head to foot, and any one venturing to handle the ore soon found his hands smeared with red oxide, repeated washing being required to remove it. The prevalence of the red color suggested at once the idea that the site had been an aboriginal paint mine and that the red and yellow oxides were mined and carried away to be used as paint—an article of utmost importance in the aboriginal economy.

The finding of enormous numbers of rude, roughly grooved or notched implements once hafted, consisting of hard masses of stone or hematite, and weighing from one to five pounds made it certain that extensive operations had been carried on by the ancients, perhaps for a long time. The peculiar properties of the stone as well as its bright color undoubtedly appealed to the Indian stone worker to whom time in the production of hematite objects was of no account.

On Plate V are shown two cones, two celts, two plummetts and a magnificently polished small barrel-shaped discoid, all made of the hard refractory material just described. They are all, excepting the discoid which is black as a coal, of a greyish-blue color. Their use, except the

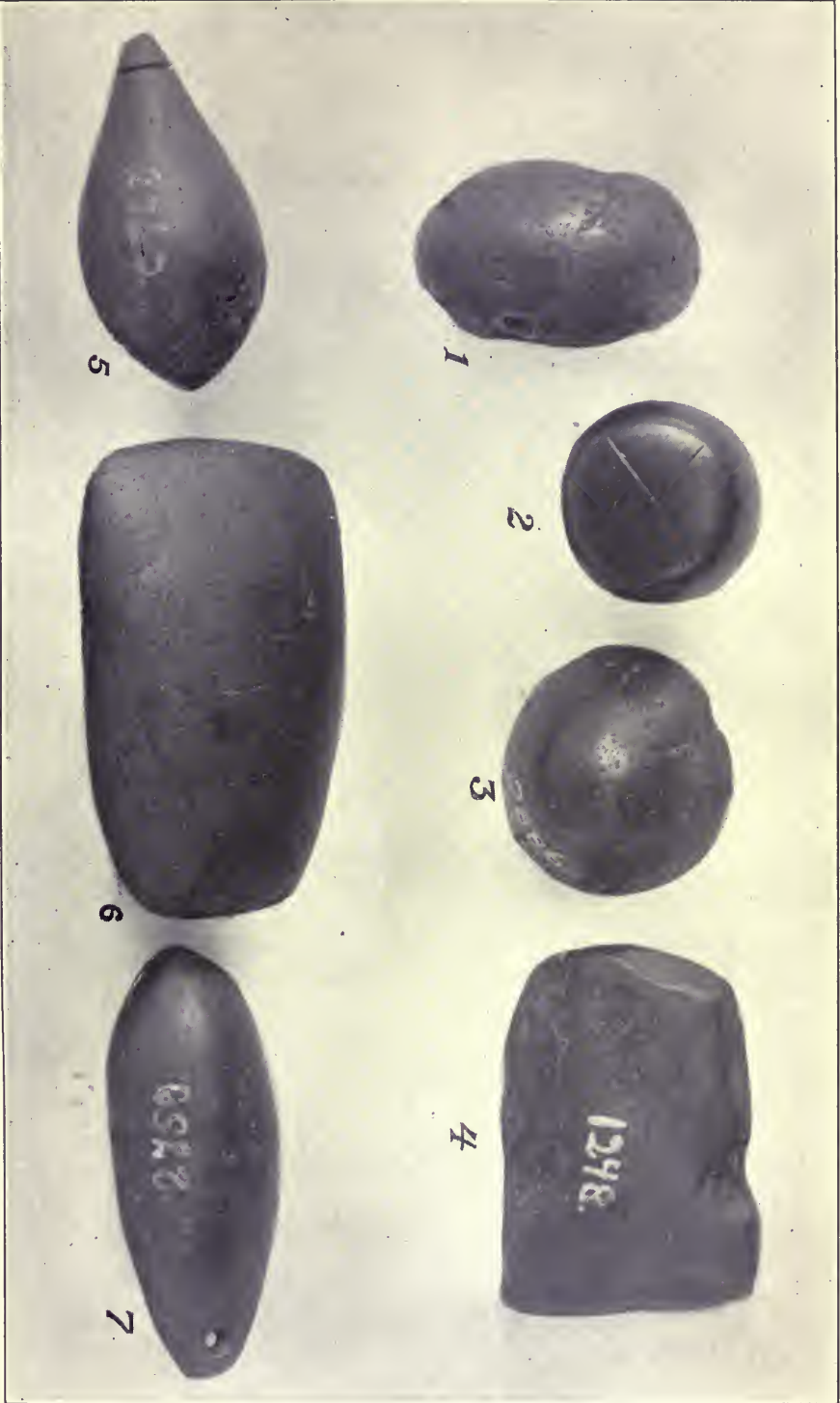


Plate V. Hematites. Size two-thirds, Middle West. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

ungrooved axes, and Fig 1, is a mystery, and for this reason have been classed with problematical objects.

Fig. 1 with a flat base and rounded top evinces the fact that it was used as a paint muller. Bright red paint is still in some places adhering to it. It is two inches long, one and one-quarter inches wide, about as high, and was picked up near Crawford, Mississippi.

Fig. 3, a true cone or mammiform object brightly polished, is one and seven-eighth inches in diameter at its flat base, and one and one-eighth inches high. Its top is slightly rounded. It was found near Crawford, Mississippi. These ceremonials also occur in banded slate, in a hard yellowish clay-like stone, and have been found made of granite, steatite and other hard material. "The base often varies somewhat from a circle, and the apex is sometimes quite low. Occasionally the specimens are truncated or abruptly sloped above or grade into hemispheres." They are found in greatest numbers in States east of the Mississippi River. They may have been employed in gaming, carried as charms, or served the medicine man during his incantations. Yielding readily when rubbed on a hard stone, a red paint, the hematites may have been used to procure this material for the purpose of decoration.

Mr. Holmes tells us that: Similar Conical objects of hematite are used by the Pueblo Indians of to-day, and were used by the ancient tribes in making sacred paint; a tablet of sandstone or shale served as the grinding plate, and the cone, which was the muller also yielded the paint.

Fig. 12 on Plate XI, is a rare cone-like object with a truncated top. Its base diameter is one and three-quarter inches and its height one and one-quarter inches. It is made of a hardened, yellowish clay-like material, and was also picked up from the surface near Crawford.

Fig. 9, on Plate VIII, made of a greenish colored banded slate is almost a perfect hemisphere. Its flattened base, into which has been worked a shallow depression partly polished,

and covering two-thirds of it, is one and one-quarter inches in diameter, and one inch high. It was found near Xenia, Indiana. Banded slate specimens are most plentiful in the Ohio valley. They served no doubt the same purposes as did other cones.

Fig. 4, Plate V, an ungrooved axe or celt, having a remarkably sharp edge was obtained from Macon County, Missouri. It is two and three-quarter inches long, one and three-quarter inches wide, and weighs three-quarters of a pound. It may have been used as a paint muller.

Fig. 6, same plate, is a finely polished celt-like specimen, three and one-half inches long, one and three-quarter inches wide and one and one-quarter inches thick. It weighs a little more than a pound. Cut into section it would appear as an elongated oval. It was also found in Macon County, Missouri.

Figs. 5 and 6 are two nicely finished "pendants" or "plummets," the latter name being given to them because of their similarity to the bricklayer's similarly shaped implement. They were found at Bayou de Glaize, Louisiana. One of them is grooved at the pointed end, and the other is perforated. Varied uses have been assigned to these interesting problematical objects by different writers. Dr. Charles Rau has the following to say of them in his "Prehistoric Fishing." Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, No. 509: "A close examination of the large series of such objects in the United States National Museum has led me to consider them as sinkers for fishing lines, a view which does not exclude the possibility that some of them may have been differently used. Such relics occur throughout the whole breadth of the United States, from New England to California, and the specimens obtained from this extensive territory show, notwithstanding the variety of their forms and conformity in general character, which, according to my judgment points to the same mode of application."

“The theory of their use as sinkers is met by the objection that too much care has been bestowed on the manufacture of many of them to risk their loss while thus employed. But this argument can easily be overcome by an examination of the angling implements still in use among uncivilized, yet somewhat advanced, tribes. These people take great pains in the production of their weapons and other accoutrements, as any one can perceive who devotes his attention to a collection of such articles. The western Eskimos, for instance, excel in the production of fishing tackle of every kind, and I will mention, with special reference to the question here treated, that they employ at the present time carefully-made pear-shaped line sinkers of stone and ivory, and risk to lose them while angling, and if by accident, they are deprived of them they make new ones.”

“An elongated pear-shape, it must be admitted, is the form best adopted for a line sinker, and, indeed, is commonly given to the leaden sinkers found in every hardware store where apparatus for angling is sold.”

They are often found in graves associated with human remains, and we have it on the authority of Mr. Holmes, whose opinions I have so often quoted in the preparation of this article that: “Some were undoubtedly worn on the person after the manner of pendant ornaments, but there is good reason to believe that many of them were devoted to magic and ceremony, being invested by their owners with extraordinary powers as charms, talismens, amulets, fetiches, etc., capable in one way or another of exerting profound influence on the welfare of the individual, the society, the clan, or the tribe.”

“The Indians of Southern California, in whose possession some of these objects are found, believe them to be helpful in war and the chase, in producing rain, in curing the sick, in games of chance, etc. * * * It is worthy of note that the aborigines generally are disposed to attribute magical significance to all old worked stones as well as to all unusual

natural shapes. * * * The ancient name of the plummet type was *mōjābāwasin*, a stone (- *asin*) of human attributes (- *ābū*) that cast a spell (*moj-*). Its present name is *shingābāwasin*, stone of human attributes lying at rest (*shing*). *Kisis*, sun, was applied to a circular disk; and *tibi ki kisis*, 'night sun or moon,' to a crescent perforated at the horns. These three types—plummet, circular and crescent went under the general name of *ubawānāganan*, dream objects."

The finding in a dry bed of a small lake in California, drained in 1870, for agricultural purposes, of many hundreds of these objects indicates that they were used as sinkers on fishing lines or nets. Or did the aborigines believe that they possessed a magical power over the finny tribe; or were they offerings to the spirits who were the keepers of the fish?

Fig. 5 is two and one-half inches long. Diameter at thickest part of the bulb one and one-quarter inches, weight three-quarters of a pound. Fig. 7 is three and one-eighth inches long, greatest bulb diameter one and one-quarter inches, and it weighs one pound.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS. The North American Indian although by necessity a hunter and flesh eater, which they preferred cooked, and only under compulsion ate it raw, had, when the Europeans discovered this continent, made some steps toward an agricultural state. They found cultivated fields of Indian corn, *Zea mays* which the aboriginal people raised in enormous quantities, and which they were then cultivating as far north as the St. Lawrence River, and west to the Mississippi River. The Indian population in this cultivated area was more numerous, and, because of their well built towns more permanent, and as agricultural people advanced to a higher state of civilization.

This now much used food product originated in the highlands of Southern and Central Mexico, where lived the Mayas, the oldest in civilization of any race on the North

American Continent. It is said that they build the now dead cities of Uxmal, Copan and Palenque, and many others, the architectural remains of which were of a high order.

Professor John Harshberger tells us in his very valuable and interesting monograph, "Maize:" "They excelled in architecture, for their sculpturings are bold and strong, as the facades of the edifices, covered with curious designs, attest. Their boats were seaworthy, and a trade was established between Cuba and Yucatan, for Columbus was shown wax from Yucatan, and was told about the countries toward the sunset. Cacas beans and shells served as a media of exchange. They had an extensive literature; they used tablets and covered the walls of their structures with hieroglyphics."

"Their speech forms one of the rare examples of an American language possessing vitality enough not only to maintain its own ground, but actually to force itself on European settlers and supplant their native speech." Berendt states "that whole families of pure white blood do not know Spanish, but use Maya exclusively." They cultivated successfully, *Maize* beans and pepper, and domesticated bees, from which both honey and wax were collected. This interesting and mysterious nation occupied the peninsula of Yucatan, and reached into Guatemala and Tabasco where they cultivated maize their principal food in great quantity.

"By nothing," says Col. C. C. Jones, in his "Antiquities of the Southern Indians," was the gradual development of the semi-civilization of the Southern and other Indian tribes more clearly indicated than by their general and regular cultivation of the maize, an American plant, whose value—recognized by these aborigines for many antecedent centuries and extensively appreciated at the dawn of the historic period—has ever since received ready acknowledgment wherever introduced to the notice of civilized man. Regarded as a direct gift from the Author of Life to his red children, it was highly prized and held in peculiar

esteem. To make light of, or waste either the grain, or the cob from which it was taken, was never permitted. Certain ceremonies were observed in the spring when it was planted; and of all their rites the Busk—celebrated just before they garnered the ripe ears from the fields—was, perhaps, the most solemn and imposing. Of the American Indians the Southern nations were the most civilized and the least nomadic in their habits. Attached to the soil, they lifted themselves at least somewhat above that rude, beggarly and precarious existence, which so painfully characterized the condition of so many of the aborigines inhabiting other portions of this country, oppressed by greater penury and contending against the rigors of more tempestuous seasons.”

Often the Red People had maize in so great plenty that their White neighbors were saved from dying of hunger because of their liberality. Kalm tells us that the Swedish settlements of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were obliged to buy maize of the Indians for sowing and eating.

“The Puritans landed on the bleak coast of New England in 1620. Indian corn carried them over the long dreary winter of 1620-21, for it is mentioned in an early narrative ‘that they bought great stores of venison and eight hogsheads of corn beans. In the spring of 1621 the Puritans began to plant their corne, in which service Squanto, an (Indian) stood them in great stead, showing them both ye manner how to set it, and after how to tend and dress it. Also he tould them excepte they got fish and set within these old grounds, it would come to nothing, and he showed them yt in ye middle of Aprill.”

“The English at Jamestown,” writes Col. C. C. Jones, “were at times, almost wholly sustained by the liberality of the natives; and Captain John Smith in recounting the friendship of Pocahontas, mentions the circumstance that she in person accompanied from the Indian fields the ‘conductas’ of grain which relieved the wants of the colonists.”

De Sota's army once marched for six miles through continuous fields of maize, and the Spanish soldiers subsisted almost exclusively upon food furnished by the Indians, while their horses maintained themselves on the leaves of the plant." Indian fields in which not even the trace of a stump or root could be seen were frequently met with by the first European settlers. These fields were always situated on the richest spots of ground next to their villages. About their houses they labor and till the ground sowing their fields with the seeds of maize, and at the same time in their gardens they planted beans, gourds, cucumbers, citrons and peas. Each Indian we are told, planted and harvested for his individual account his own field. Sometimes in the South three crops of maize and beans were raised in a year. A Natchez chief, among other things, once offered Du Pratz, the historian, twenty barrels of maize in exchange for a sun-glass.

During the Pequot war in New England, which began in 1637, the English destroyed two hundred acres of corn. In an affray between the Narragansetts and the combined forces of the Mohegans and Pequots, the latter destroyed twenty-three cornfields. In King Philip's War, in 1675, the Puritans took possession of one thousand acres of corn, which they harvested and disposed as they were directed. Hudson when anchored in 1609 off the Catskills, in the river named after him, bought corn, tobacco and pumpkins from the Indians.

The Marquis De Nonville marched with his soldiers on the fourteenth of July, 1687, against the large villages of the Seneca Indians, at one of which although burned he encamped. For ten days all the time was spent at four of the Seneca villages in destroying their corn, which, Squier, in his "Aboriginal Monuments of New York," says: "was in such great abundance that the loss, including the old corn which was in *cache*, which was burned, was computed at 400,000 minots (1,200,000 bushels of Indian corn."

While with the aborigine the emphatic staff of life was maize, which, we have seen they cultivated extensively, and in which operation the large flaked agricultural implements, later to be described were certainly used, they also, over a wide stretch of country raised tobacco. This narcotic weed they believed to be of Divine origin, and a direct gift from the Great Spirit, for their special enjoyment. The limits of the cultivation of tobacco at the time of the discovery has not yet been well defined. That it was cultivated to some extent on the Atlantic side is known; it was used aboriginally all over California, and, indeed a plant called tobacco by the natives was cultivated as far north, as Yakutat Bay, Alaska.

Plate VI shows two large flaked implements, one a spade and the other a hoe, which were probably attached to long handles as are those of the present, both of which were found opposite the city of St. Louis, but a short distance from the Mississippi River, and in the basin of which great stream these ponderous implements are most plentifully found. Both specimens are made of a very hard grayish material, slightly conchoidal in fracture, but the stone is not of that variety of flint of which the spear and arrow-heads, etc., generally found in that section of country are usually made.

Fig. 1, having a deep notch on each side, which better facilitated its fastening to a handle, and showing also a shallow depression at the base of its stem, has been given the name of a hoe. Its blade sides extend down to the rounded sharply chipped edge in almost a straight line, but there are no signs of polish on the blade as seen on some other similar tools. It is six and one-quarter inches long, and is five inches at greatest width. The relic which is flat on one side and slightly ridged on the other presents an admirable degree of workmanship which can be called artistic. "The primary and principal implement," says Dr. Wilson in "Prehistoric Art," "in the making of chipped

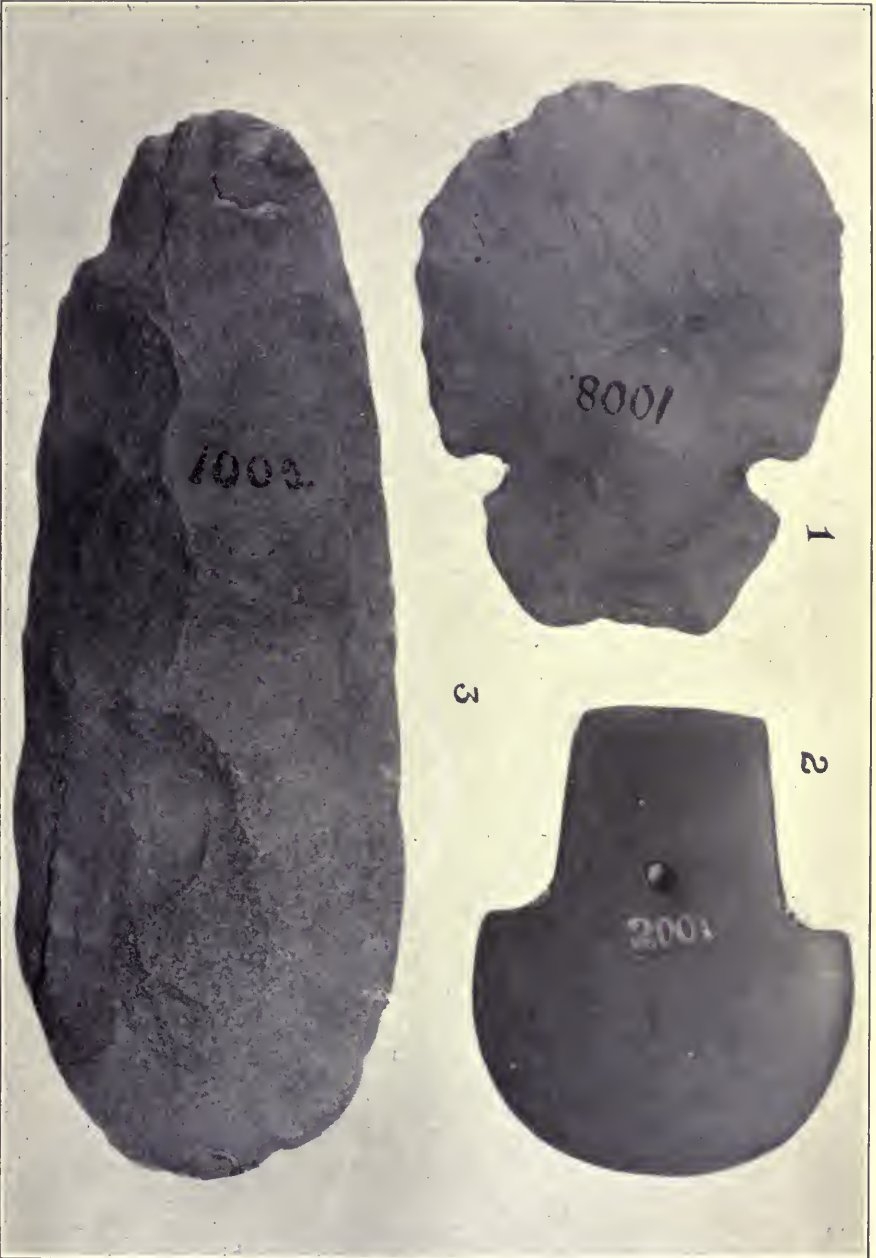


Plate VI. The large chert Hoe, 12½ in. long. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.



specimens is the hammer usually flint, quartz or quartzite, by which the blow is struck which knocks away the flakes. When the corners were worn round it was thrown away, or served some other purpose. The nodules of flint to be flaked into implements, having been prepared, the art of the operation consists in judging the force of the blow and determining accurately the point of impact; then follows the successful manipulation in carrying out this good judgment. In justification of the claim that this is fine art it can be said that no historic or modern individual has ever attained the success acquired by the artist in prehistoric times.

George Ercol Sellers in his "Observations on Stone Chipping," says: "It is the large hoes and spades flaked from quartzite slabs that to me are evidence of a much higher degree of intelligence and skill than the most highly-finished spear and arrow-points evince. Take an edge view of one of these large spades, and observe how accurately straight and free from wind the edge has been carried entirely around the implement, the flattening of one side and rounding the other; then observe that the long flat very slightly depressed flakes have been thrown off at right angles to the edge, even to those curving around its digging or cutting end, which appear to have radiated from a common center. If these flakes have been thrown off by blows so struck and directed as to preserve the clearly lined edges, as the operator had carried them in his mind, a skill must have been acquired that we can not approach. In all the experiments that I have tried with a hammer, whether of stone, steel, soft iron, or copper, they have failed to produce the desired result; the seat of the flake is more chonchoidal, shorter and deeper depressed, whereas the direct *percussive pressure* throws off the shape of flake that we find has been done in making these spades. If this mode has been resorted to, it necessarily required considerable ingenuity in devices for holding the stone slab firmly, while the

pressure was being applied in the right direction. The simplest device that occurs to me that will answer the purpose is a block of wood planted in the ground with its end grain up, cut on top into two steps, the lower and broader step having grooves parallel with the rise of the upper step; in one of these grooves the edge of the implement is placed, its back resting against the edge of the higher step. When in this position, presenting the proper angle to the operator, a man holds it firmly while another applies the pressure. A still lower step on the opposite side of the block, with the back edge of the step hollowed out to receive the work, while its lower end rests in an indentation in the lower step. In this manner a spade can be firmly held while its cutting end is being flaked. I do not present this as a mode that was practiced, but as a device that answers the purpose, and, I judge to be within the capacity of the ancient flint-workers, of whom there is nothing left but their chips and finished work."

"I have been informed that a mode still in practice among the remote Indians of making flakes by lever pressure combined with percussion is by utilizing a standing tree with spreading roots for this purpose; a flattened root makes a firm seat for the stone, a notch cut into the body of the tree considered to be the fulcrum for the lever a very slight distance above the root. Either a pointed stick is placed on the point of the stone where the flake is to be split from it, its upper end resting against the under side of the lever, or a bone or horn point let into and secured to the lever takes the place of this stick. When the pressure is brought to bear, by the weight of the operation, on the long end of the lever, a second man with a stone mallet, or heavy club strikes a blow on the upper side of the lever directly over the pointed stick or horn-point, and the flake is thrown off."

Another method in the making of flint implements is also interesting enough to note here. "The Pottawatomie Indians when in want of flaked implements proceeded to

make them in the following manner: They selected a tree twelve to twenty inches in diameter into one side of which they cut a cavity six inches deep, and a sufficient distance from the ground to allow of a person occupying a sitting posture on the ground to work this 'instrument' with facility. The upper portion or roof of this notch sloped obliquely downward; the farther side was perpendicular and the bottom horizontal. On the bottom of this cavity a small even slab of rock of some hard material was placed. A short distance above this rock a small hole or notch was made in the farther side of the cavity. Into this notch was inserted the 'leg bone of a deer,' and under this was placed, edgewise and resting on the basal rock below, the piece of stone to be wrought. The implement was then deftly worked out by pressure of the carefully manipulated cylindrical bone."

"The size of the instrument to be wrought was regulated by moving the specimen farther from or near to the outer margin of the basal rock."

Fig. 3 is a large oval spade twelve and one-half inches long, four and three-quarter inches wide, one and one-half inches thick along its ridge, and weighs three pounds. It is flat on one side, and the other side is ridged as the figure shows. Here is presented the work of an aborigine who was an artist, and who excelled in the making of these large stone tools. The lower or digging part is much worn and polished caused, no doubt by long use. A larger specimen, also polished at one end by use, but not figured here can be seen in this collection. It is thirteen inches long, five and one-quarter inches broad, one inch thick, and it weighs three pounds. It was found on the surface at Grand Tower, Illinois. This spade with a number of other fine artifacts, while on exhibition in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, was ruined because of careless handling by some person in the employ of the museum. No

apology by the trustees or its curator was ever made to the writer for this uncalled for carelessness.

Wood, bone and shell also used in tilling the ground, were described as "wooden howes" and "spades made of hard wood."

"The Florida Indians dig their ground with an instrument of wood fashioned like a broad mattock; and use hoes made of shoulder blades of animals fixed on staves;" "use the shoulder blade of a deer or a tortoise shell, sharpened upon a stone and fastened to a stick instead of a hoe;" "a piece of wood three inches broad, bent at one end and fastened to a long handle sufficed them to free the land from weeds and turn it up lightly." Statements have been made that the Indians did not fertilize the ground which they cultivated. There is evidence that they did. They told the Plymouth colonists to add fish to the ground which they intended to cultivate. "The Iroquois manured their land." "The Virginia Indians and others enrich their fields with shell and fish."

"The Indians of New Mexico and Arizona had learned the art of irrigating their fields before the appearance of the white man on the continent. This is shown not only by the statements of early explorers, but by the still existing remains of their ditches. In the valleys of the Salado and Gila, in Southern Arizona, however, casual observation is sufficient to demonstrate that the ancient inhabitants engaged in agriculture by artificial irrigation to a vast extent. * * * Judging from the remains of extensive ancient works of irrigation, many of which may still be seen passing through tracts cultivated to-day as well as across densely wooded stretches considerably beyond the present non-irrigated area, it is safe to say that the principal canals constructed and used by the ancient inhabitants of the Salado valley controlled the irrigation of at least 250,000 acres. Remains of ancient irrigating ditches and canals are also found elsewhere in these territories."

Discoidal or Chungke Stones. Taken as a whole this problematical implement often also called "chunkey stone," may be considered the finest and most symmetrically made of our stone objects. Polished simply by means of rubbing with other stones, assisted by sharp sand and water, their makers in smoothing and finishing them must have spent not alone weeks and months but often years. The labor put upon them by their makers says Adair "was prodigious." Their degree of polish is remarkable. They are mostly made of a very hard rock, and vary in diameter size from one to six inches. They are from one-quarter of an inch to six inches thick. It is next to impossible to classify these specimens, for they merge gradually from the symmetrical and nicely polished discoidal stone into many other forms.

We find Adair, "History of the American Indians," 1775, first calling attention to these artifacts as "hurling-stones which were used by the Cherokee Indians in their national game of *Chungke*." He states: "The warriors have a favorite game called *Chungke*, which with propriety of language, may be called 'Running hard labour.' They have near their state-house a square piece of ground well cleaned and fine sand is carefully strewed over it, when requisite, to promote a swifter motion to what they throw along the surface. Only one or two on a side play at this ancient game. They have a stone about two fingers broad at the edge and two spans around; each party has a pole of about eight feet long, smooth and tapering at each end, the points flat. They set off abreast of each other at six yards from the end of the play-ground; then one of them hurls the stone on its edge, in as direct a line as he can, a considerable distance toward the middle of the other end of the square; when they have run a few yards, each darts his pole annointed with bear's oil, with a proper force, as near as he can guess in proportion to the motion of the stone, that the end may be close to the stone; when this is the case, the

person counts two of the game, and in proportion to the nearness of the poles to the mark, one is counted, unless by measuring, both are found to be at equal distance from the stone. In this manner the players will keep running most part of the day, at half speed, under the violent heat of the sun, staking their silver ornaments, their nose, finger, and earrings; the breast, arm, and wrist plates, and even all their wearing apparel, except that which barely covers their middle. All the American Indians are much addicted to this game, which to us, appears to be a task of stupid drudgery; it seems, however, to be of early origin when their forefathers used diversions as simple as their manners."

Captain Bernard Romans who often saw this strenuous game played by the Indians of Georgia and Florida tells us about it in his "A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida, 1775;" "Their favorite game of *chunke* is a plain proof of the evil consequences of a violent passion for gaming upon all kinds, classes and orders of men; at this they play from morning till night with an unwearied application, and they bet high; here you may see a savage come and bring all his skins, stake them and lose them; next his pipe, his beads, trinkets, and ornaments; at last his blanket and other garment, and even all their arms; and, after all it is not uncommon for them to go home, borrow a gun and shoot themselves. * * * The manner of playing this game is thus: They make an alley of about two hundred feet in length, where a very smooth clay ground is laid, which when dry is very hard; they play two together, having each a straight pole of about fifteen feet long; one holds a stone, which is in shape of a truck, which he throws before him over this alley, and the instant of its departure they set off and run; in running they cast their poles after the stone; he that did not throw it endeavors to hit it, the other strives to strike the pole of his antagonist in its flight so as to prevent its hitting the stone; if he first should strike the

stone, he counts one for it, and if the other by the dexterity of his cast should prevent the pole of his opponent hitting the stone, he counts one, but should both miss their aim, the throw is removed, and in case a score is won, the winner casts the stone and eleven is up; they hurl this stone and pole with wonderful dexterity and violence, and fatigue themselves much at it."

Du Pratz, "History of Louisiana," 1774, writes that he saw the Indians of Louisiana play the game in the following manner: "The warriors practice a diversion which is called the *game of the pole*, at which only two play together at a time. Each has a pole about eight feet long, resembling a Roman "F", and the game consists in rolling a flat round stone, about three inches in diameter and an inch thick, with the edge somewhat sloping, and throwing the pole at the same time in such a manner that when the stone rests the pole may touch it or be near it. Both antagonists throw their poles at the same time, and he whose pole is nearest the stone counts one, and has the right of rolling the stone. The men fatigue themselves much at this game, as they run after their poles at every throw; and some of them are so bewitched by it that they game away one piece of furniture after another.'

Lieut. Timberlake, "Memoirs, etc., 1765," saw some Cherokee tribes play this game which they called *nettecawaw*, and John Lawson, "History of Carolina," says "That the Carolina Indians were much addicted to a sport called Chenco, which is carried on with a staff and a bowl made of stone which they trundle upon a smooth place like a bowling-green, made for that purpose."

According to Catlin the Mandan Indians played a similar game which they called "tchung-kee," as also do the Arikara. A similar game in which are used hoops or rings of wood or rawhide is still played by the Apache, Iroquois, Navajo and other Indian tribes.

On Plate VII are figured three highly polished discoidal stones, all of which were found near Grassy Cove, Tenn. Fig. 1 made of a yellow-white quartz has a small secondary depression in the centre of each of the larger cavities. The wall separating the two depressions is very thin. Light from the other side can be seen on holding it before a candle. It is four and three-quarter inches in diameter and one and one-half inches thick. Its periphery is nicely rounded and the edges of both large depressions are still sharp.

Fig. 2 is an irregular object with a large cavity on each side both of which indicate much time and work in sinking. It is also made of a yellow-white quartz. It is five and one-eighth inches in diameter, and two inches thick. It is in perfect condition. Its outer side is not as sharply rounded as Fig. 1, but the edge of the cavities is equally as sharp.

Fig. 3, a cheese or barrel-shaped disc of yellow-white quartz has a slightly curved edge. It is three inches thick or high, four inches in diameter and the shallow depressions, one on each side are one-quarter of an inch deep.

Thurston, "Antiquities of Tennessee," says of a similar relic which he figures in his interesting work that it "seems well fitted for use as a gaming or hurling stone, because like most of the large discs of ordinary forms, it can be grasped conveniently in the hands, while Fowke, "Stone Art," Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, would have us believe that this finely polished implement, upon which so much time and labor has been spent was used as a mortar, a hammer or pestle. He figures an object of almost exact shape and calls it a "Discoidal stone used as a mortar."

Fig. 2 on Plate V, is a well polished black hematite, barrel-shaped discoid with a slightly rounded periphery. It is one and three-eighths inches in diameter and one inch thick. Two incised lines forming an equilateral or Greek



1



2



1198.

3

Plate VIII. Size one-half. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

cross extend across both sides from edge to edge. It was found on the surface near Crawford, Miss. The simple cross made with two sticks or marks reaches far back into prehistoric times. Its origin and its meaning are equally unknown, and we can only speculate as to its source. "Far back in the twilight of the pictured history of the past the cross is found on the borders of the river Nile. A horizontal piece of wood fastened to an upright beam indicated the height of the water in flood. This formed a cross, the Nileometer. If the stream failed to rise a certain height in its proper season, no crops and no bread was the result. From famine on the one hand to plenty on the other, the cross came to be worshipped as an emblem of life and regeneration, or feared as an image of decay and death. Long before its advent into Egypt it was a symbol of life and regeneration in India. It was used by the Phoenicians in a similar manner long before the Jews had any existence as a people."

The Catholic missionaries, when they reached the shores of America found the aborigines, especially in Mexico, Central America and Peru, paying adoration to this ancient symbol, as well as handing over to it offerings. They did not know whether to ascribe this fact to the impious cunning of Satan, or to the holy work of the apostle St. Thomas.

"The symbol that beyond all others has fascinated the human mind, *The Cross*," says Dr. D. G. Brinton, in his attractive work, "The Myths of the New World," "finds here its source and meaning. Scholars have pointed out its sacredness in many natural religions. * * * * It is but another symbol of the four cardinal points, the four winds of heaven. This will luminously appear by a study of its use and meaning in America."

"It was the central object in the great temple of Cozumel, and is still preserved on the bas-reliefs of the ruined city of

Palenque. From time immemorial it had received the prayers and sacrifices of the Aztecs and Toltecs, and was suspended as an august emblem from the walls of temples in Popayan and Cundinamarca, Peru. In the Mexican tongue it bore the significant and worthy name 'Tree of our Life,' or 'Tree of our Flesh' (Tonacaquahuitl), and this was everywhere its simple meaning."

"Those of Yucatan" say the Chroniclers, "prayed to the cross as the god of rains when they needed water." The Aztec goddess of rains bore one in her hands, and at the feast celebrated to her honor in the early spring victims were nailed to a cross and shot with arrows. Quetzalcoatl, god of the winds, bore as his sign of office, "a mace like the cross of a bishop."

When the Muyscas (Peru), would sacrifice to the goddess of waters they extended cords across the tranquil depths of some lake, thus forming a gigantic cross, and at their point of intersection threw in their offerings of gold, emeralds and precious oils. The arms of the cross were designed to point to the cardinal points and represent the four winds, the rain bringers."

"When the rain maker of the Lenni Lenape Indians would exert his power, he retired to some secluded spot and he drew upon the earth the figure of a cross, placed upon it a piece of tobacco, a gourd, a bit of some red stuff, and commenced to cry aloud to the spirits of the rains. The Creeks at the festival of the Busk, celebrated, to the four winds, and, according to their legends instituted by them, commenced with making the new fire. The manner of this was: 'to place four logs in the centre of the square, end to end, forming a cross, the outer ends pointing to the cardinal points; in the centre of the cross the new fire is made.'"

Col. Garrick Mallery tells his readers in his "Picture Writing of the American Indians," Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, that: "The 'Greek' cross represents

to the Dakotah the four winds which issue from the four caverns in which the souls of men existed before their incarnation in the human body."

"The top of the cross is the cold all-conquering giant, the North-wind, most powerful of all. It is worn on the body nearest the head, the seat of intelligence and conquering devices. The left arm covers the heart; it is the East-wind, coming from the seat of life and love. The foot is the melting, burning South-wind, indicating, as it is worn, the seat of fiery passion. The right arm is the gentle West-wind, blowing from the spirit land, covering the lungs, from which the breath at last goes out, gently, but into unknown night. The centre of the cross is the earth and man, moved by the conflicting influences of the gods and winds."

Fig. 14, Plate XI, is a fine polished, small discoid, grey in color and made of oolitic sandstone. It is slightly convex on both sides, and its periphery is flat. It is one and one-half inches in diameter and five-eighths of an inch thick. It was picked up near Grassy Cove, Tenn.

Fig. 15, also a well polished disc made of quartzite, is convex on one side and flat on the other. This specimen may have been used in the preparation of paint. It is one and one-half inches in diameter and has a thickness of five eighths of an inch. It was found near Crawford, Miss.

Another small, finely polished implement of this class, made of diorite, is Fig 18. It is concave on both of its sides, and its circumference is slightly rounded. It has a diameter of one and five-eighth inches, and is three-eighth of an inch thick. Both depressions are one-eighth of an inch deep. It was found in Ohio. These small objects were perhaps the play-things of Indian children.

Bird Shaped Stones. On Plate VIII are figured three nicely made and highly polished, greenish colored banded slate prehistoric implements suggesting, because of their

form a bird. They are found in plenty in the valley of the Ohio around the great lakes, sparingly in Pennsylvania, the South and Southwest. The favorite material, a banded slate from which most of them have been made occurs over a wide area in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Canada. They belong to that class of polished objects, the use of which is problematical.

Mr. Henry Gilman figures a "bird stone" in the Smithsonian Report for 1872, and states that he was told by an aged Indian that they were worn as ornaments by Indian women, but only after marriage. "I have thought," he writes, "that these peculiar objects which are always made of some choice material, resemble the figure of a brooding bird; a familiar sight to the 'children of the forest;' that thus they are emblematic of maternity, and as such were designed and worn."

A Chippewa Indian while on a visit to the Smithsonian Institution told Mr. Thomas Wilson, then the curator, "that they served for gaming. They were placed in a pan or basket, which being covered, was shaken and then set down quietly, the cover removed, and an inspection would show how many of the birds were seated upright. The player having the greatest number thus won the game."

Dr. C. C. Abbott quotes Col. Charles Whittlesey, an early Ohio settler, who said that they were worn by Indian women to indicate pregnancy, and from William Penn, that when squaws were ready to marry they wore something on their heads to indicate this fact."

One of the hunt fetiches of the Zuni Indians, says Cushing, is a bird shaped object, either of stone or wood, intended to represent the Eagle which bird was thought to be god of the upper regions. To these objects, often also carved into the form of four footed animals, were attached stone arrow-heads and other small trinkets.

The writer of this article has carefully studied these

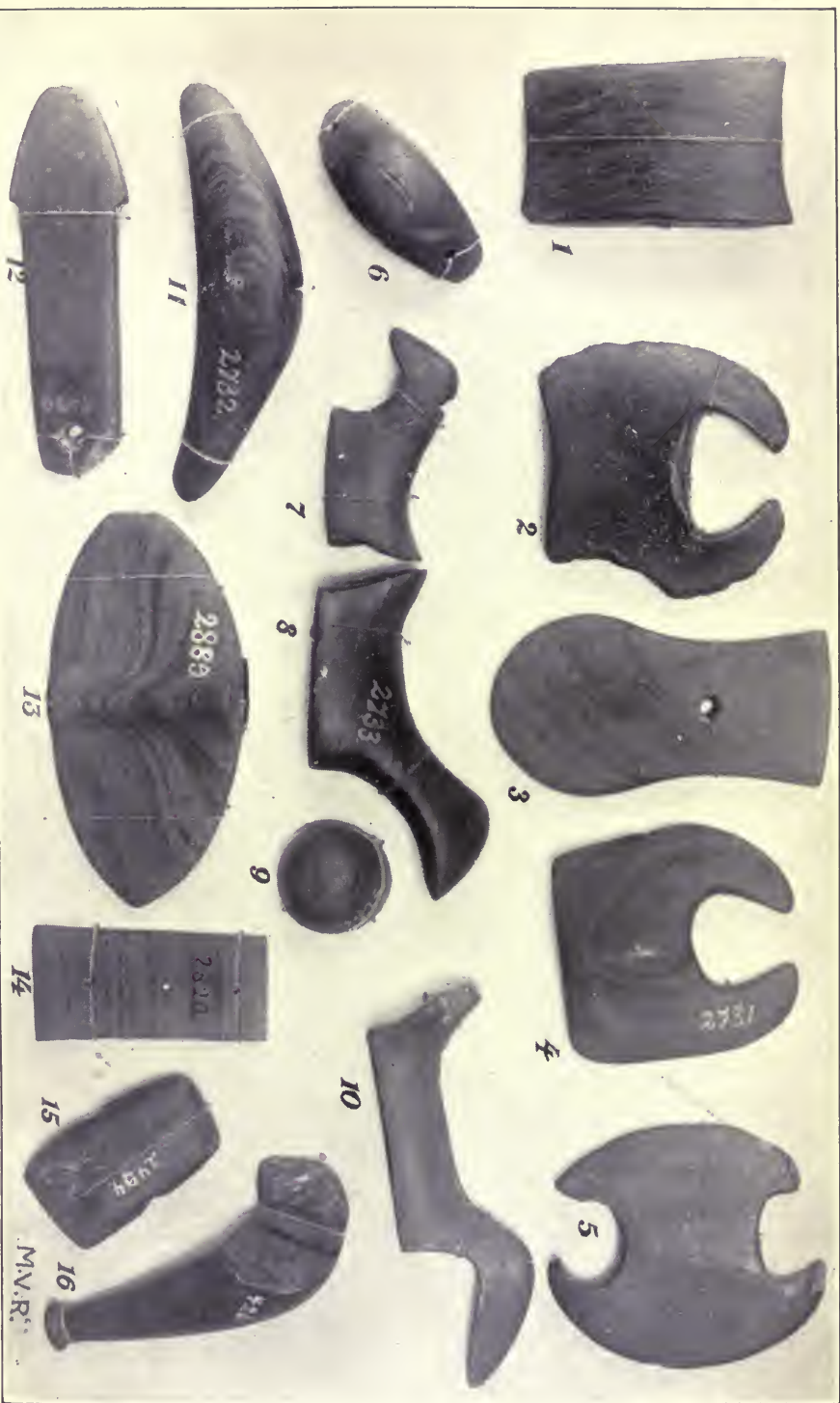


Plate VIII. Size one-half. "Ceremonials" (problematical forms). The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

M.N.R.

mysterious artifacts and he hesitates to believe they were worn by Indian women. Not all of them are perforated, even if finished otherwise in the most careful manner. The perforations in those seen and examined by him do not show any signs of wear. Had aboriginal women worn them as stated, abrasion would be evident in at least some of their apertures. My readers will undoubtedly ask for what purposes were they used? The aborigine was a superstitious creature and as superstition begets much ceremony something had to be contrived to be of help in their religious or other rites. Then for some unknown reason came the bird or saddle-stone into existence to which was attributed a certain occult power causing it to be a ceremonial weapon, and in instances of this kind was given to it a position in the ceremony in which it was considered to be a factor. The addition of perforations perhaps made the meaning of the implements in the rites in which they were used more significant or suggestive.

Fig. 7, unfortunately broken, is a western specimen. It has a slightly curved base which is perforated at each end. It is here shown as one-half size.

Fig. 8, a finely polished relic, without perforations, is four and one-quarter inches long. It has a flat base. It was picked up from the surface in Wabash County, Indiana.

Fig. 10 is a slender, well polished implement having an oblique funnel shaped perforation at each of its base ends. Its tail is somewhat marred, and it also has a flat base. It is five and one-half inches long, and was found near Westminster, Ohio.

Winged Ceremonial Weapons. A series of forms illustrating progressive steps in the manufacture of these mysterious objects is shown on Plate IX. The material from which the rude figures are made is a soft micaceous slate found in place at Peach Bottom, near the Susquehanna River, in Lancaster County, Penn'a.

Fig. 1, which has central notches, caused by pecking, shows a few other spots upon which similar work was done.

Figs. 2, 3 and 4 indicate progress in the shaping of them. They are pecked over almost the whole of their surface and the ridges considered for perforation, are plainly indicated in the centre of each specimen.

Fig. 5, found in Lehigh County, Penn'a, material granite, has been pecked into form. Under its ridged centre has been worked a shallow depression about one-half inch in diameter. Some writers have suggested that an object of this kind was securely fastened on top of a wooden handle.

Fig. 6, while nearer completion, is far from being a perfect specimen.

Fig. 7 is a finely polished specimen of soapstone without perforation. A shallow groove is seen extending along the ridge in the center of the implement. It was found in Lehigh County, Penn'a. The lunar shaped flaked implement made of Novaculite, and shown as Fig. 8, was picked up by the writer at Allentown, Penn'a.

BANNER STONES, which name has also been given to this interesting class of artifacts, says Mr. Holmes in a "Handbook of North American Indians." Part I "is a name applied to a group of prehistoric objects of polished stone, which for lack of definite information as to their use, are assigned to the problematical class. Their form is exceedingly varied, but certain fundamental features of their shape are practically unvarying, and are of such a nature as to suggest the use of the term 'banner stones,' in classifying them. These features are the axial perforations and the extension of the body or midrib into two winglike projections. Of the various forms the most typical is that which suggests a two-bladed axe, the blade passing on the one hand from the type into pick-like points, and on the other into broad wings, suggesting those of the bird or butterfly. It appears probable, from the presence of the perforation, that they

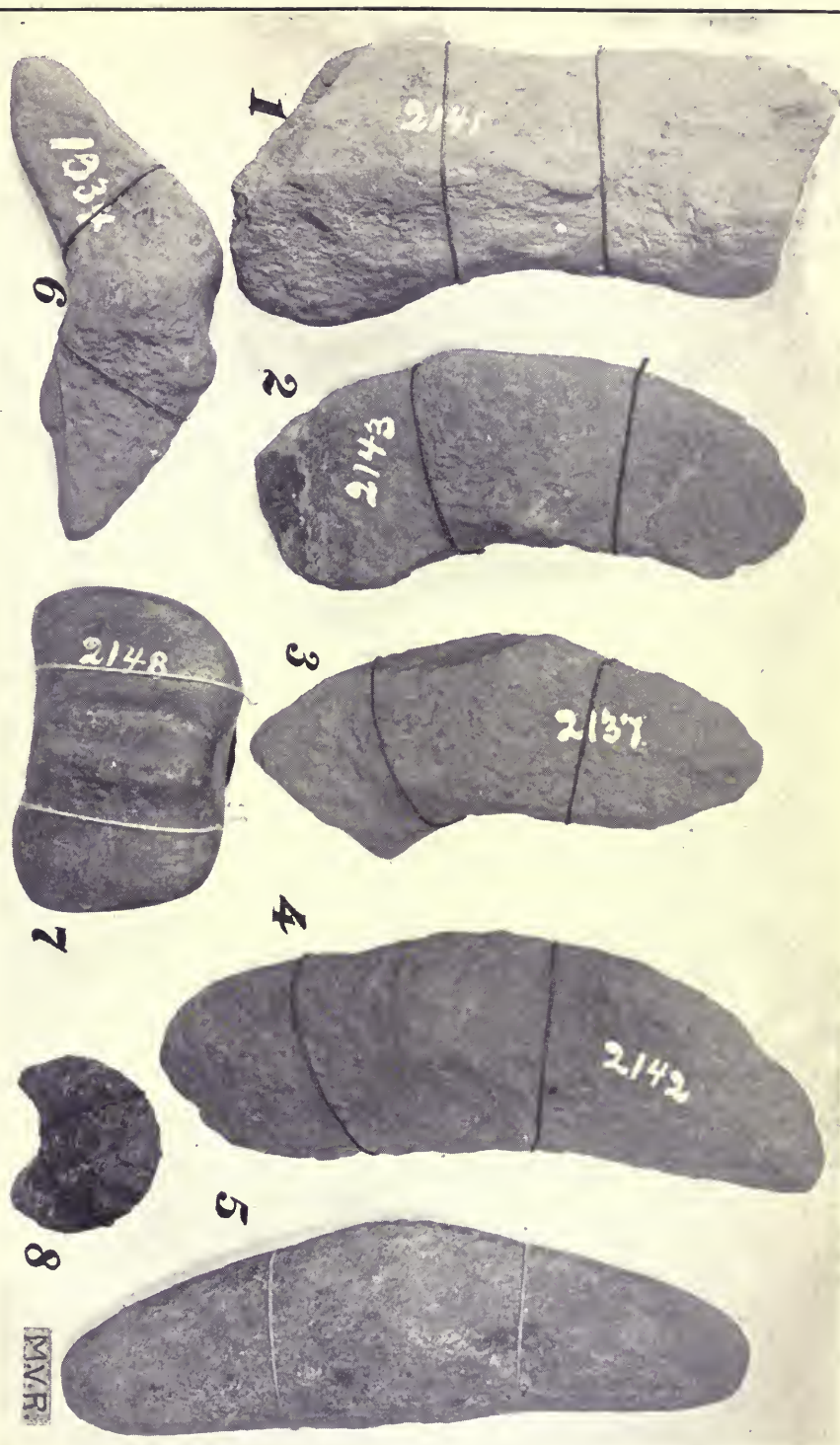


Plate IX. Size two-thirds. Evolution of a "Batterfly", Cerambycid, Lancaster County, Pa. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

were mounted for use on a staff, on a handle as a ceremonial weapon or on the stem of a calumet."

Col. Jones, to whom I have referred quite often in this essay, writes: "After a careful examination of a large number of these perforated axes, we are under the impression that most of them were carried as matters of ceremony, ornaments, or distinction; and it may be that the American war-chief suspended from his belt one of these delicate implements, and regarded it with emotion near akin to those which possessed the breast of the Scandinavian warrior as he cherished and displayed his *victory-stone*."

"The use of these stone axes was abandoned very shortly after intercourse was established between the red-man and the white traders. Even in Adair's time—who wrote in 1775—such implements were rarely to be seen, and those which had escaped interment with their former owners were carefully preserved by the old people and regarded as respectable remains of antiquity."

The great majority of them are made of a soft material, but now and then specimens made of a hard, tough stone are found. Banded slate and steatite seem to have been desirable material. Their round, clean perforations have been carefully bored through the centre or rib part. Holmes seems to think that they "were probably as a class the outgrowth of the remarkable culture development which accompanied and resulted in the construction of the great earth-works of the Mississippi valley."

They are taken from graves, mounds, and the sites of aboriginal encampments. Dr. C. C. Abbott, who it appears originated the name of "banner-stone," which has been applied to these nicely made and fragile objects, says: "The love of display that has survived the changes in human culture and which is witnessed in some civilized communities in all the glare and glitter of barbarous times, was and is a marked trait in the character of the American aborigines."

And although in their painting there is nothing but harshness and most violent contrasts of gay colors, and in their pipe-sculpture but little to commend, we nevertheless have, in the series of stone relics which we have here called 'banner stones,' a beautiful illustration of the fact that symmetry could be obtained in more complicated forms than the shapes of arrow-points; and elegance of design and accuracy in details were sought and acquired by this untutored race, their banner stones being the more remarkable in that they are frequently of hard stone, to fashion, carve and polish which the only tools available were those of the same material."

The "banner-stones" shown on Plate VIII, are all of them of an unusual or rare shape. They are all made of a greenish colored banded slate. Fig. 1 is a reel-shaped specimen which has a smooth orifice through its center which is its thickest part. Both of its edges are curved inward, and instead of being sharp are rounded. It was found on the surface in Hardin County, Ohio.

Fig. 2, a winged or horned object, partly broken, shows fine workmanship. Through its middle part has been drilled a smooth perforation. It appears to have been used in a rough manner. Its edges although nicked, are still sharp. It was picked up in Stanley County, Ohio.

Fig. 4, of same form, and perfect, is a finely made implement with a smooth orifice through the centre, which is its thickest part. Both of its edges are curved inward, and instead of being sharp are rounded. It was found in Hardin County, Ohio.

Fig. 5, evincing rather rough treatment, because of its shape has been called a double crescent. A smooth hole extends through its central part. A perfect specimen of this form is figured by Holmes, and one also by Moorehead. It was picked up near Findlay, Ohio.

Fig. 11, similar in form to a pick-axe, having sharply

pointed ends, is a gracefully formed and finely made implement still in a perfect condition. Though its centre has also been drilled a smooth hole. It was found in Sante Fe, Indiana.

Fig. 13, a very attractive and finely polished, banded winged ceremonial, in form almost elliptical is also smoothly perforated through its prominent central ridge. One of its wings is sharply pointed, while the other has a sharp contracted edge. The wave-like bands on the relic give to it a drawing appearance. It was found near Sandusky, Ohio.

Fig. 15, an axe-like looking object, with a smooth central perforation was found near Elmira, Illinois. Its straight edges instead of being sharp are rounded.

Fig. 16, is one-half of a crescent shaped implement, of rare and unusual form, finely polished and with a knob-like end. It is also smoothly drilled. When perfect the distance between the knob-like ends measured five and one-half inches. It was also found near Elmira, Illinois. An attempt to force into the hole a handle, was no doubt the cause of its destruction.

Drilling in stone as done by the American aborigine is so difficult in performance, and yet so often a successful operation as to entitle it to a place in the fine arts, which is proved by the great number of finely bored specimens found in museums both public and private. He was master of the art of drilling, but before he began to drill the hole through the specimen he saw to it that it was complete and perfect even to polishing.

Wilson, in "Prehistoric Art," says: "He seems to have been able to toy with his art and perform it in any way he pleased. He drilled large holes and small, he used hard drills and soft, the latter even of pine wood. He used hollow drills as well as solid, and we have cores that have been drilled from one or both sides with a straightness and evenness that seems marvelous. He was able to start his drill on the smooth and polished surface of a hard stone,

apparently without any wobbling of the drill, leaving the edge of the hole as smooth and sharp as though it had been afterward reamed and turned. The prehistoric objects found in the mounds of the United States are of even finer workmanship and more artistic than is usual in Europe.

J. D. McGuire, in "A Study of the Primitive Methods of Drilling," writes that: "Implements of every period, of every race, of every country, show conclusively that man, from the earliest time of which we have any knowledge of him has been an adept in the art of perforating. Whether the material to be perforated was skin, wood, bone, shell, ivory or stone, the means to pierce them appear to have been forthcoming as soon as the necessity for doing so was felt."

The perforations in the specimens which the writer has figured are executed with such accuracy and skill as to cause wonder. Many who have carefully studied these artifacts, declare that the means employed in their production have not yet been satisfactorily explained.

A great variety of opinion exists as to the manner of procedure by prehistoric people in drilling their stone implements. Dr. Rau, who wrote "Drilling in Stone Without Metal," writes that many of the perforations in stone objects were drilled either with a hollow cylinder, or a solid stick of wood. "It is," he says, "hardly necessary to state that without the application of water and hard sand, drilling with either implement, hollow or solid would have been impossible, and that the sand is to be considered as the chief agent in the process."

"The awl," says McGuire, "is the most primitive perforator, yet the straight shaft, revolved between the outstretched palms of the hands, may be said to be the most primitive drill."

"As a general rule primitive people worked the shaft drill, the material of which was a flinty pointed stone, by holding the object it was intended to bore between the feet or the

toes according to the size of the article to be perforated. If the shaft is horizontally manipulated, one hand holds the object; if, however, the shaft is perpendicular it must be held between the extended palms of the hands."

"It would naturally be supposed that a people possessed of bows and arrows would have discovered the principle as well as the uses of the different drills, yet the writer finds no early traveller who refers to the aborigines of America using other than the plain shaft drill. Had other drills been employed by the natives someone would almost inevitably have referred to them as they repeatedly have done to the shaft drill, yet to the writers knowledge no one has done so."

A number more of these interesting, and at the same time mysterious implements are shown on Plate X.

Fig. 2, a winged specimen of mottled steatite, with central perforation and sharp edges was found in Lancaster County, Penn'a. It is five and one-half inches long and two inches wide.

Fig. 3, made of diorite, and also winged has been pecked into shape. Its edges are rounded. Instead of a perforation it has on its under side a shallow depression. It is five and one-quarter inches long, and two inches broad. It was found in Berks County, Penn'a.

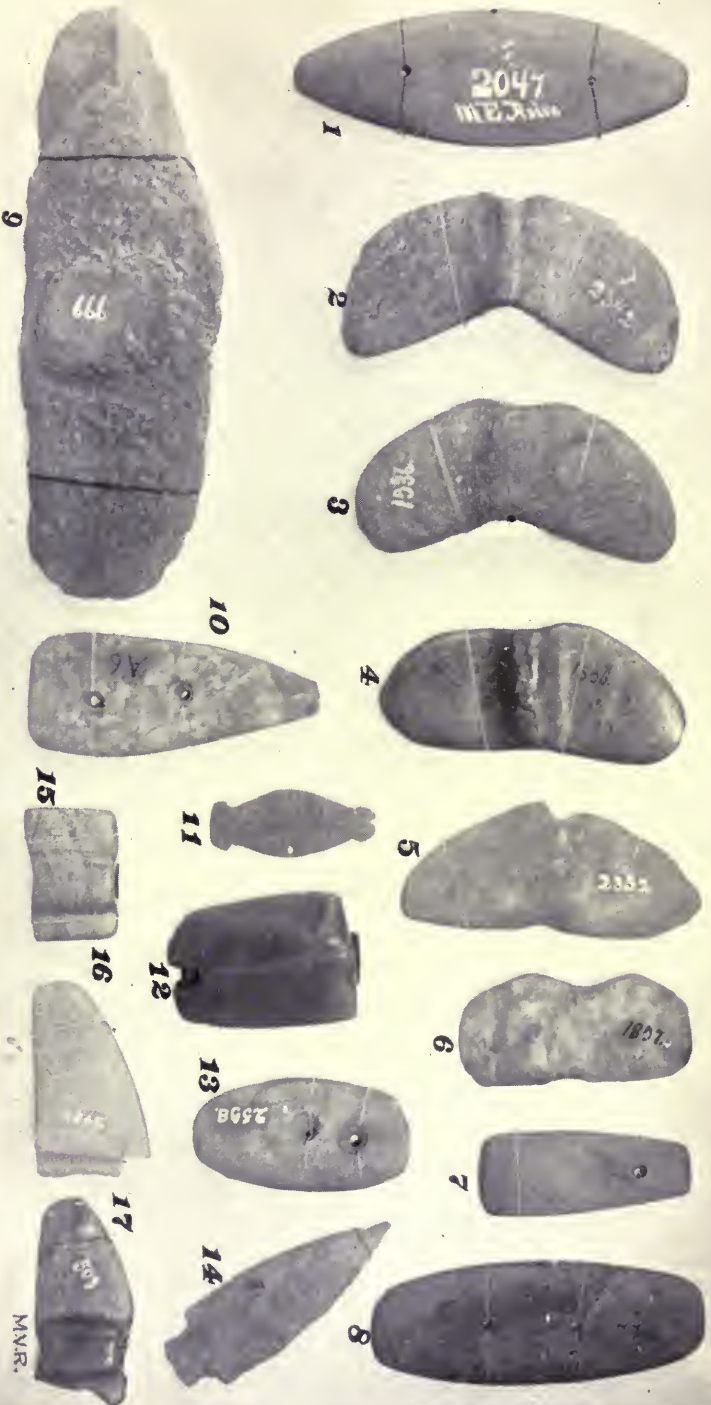
Fig. 4, a polished object of greenish soapstone and wanting a perforation was found near Riegelsville, Pa. It is five inches long and two and one-quarter inches wide.

Fig. 5, a specimen made of slate, has a shallow groove on one of its sides, while on the other side, and running parallel with it through its centre is a ridge. Its edges almost pointed, are sharp. It is five inches long, and in greatest width two inches. The writer found it at Allentown, Penn'a.

Fig. 6, one-half natural size, also made of slate is encircled by a shallow groove. Its edges are rounded. It was also found at Allentown.

Fig. 9, a curiously shaped relic having on each of its sides a truncated elevation measuring two by two inches and made of micaceous slate, was picked up by the writer near Reading, Penn'a. Considerable peck-work is shown upon its surface. Its edges which show no sign of interference are sharp. Because of this its aboriginal maker may have thought it unnecessary to do more work upon it. It is nine and a half inches long, and three and one-quarter inches broad.

Fig. 12, a finely polished winged specimen of greenish colored soapstone has a smooth perforation through its sharply ridged centre. It is three inches long, two and one-quarter inches wide, and its edges are sharp. To this relic is attached a most interesting story. It was given to the writer about thirty years ago by a gentleman then seventy-two years old, whose grandfather, one of the first settlers of Lehigh County, Penn'a, had it given to him by a Delaware Indian loaded with skins and furs, who was then on his way from the Kittatinny or Blue Mountains on the North to the Moravian town of Bethlehem, for a small quantity of tobacco. Was this object a fetich, a luck-stone the possession of which caused the owner to be fortunate in the hunt? Did he carry it to keep away bad spirits, or for protection from danger in some form or other? Did he use it in the forest in a ceremony in which he addressed the "Great Spirit?" Why, after being crowned with success in his hunting expedition, was he willing to part with this to him precious relic for something having so little value? Was its supernatural power spent after the hunt? The American Indian believed that tobacco was of Divine origin, coming as a direct gift for his special benefit from the Great Spirit, who himself was addicted to the habit of smoking. Therefore, appreciating the divine gift, as he thought from the white man, he gave to him in return that which he most valued.



M.V.R.

Plate X. Size one-fourth. All Eastern Pennsylvania. The Alfred F. Berlin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Fig. 15 is a very pretty, perfect and polished specimen of a green mottled steatite which was found in Berks County, Penn'a. It is also perforated. Its central ridge is quite broad and flat, and its wings, one larger than the other, have rounded edges. It is two and one-quarter inches long and one and one-half inches wide.

Fig. 16 is one-half of a finely formed implement of slate in the perforation of which can plainly be seen the circular striae caused by sharp sand, used either with a solid or hollow wooden drill. It has a very sharp edge. It is three and one-quarter inches long and one and seven-eighths inches wide.

Fig. 17, also winged and showing a very prominent rounded central ridge, is made of a dark-green soapstone. It is nicely polished. Its perforation measures in diameter five-sixteenth of an inch. Its present length is three inches and it is one and one-half inches broad. It was found near Slatington, Penn'a.

On Plate XI, along with other polished artifacts, are figured a few more interesting so called "banner-stones."

Fig. 4, a many sided and pointed specimen without a perforation is made of a reddish, banded fine grained sandstone. It is three and one-half inches long, one and three-quarter inches broad, and was found near Crawford, Mississippi.

Fig. 5, the material of which is slate is similar in form to Fig. 13 on Plate VIII. It is three and one-half inches long, and one and seven-eighth inches wide. It was picked up in Oktibbeha County, Mississippi.

Fig. 11, a hammer-like looking object, finely polished, with an oval perforation not often seen, is made of a grayish fine grained sandstone. It was found in Mansfield County, Ohio, and is shown on plate as one-half natural size.

Fig. 16 is a magnificent, many sided, pointed, polished and perforated specimen made of a dark-red, close-grained

sandstone. The writer has never seen a ceremonial like it. It is two and one-half inches long, one and one-half inches wide, seven-eighth of an inch thick, and its smooth and sharp edged perforation has a diameter of one-half inch. It was found near Crawford, Mississippi, from which State came so many of the fine objects in this splendid collection.

Fig. 17, an angular relic, polished but without perforation, and made of a reddish close-grained sandstone, is two inches long and one inch broad. A small depression, the beginning of a perforation, can be seen on one of its sides. It was found in Jasper County, Missouri.

An axe-shaped, drilled implement, of dark fine-grained sandstone, and with sharp slightly curved edges can be seen as Fig. 20. It is two and three-eighth inches long and one and one-eighth inches wide. It was also found near Crawford, Mississippi.

Fig. 9 is a broken specimen of red fine-grained sandstone. Considerable rubbing with sand, which the many fine lines on the object reveal, indicate an attempt to make out of it a different implement. It was found in Winston County, Mississippi.

Boat Shaped Objects. These are implements of polished stone, often perforated, the use of which is unknown. The drilled holes show no signs of wear. It is to be regretted that the early settlers of the Western World took so little interest in the implements which were used by the aboriginal people, after they landed on our shores. The historian Lawson remarks: "'Tis a great misfortune that most of our travelers who go to this vast continent of America are persons of the meaner sort, and generally of a very slender education, who, being hired by the merchants to trade amongst the Indians, in which voyages they often spend several years, are yet at their return incapable of giving any reasonable account of what they met withal in those remote parts; though the country abounds with curiosities worthy of a nice observation."

One would think that the Moravian missionary Heckewelder, who lived for so long a time with the Delaware Indians, should have something to say about the implements of these interesting people. Not one word does he write about their tools in his very interesting production, "Indian Nations," which contains so much other valuable information pertaining to them. One is very much impressed on account of this singular omission while reading his book.

Fig. 6 on Plate VIII, is a perfect and finely polished, banded boat-shaped object. It has a funnel shaped perforation at each end. Into its flat side has been worked an oval cavity, one-half inch deep. The other side is rounded. It is two inches long. It was picked up near Granville, Ohio.

Fig. 10, Plate XI, shows another polished object belonging to this class which is made of red fine-grained sandstone. One of its funnel-shaped perforations is missing. A deep groove has been cut into the flat side of the specimen. An attempt to polish the broken end with sand is plainly visible. It has a flat bottom which in its length is curved. It was found in Winston County, Mississippi, and is two and one-quarter inches long. Wilson, in writing about these problematical objects says: "It has been suggested that certain of them of the plainer kind were twine twisters, handles for carrying parcels, or for tightening cords or lines. A Mohawk medicine woman declared them to be amulets or charms to enable the witches to ferry themselves over streams of water. If this object should be lost, it was believed that her power of flight or passage was gone."

Fig. 11 on Plate X, is a thin, flat, fish-shaped, polished ornament made of a micaceous stone. It is two and three-quarter inches long, and one and one-quarter inches wide at its perforation, which shows no signs of wear. Through its centre, and only on one side extend from head to tail three parallel ridges. The incised lines radiating at two points from the upper and lower lines may have been meant

for fins. The glistening particles in the stone may have attracted its Indian maker who fashioned out of it this very fine and interesting problematical specimen. It was found at Joanna, in Berks County, Penn'a.

Fig. 8, Plate XI, is a double perforated mammiform object, the material of which is a reddish fine-grained sandstone. The perforations entering its flat side are funnel-shaped and are one-half inch in diameter. It is one and seven-eighth inches long and one inch thick. It was found near Crawford, Mississippi.

Fig. 1, on Plate XI, shown one-half natural size, is a finely made shuttle-shaped implement of reddish close-grained sandstone. The edges of the smooth perforation are now as sharp as when made. Nowhere on it can be seen signs of use. It was found in Mifflin County, Ohio.

On Plate XI, Figs. 13 and 19, are figured two flat perforated discs, both one and one-quarter inches in diameter, and one-quarter of an inch thick, prehistoric specimens, which were picked up near Dublin, Ireland. Fig. 13 has engraved upon its sides a number of incised lines radiating from its perforation. Between these lines are placed a number of dot-like depressions. Professor Sven Nilsson calls them ornaments, while Sir John Evans who seems to think they were used as spindle-whorls, has the following to say of them: "The distaff and spindle remained in use in many parts of this country until quite recently, and are still commonly employed in some remote parts of Britain, as well as over a great part of Europe. To how early a date this simple method of spinning goes back we have also no means of judging."

"In spinning with the distaff and spindle, the rotary motion of the latter is maintained by a small flywheel or spindle-whorl very generally formed of stone, with a perforation in the centre, in which the wooden or bone spindle was fastened, the part below the whorl tapering to a point

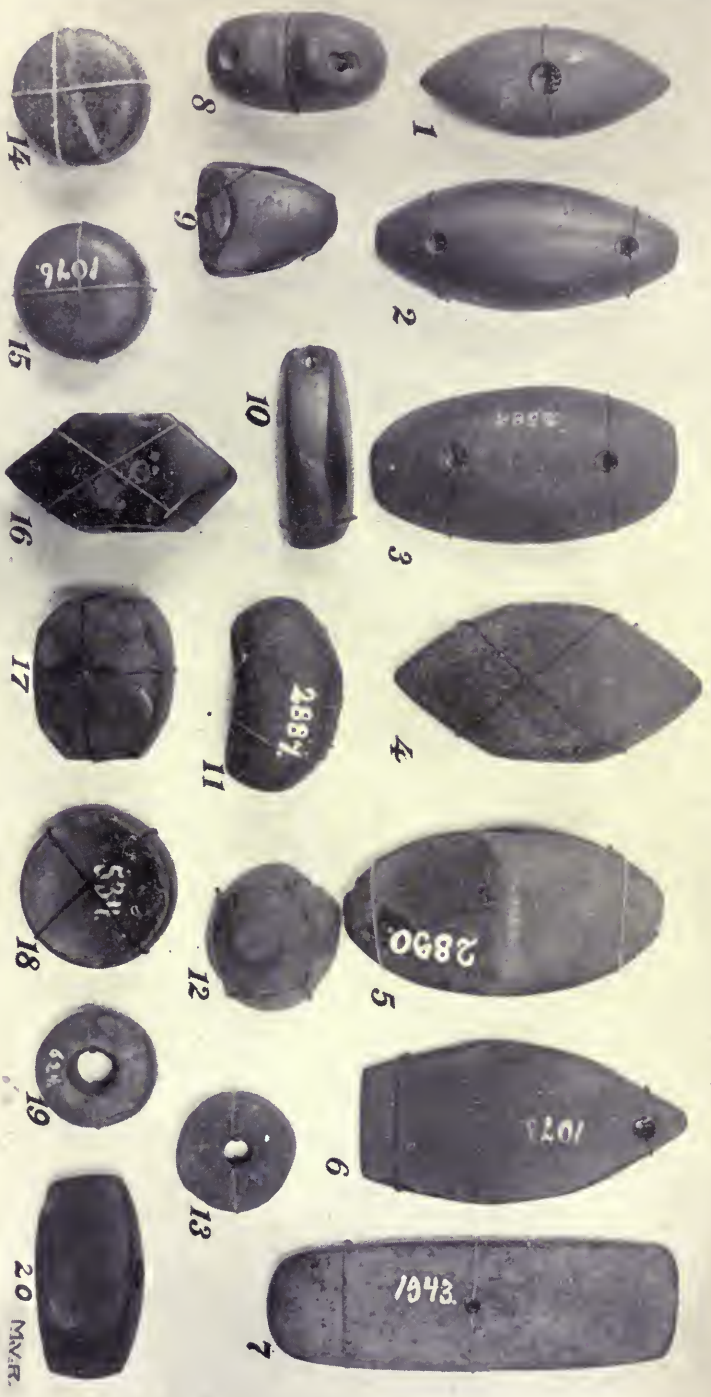


Plate XI. Size one-half. Problematical forms, Middle West. The Alfred F. Bertin collection, in Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

so as to be readily twirled between the finger and thumb, and the part above being also pointed, but longer, so as to admit of the thread when spun being wound round it, the yarn in the act of being spun being attached to the upper point. These spindle-whorls are, as might be anticipated, frequently found in various parts of the country; and though from the lengthened period during which this mode of spinning was practiced, it is impossible, under ordinary circumstances, to determine the antiquity of any specimen, yet they appear to have been sufficiently long out of use for local superstitions to have attached to them, as in Cornwall they are commonly known by the name of 'Pisky grinding-stones' or 'Pixy's grindstones.' In North Britain they are also familiarly called Pixy-wheels, and in Ireland 'Fairymillstones.' In Harris and Lewis the distaff and spindle are still in common use, and yet the original intention of the stone spindle-whorls, which occur there as elsewhere, appears to be unknown. They are called adder-stones, or snake-stones, and have an origin assigned them much like the *ovum unguinum* of Pliny. When cattle are bitten by snakes, the snake-stone is put into water, with which the affected part is washed, and it is cured forthwith. This is the less miraculous from there being no venomous snakes in the island." The perforations on both objects are still sharp, and on them no signs of wear can be seen. In this country they are classed with the objects which we term ornaments.

Spuds. This name, a misnomer, has been given to a finely polished and little used problematical spade-like implement, which is often symmetrically formed, and in most all cases made of a hard and tough stone. A fine specimen of this class is shown on Plate VI, as Fig. 2. It is made of greenstone, well polished, is five and one-half inches long and four and three-eighth inches broad. Its perforation, done from both sides, is situated in that part of the relic

which might be called the handle and which is squarely cut. Its circular edge is still sharp. The hole is a distinctive feature of the short and broad forms which are mostly found in the Southern States, although they are not plentiful. It was picked up from the surface near Crawford, Miss. Col. Jones in his "Antiquities," etc., figures a similar specimen, which he calls a "most elaborate scraper." Its edge was much worn by continual use. The implement is also well polished.

Squier and Davis, "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," place this form of implement among ornamental axes.

Our implement shows no signs of wear about its perforation. It has not the strength for rough usage. It was undoubtedly used as a weapon of ceremony, as were so many of these other drilled and polished mystical artifacts which now grace our public and private museums. They are as a class a graceful and beautiful object, and with their fine polish they represent a high type of the art of our aboriginal people.

Perforated Tablets. Col. C. C. Jones says truly of these problematical objects, many of which are so finely made this: "Various as the fancies of the maker are the shapes of these relics, which we think were intended as ornaments, and were suspended from the neck or fastened to some conspicuous part of the vestment."

Dr. Abbott, "Stone Age in New Jersey," writes: "On the site of ancient Indian towns throughout the whole State, or wherever evidence occurs of a fierce battle, and in every grave we have opened, are found tablets of easily-worked stone, varying in length and outline, and, as a rule, carefully polished and perforated with one, two, or more holes. Such stone ornaments—and they were intended merely as ornaments—we have called 'breast-plates,' because found lying near the breast of skeletons in the graves which we have

examined, or 'gorgets,' a good name for them suggested by Squier and Davis." They are a numerous and widely distributed class of prehistoric perforated implements with holes usually countersunk from both sides. "Those with one perforation placed near the end," says Holmes, "may be classed as pendants, while those having two or more holes were probably fixed to some part of the costume, or to some article of ceremony."

Fowke writes, Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology: "It is said that the Miami Indians wore similar plates of stone to protect their wrists from the bow-string. Herndon and Gibbon remark that a gold ornament in shape like a gorget, but not pierced, is worn on the forehead by some of the Amazon Indians. According to Schoolcraft the so-called gorgets were sometimes used as twine-twisters. Stevens, (author of Flint Chips), is even more conservative, holding that they were neither twine-twisters nor devices for condensing sinews or even bowstrings, as they show no marks of wear in the holes."

Sydney S. Lyon who explored ancient mounds in Kentucky writes the following about a pierced tablet in "Smithsonian Report for 1870:" "I have seen this kind of an instrument used by the Pah-Utes of South-eastern Nevada, for giving uniform size to their bow-strings." That the aborigine in the use of the bow needed some form of protection for the left wrist is obvious. This guard was not, however, made of stone. He used a softer material which could be better handled. Rawhide, once fitted around the wrist and tied would keep its shape when dry, and buckskin, soft and pliable would serve even better. Neither did it require much time to fashion a protector of this kind.

Plate XIV, from De Bry's "Brevis Narratio," published in Latin in Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1591, which picture was drawn from life by one Jacques Le Moyne, a French artist, in 1564, represents an Indian army on the march. In

the foreground are three Indians, probably chiefs well armed. The central one carries in his right hand an arrow, while the bow is grasped with the left. Around the wrist of this left arm is fastened with two straps a guard of some soft material. It reaches from the wrist almost one-half of the distance to the elbow. See "The Indian and the Mammoth." by Henry C. Mercer.

None of the perforations in the specimens which the writer is about to describe show any signs of wear. He has examined carefully many in other collections with the same result. The only exception is a twice perforated rare implement from Repaupo, N. J. It is nicely polished, has beveled sides which is of rare occurrence, and its four edges are serrated which gives it a saw-like appearance. It is flat and thin; almost four inches long, and one and five-sixteenth inches wide. Its two holes are much worn.

A highly polished relic of banded slate having one orifice is shown as Fig. 3, on Plate VIII. Its sides form a long ogee curve. Its top part is slightly curved, and its lower end almost forms a circle. It is four and one-half inches long and two and one-half inches wide at broadest part. It was found in Jay County, Indiana.

Frank Cushing, an archaeologist of note while living, after a careful study of this object, while resting in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania, concluded that it as well as other flat pierced tablets, served as bases for the bird-stones and other ceremonial weapons. He shows this specimen and the bird-stone shown in Fig. 10 on same plate resting on its flat surface in his memoir: "The Calumet, &c., &c."

Fig. 12, same plate is a "spud" shaped pendant of greenish colored slate well polished. Its perforation at one end is countersunk on both sides, and no sign of wear is seen upon it. It is five inches long and it came from Rushsylvania, Ohio.

Fig. 14, rectangular in form, well polished with long sides slightly inclined inward is a thin, flat object of banded slate. It has three small holes drilled from each side none of which show signs of wear. Tablets drilled three times are of rare occurrence. It is three and one-eighth inches long, one and one-half inches wide, and it was picked up near Sidney, Ohio.

Fig 1, Plate X, is a fine, large, flat ovate ceremonial of reddish colored slate. It has been perforated from both sides. Both of its straight ends are sharp. It is six and one-half inches long, and two and one-quarter inches broad at its central part. It was found near Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

Fig. 7, same plate is a flat very pretty so-called polished pendant, having one hole drilled from both sides near its smaller end. It was picked up on the edge of a large spring near Schnecksville, Penn'a. The material, a light greenish colored, banded slate from which it is made is foreign to this part of country. Banded slate is found in States bordering on the Mississippi from which section it must have been brought here by a roving aborigine. "We have here evidence that in prehistoric times there was carried on an extensive aboriginal trade, if not one of peace, then by the more forcible one of conquest, in which the victor took from the vanquished that which appeared to him the most useful or ornamental. The subject of primitive commerce is of particular interest because it sheds additional light on the conditions of life of our aboriginal people. In many cases, however, these artifacts may have been brought as booty, and not through trade to the places where they are found in our days. The modern Indians, it is well known, sometimes undertook expeditions of one thousand or twelve hundred miles in order to attack their enemies. The war-like Iroquois, for example, who inhabited the present State of New York, frequently followed the warpath as far West as the Mississippi River. The traveller Carver was told by

the Winnebago Indans, who then lived in that section of country now embraced in Wisconsin, that they sometimes made war excursions to the southwestern parts—then Spanish possessions—and that it took months to get there.”

Fig. 8, Plate X, a rectangular object with long edges slightly curved outward, is a nicely made, twice perforated slate specimen from Macon County, Missouri. Its end edges are sharp. It is five and one-half inches long and two inches wide.

Fig. 10, Plate X, an object of slate and in form irregular with two funnel-like perforations on one side, was found near Schnecksville, Penn'a. It is four and three-quarter inches long, and at widest part two inches broad.

Fig. 13, Plate X, an uneven and rudely made specimen of sandstone almost oval in form was picked up by the writer at Allentown, Penn'a. The funnel-shaped holes measure one-quarter of an inch in diameter. It is three and five-eighth inches long and two and seven-eighth inches broad.

Fig. 2, Plate XI, is an oval, highly polished specimen, twice perforated and made of a yellowish fine-grained sandstone. Its ends are squared. It is convex on one side and deeply hollowed out on the other. It might be classed with the boat-shaped forms. It is three and one-half inches long, one and three-quarter inches wide. It was found in Neshoba County, Mississippi.

Fig. 3, on same plate, of banded slate, and of similar form, with two holes bored from both sides was found at Pember-ton, Ohio. It is three and one-half inches long and one and three-quarter inches wide.

Fig. 6, a flat pendant of reddish close-grained sandstone, with a perforation at the pointed end was picked up at Crawford, Mississippi. Its long sides are convex. It is shaped one might say, like a sad-iron. It is three and three-quarter inches long, and one and seven-eighth inches wide.

Fig. 7 is a long flat slate object with but a single hole which is placed almost in its centre. Its long sides are almost straight. The upper end is square, while the lower which is curved is very sharp. It is highly polished. It is four and three-quarter inches long, one and one-half inches wide, and was found near Grassy Cove, Tennessee.

CONCLUSION.

My readers have noted that the many finely wrought implements shown on the numerous plates in this work were made in the South and West, where it is said the finest specimens are to be found. It is also explained that in that section is to be found in great quantity the fine and attractive material from which all these pretty objects have been made. The Aboriginal people, especially those of the South and Southwest when met by the whites were already stationary (were builders of towns and villages, and cultivated large tracts of land, as has already been noticed. They were living in a territory where they were more or less exempted from trials incident to a cold climate. Living thus in an easy manner they became pleasure lovers, "and devoted much of their time to amusements and social enjoyments, and to the development of a degree of taste and skill in manufacture superior to that exhibited by their more savage northern neighbors." So says Col. Jones. Living thus an easy life, there may have developed amongst them artistic workers in stone, who devoted their whole time to the manufacture of implements, and, as from time to time they accumulated a quantity they would leave their homes and visit intermediate regions for the purpose of exchanging them for such desirable articles not readily obtained in the locality where they resided.

Nature, it is true, was not as kind to their Northern neighbors, who lived in a territory covered for months with deep snow. Nor was there available the material having such fine texture, yet there can be seen in all collections

artifacts made by these more savage people, which are equally as artistically formed as those of their more civilized neighbors. The Northern Indian, although only a hunter and fisher, and but little of a farmer, also knew how to work in stone.

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THE REMINISCENCES OF
GENERAL ISAAC JONES WISTAR, U. S. A.,
VICE PRESIDENT SUSQUEHANNA COAL CO., 1869-1903.

READ BY GEN. CHARLES BOWMAN DOUGHERTY BEFORE THE WYOMING HISTORICAL
AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, APRIL 14, 1916.

Some years ago in the United States Senate, a Senator in his advocacy of a bill for the relief of the widow of an officer of the Civil War, among other things which he said about the officer, stated that he was the bravest man that ever lived. This remark arrested the attention of Senator Wolcott of Colorado, himself a scholar and a student, as well as an early pioneer of Colorado; and Senator Wolcott then said that in the records of history of brave men, the bravest man he knew of was Benvenuto Cellini. Not every Senator in the United States Senate knew who Benvenuto Cellini was, and some of them had never heard of him. Senator Wolcott, by his intervening remark, sent many a Senator to the public library and other places to learn something about that wonderful man, to ascertain if he was as great and as brave as Senator Wolcott said he was.

In the history of the pioneers of America is written the story of many brave men, both civilians and soldiers, who have helped to blaze the path of progress across the great plains to the Pacific; who have not only endured great hardships but have blazoned their names high upon the pages that unfold the story of the conquest of that great empire of the West. So when, in this paper, there is unfolded to you some of the story of the life of General Isaac Jones Wistar, with which I couple the declaration, that to me he has revealed the strength and character of one of the bravest men that ever lived, I speak of him in a sense in which I have had disclosed to me, not only from the knowledge that I have had of him during his life personally, but from the record as written by him in his autobiography, a copy of

which, through the courtesy and compliment of the Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology of Philadelphia, I am in possession. And when I put him in the category of brave men, I do not forget Benvenuto Cellini, Alexander Selkirk, Captain John Smith of Virginia, Marcus Whitman, Lewis and Clark, John C. Fremont and hundreds of others—not even Benjamin Smith, "Soldier of the Revolution", a sketch of whose life appears in Volume XII of the publications of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society.

The biography of any man's eventful life in any domain of existence always furnishes one with a peculiar and rare form of entertainment, because, if worthy, such biography legitimately treats of the peculiarities of the man and the life with which it deals. History, although it may have its lighter touches and some fanciful moments, is essentially sober, but biography, although it may never be dull or uninteresting, may touch vividly upon the great, strong human and passionate things that rule the natures as well as the lives of men. So, when one reads the story of a virile life, and a great career, one is apt to be fascinated with the wonder of it all, and marvel how one life, from the cradle to the grave, could compass so much that is stirring, romantic and seemingly almost beyond human capacity.

Some of you may be wondering what all this has to do with this environment and this Historical Society, and local history. An excerpt, which I cull from the early pages of General Wistar's reminiscences, and will later read, tells of how, as a boy, he came down the Susquehanna river on a raft, in 1846, from Towanda, and stopped over night in Wilkes-Barre. Preliminary to his enforced visit, he tells how, at the age of seventeen, he was placed by his father in a Market street dry goods store in Philadelphia, under the tutelage of a couple of old thrifty New England Quakers, whose sanctimonious deportment and Godly nasal twang, he tells us, indicated an amount and pressure of piety which it was hoped might overflow plenteously on him, and fill

him to the extent of emulation, with admiration of commercial holiness. But he seemed to be possessed with an unconquerable perversity. He hated the business, and wickedly despised those devout men, inasmuch as their scruples allowed ostentatious admixture of week-day meetings and other devotions, with more carnal affairs to work off their wares on the Godless Egyptians of the country districts. So, after a year of disappointments, in which he received no wages, he withdrew himself from the inestimable services as sweeper, folder and messenger to the exemplary pietists, whom his sinful mind was incapable of appreciating.

His natural roving disposition led him to the wharves of the city where daily he trudged up and down, hanging around all the long-voyage skippers to see if he could find a place where he might offer his priceless services as a cabin boy. Failing in this, he went to work on a farm, and when the season's work was over, near the end of the year 1846, he agreed with a friend of his own age, a lad in a neighboring country store, who was then being pampered on the magnificent salary of \$6.00 per month, to spend the winter on a pedestrian and exploring tour through the back counties of Pennsylvania. His friend, young Amos Little, possessed a capital of \$25.00, but young Wistar had only \$5.00, and with a peculiarity showing itself thus early in his life, and which was an indication later of his strong character, he pre-emptorily demanded that the surplus wealth of young Little should be left behind so that they might start on an equal footing. They stole a ride on a train from Philadelphia to Columbia, where they took passage on a canal boat with a drunken skipper who was returning to Bellefonte for the season. So they worked their way, like the Irishman, on the canal, by walking the tow path and driving the mules. Whenever they wanted a loaf of bread or any other small article they had to scuffle for it, and even take it from the pocket of the drunken canal boat Captain by force. In the

course of a few days, in a constant state of semi-starvation and fighting for food, they arrived opposite a fine large farm at Selinsgrove, abounding with poultry and all sorts of agricultural products. Before that vision of rustic wealth and food, all of the carefully instilled principles of morality of young Wistar and young Little broke down in a confused and tumbling ruin. So after mature reflection upon the best way of filling their stomachs without filling the jail, they procured some corn from the field, scattered it along the bank, across the gangplank, down into the empty hold, and after while, shut down the hatches on the entire flock of poultry and started off with chickens enough to last through a long and cheerful vista of future plenty. Many, many years afterward, when young Wistar, grown to manhood, and after an eventful career, he had, in 1865, organized and brought together under one great system all the canals of Eastern Pennsylvania, extending from Wilkes-Barre down the Susquehanna river to Harve de Grace, and up the Juniata, including the one on which he had started out as a driver boy, together with all the canals of the eastern counties; his boyhood fellow rover, Amos Little, became a director in one of the greatest railroads in the world, the Pennsylvania. And long, long after both had personally sown the last of their wild oats and had become sober and substantial citizens, when time had whitened their thinning locks and sobered much of their view of affairs, and men, they were chosen and sat together on the famous "Committee of Thirty-one" selected by the citizens of Philadelphia in the vain effort to construct a decent administration of public business from such material as was offered by greedy demagogues, venal officials and purchased voters. Wistar took the opportunity of relating this story, and he whimsically commented upon the fact that this great and dignified committee, charged with providing the plan for the redemption of the city, should have had in its membership a couple of whilom chicken thieves.

After a voyage of three weeks they reached Bellefonte and tramped across the mountains, hiring themselves out to cut a road designed to connect Erie and Jersey Shore. They finally reached the conclusion that they were in a very rough and unsettled country, and the following is the chronicle of their passing through Wilkes-Barre :

“Entirely convinced now that no large or immediate fortune was to be had by hunting, we started East on the main wagon road which led through Wellsboro to Towanda, working a little in saw mills by the way. At the last named place, on the North Branch of the Susquehanna, we found a large lumber raft with eight or ten hands, about to start down the river, upon which we agreed to work our passage to Wilkes-Barre. At a point a few miles above the place the raft grounded near midnight on the opposite side of the river. As the skipper had already repudiated his undertaking to land us at Wilkes-Barre on the alleged ground of this same danger, we were now for taking advantage of the opportunity to get ashore and take the chance of being able to get across to the town, but he begged so piteously that we would not leave him in his plight, with the danger of losing his raft, that we remained working, prying and tugging with the rest, sometimes in water up to our middles, till at last the raft was got afloat. When we passed Wilkes-Barre, soon after, the skipper pretended to fulfill his promise by bawling for a boat, but as none came, we were in a fair way of being carried on and past the Nanticoke Dam, but for the kindness of the pilot and crew, who, in spite of the owner's bad faith, skillfully swung the after end inshore so that we could jump off into the slack water of the pool.

“In that manner we got ashore about two in the morning, thoroughly wet, with several inches of snow on the ground and a freezing temperature. Making the best of our way back to Wilkes-Barre, some three miles distant, we could not find any person awake or a single house open. In trying to wake up the inmates of a tavern where a fire-light shone

cheerfully through the window, we pushed the sash loose, which fell in with a tremendous clatter, and feeling that we were strangers in an extremely suspicious position, we foolishly ran away, never stopping until we reached a tavern at the extreme end of the town, where we finally obtained admittance. As the snow kept on falling we lay in bed till dinner-time next day, after which we still more foolishly took advantage of an intermission of the storm to start out for the walk of twenty-five miles over the Broad or Wilkes-Barre Mountain to White Haven on the Lehigh.

"The snow soon recommenced, and all traces of the single wagon road being obliterated, we went astray and when it became dark found ourselves hopelessly lost in a storm of wind and snow on a wild mountain which then boasted but one house between Wilkes-Barre and White Haven, a small cabin occupied by an old man engaged in making shingles. We climbed up and tumbled down ravines and precipices, and waded over and through the brush covered deep with snow, the storm seeming to increase in violence, and it was not till near midnight that in a lull of the tempest we dimly perceived the fire-light shining through the old woodcutter's single window, far off across a deep ravine. We got there at last and obtained shelter, but for which lucky chance, inexperienced as we were, we might very probably have ended our careers then and there. On the next day we got down to White Haven, and following the good wagon road down the Lehigh to Lehighton, below Mauch Chunk, there crossed the mountain and river to Easton, whence we walked down the Bethlehem turnpike to Philadelphia."

General Wistar does not give us the name of the tavern in which he tried to wake up the inmates, but from what we have learned it is supposed to be the old Phoenix Hotel. What the name of the one was, which he speaks of as being at the extreme end of the town, we do not know. We do know, however, the point on the river where the pilot and

the crew successfully swung the after part of the raft inshore so that the two youngsters could jump ashore.

Years and years afterward, when President Roberts of the Pennsylvania Railroad, was making an inspection of their railroad properties, and the coal properties at Nanticoke, of which General Wistar was the Vice President, and in company with the Directors, among whom was Amos Little and Major Stearns, the President of this Society—as the special train and the President's private car swung around the point on the river below Wilkes-Barre and just above the D., L. & W. railroad bridge, at a place formerly known as Butzbach's Landing, Wistar and Little identified the spot where they had jumped off the raft into the slack water of the pool.

This adventure of young Wistar, which brought him to Wilkes-Barre for the first time, is but the thread and the beginnings of a story connected with that eventful career of his, filled as it is with all the glamour of romance, adventure and mighty deeds; and illuminated with some of the nobility that comes to a patriot, though not always free from the sordidness which tinged some of the episodes, blood-curdling even though they might be, when urged on by the passionate animosity that came surging up in those adventures, some of which, even he, would like to have forgotten.

This first visit to the Wyoming Valley was not to be his last, because he came back to it as President of the Pennsylvania Canal Company, and the head of the Susquehanna Coal Company, and by such connection, again got in touch, not only with the industrial life of the valley, but many men knew him, admired and respected him for the things he had accomplished, for the fame he had gained, and the power of his intellectuality. Few of them, however, ever had, even in part, revealed to them the history or the record of the brave deeds and the hardships that lie recorded between the pages of his autobiography. Unfortunately this autobiography is printed only for private circulation, and is limited

to 250 copies, otherwise I think that if the story, told with his keen intelligence and facile pen, could become the property of any who chose to purchase it, it would have a vogue as a biography unsurpassed by the personal narrative of the life almost of any intrepid American.

Let us go back for just a moment and touch upon something of the history of himself, and I do not know how I can better give you a glimpse of the personality of the man, and the times in which he lived, than to quote a portion of the introductory to his reminiscences :

“When one not inordinately addicted to discoursing of himself begins to contemplate a lapse from such negative virtue, though he can easily find plenty of reasons to satisfy a conscience quite ready to yield, a second person is sure to discover among them some few grains of vanity more or less speciously concealed. Nevertheless, there are all sorts of vanity, useful, indifferent and offensive, and if in that broad variet we are to include such foibles as love of approbation, desire to please, or a wish to convey information amusing or useful, in our view, then it must be acknowledged that few intelligent acts of our lives are entirely free from the quality we are all so ready to disclaim.

“It may, therefore, be admitted that it is one of the protean forms of that all-pervading weakness that leads us to regard our own period as peculiarly eventful or important. It is not unnatural and I hope not unbecoming, that when one discovers little that is remarkable in his own career, as must always be the case with most of us, he should find a certain complacency in the reflection that he has at least lived among remarkable persons, or during a specially eventful period.

“Possessing, no doubt, a full share of the common weakness, I nevertheless cannot help thinking that posterity with all its accumulated wisdom will find something peculiarly interesting in that portion of the nineteenth century which has seen such new forces as steam and electricity hunted

down, captured and harnessed into the daily service of man, has reconstructed every branch of human knowledge, created a new chemistry, physiology, biology, geology and physics, has substituted rational and systematic inquiry for the old dogmas of supernaturalism and authority, and has applied each conquest thus obtained over nature and ignorance to such practical purpose as to revolutionize the life of man and separate him farther than ever before from other animate beings and from all other known forms of existence. It is scarcely too much to insist that by the useful application of the new knowledge gained during this comparatively short period, nearly every human habit has been modified and to a great extent changed. We gain our livelihood differently, we work, trade and travel, eat, fight and amuse ourselves differently, are ill and use medical and surgical remedies, differently, have immeasurably increased the activity, comfort and average length of our lives. It is only when arrived at the final article of death that we continue to traverse the identical road of our fathers and sink to rest very much as they did, in the same old way, unchanged since the beginning of life in the world.

“The economic changes in production and distribution during the present generation have of themselves modified nearly all our daily habits, and would require a volume to enumerate and describe. During a period almost momentary, compared with the long centuries of human history, every adult man has had conferred upon him by the new mastery of the several natural forces before referred to, and previously unknown or mischievous, the equivalent of a certain number—perhaps a score—of willing and obedient slaves requiring no food, wages, amusement, or police restraint, always cheerful, willing, ready, who never quarrel over their share of the product, and never offend any moral sense or charitable scruple of their beneficiaries. The augmentation and cheapness of production thus gained, in rendering life easy to the workers, and luxurious to all as consumers, has pushed far back the barrier of the subsistence

limit, for expounding which Malthus was so long derided, and aided by important medical and sanitary discoveries, has increased the population of the civilized races beyond any former experience or prediction. Under such influence, that steadily increasing accession has overflowed into all previously unknown or unused portions of the world, pushing back or exterminating inferior peoples, tending to substitute the more advanced races throughout all continents and islands and converting all available territory everywhere into farms, mines and workshops sustaining and inviting still denser populations.

“Even with the knowledge now possessed, it seems as though the process must go on till within a short time the races who know how to avail themselves of these new agents, and perhaps to discover more, will displace or destroy all others and themselves occupy every useful corner of the world. It is a significant fact, that all these advances re-act and interact upon each other without cessation and with rapidly accumulating force. Every acre reclaimed from the wilderness in Africa, India or Dakota, makes life easier and therefore more abundant in London, Berlin, New York; and every new facility, every new found cheapening of production and distribution in these old centres of population, renders life easier, safer, happier and more abundant in the newest lands won for industry and civilization. Thus even if our civilization has already reached its maximum—which there seems little reason to believe—the new forces already set in motion must go on operating, until in a short time—perhaps within one lifetime—the world as the seat of industry and population must become as unrecognizable to us who are about to leave it, as our existing world would now be to the men of a former century.

“When I was born, and for some time afterwards, there was no coal, natural gas or petroleum used in America. There were no railroads, electric telegraphs or telephones, no steamships, no anaesthetics, no knowledge of microbic

causes and phenomena of disease. Chemistry and metallurgy as now applied to industrial production were almost unknown, and many of the most necessary and cheapest substances now in daily use, like aluminum and Bessemer steel, were either not to be had or only in minute quantities as a curiosity for cabinets. The greatest cities of our country were unimportant provincial towns occupying small fractions of their present areas, and with no greater proportion of their existing populations. Florida and the vast territory then known as Louisiana, now occupied by numerous Commonwealths, had but recently been acquired. California, Oregon, Texas and Arizona had not been acquired at all and the Mississippi river was, with trifling exceptions, the western limit of American population. Wood was everywhere the chief or only fuel. Grain was cut and harvested by hand, and badly ground by small water-powers adjacent to its place of growth. Manufacturing production was mostly by individuals at their residences and only on the minute and costly scale of which such a system was susceptible, and while the requital of labor was infinitely less than at present, the cost of everything in which it was a principal ingredient was so high as to keep out of use many articles now thought essential for ordinary comfort in the humblest households. Owing to the relatively great cost of the modes of transportation then in use, the areas of local distribution were small, and the advance of population clung closely to rivers and natural waterways. Domestic slavery was the social condition of a large part of the country and not only tinged all its domestic habits and foreign relations, but was considered such an indispensable economic and social advantage that even scholars and economists were scarcely permitted to criticize or discuss it.

“Making full allowance for the natural tendency to magnify the importance of our own times, it can scarcely be doubted that the great changes which have thus occurred during a single life not yet spent, although so gradual and

insensible as scarcely to command full appreciation without comparing one distant period with another, have been greater, and have established more radical modifications in domestic and individual life than those of any equal period in former times. But while the average length of comfort of individual life has been sensibly increased, it is yet doubtful whether a corresponding advance has been gained in political knowledge, and it now seems as though the life of nations—or rather of governments—is tending to even greater instability, notwithstanding the general opinion of the eighteenth century publicists that political stability was dependent on popular content, and popular content on popular comfort. Though the prevailing system of gratuitous education does not seem to have accomplished much of real value either in the repression of criminal depredation, or by increasing public contentment, yet popular intelligence due to the activities of surrounding life, has undoubtedly increased, and with augmented public comfort has tended at the same time to render the half-educated masses more critical of political forms, and to supply readier means for demolishing and changing them. Whether, for instance, the modifications effected in our federal constitution—mostly for ephemeral partisan objects—either by deliberate amendment, or by legislative or judicial usurpation, will tend ultimately to augment public contentment or rational liberty, seems at present improbable to me, but must be for another generation to determine.

“Be that as it may, it is for the reasons thus imperfectly sketched, that notwithstanding the well-known tendency to magnify the events of our own times, I must venture the opinion that whatever triumphs of knowledge await our race in the future, and to whatever further modifications in life and habits these may lead, yet posterity, however it may despise our attainments, cannot fail to distinguish the nineteenth century as the beginning at least of the new knowledge and the modern life, and will study its thought,

methods and development with the same philosophic interest that we bestow on the times and the discoveries of Galileo, Copernicus, Harvey, Newton, Watts, Stephenson and Morse."

Surely General Wistar has, in these lines quoted, written in his age and his infirmity, proper reasons other than mere vanity, to write down the story of a personal life filled with adventure.

General Wistar was born on the 14th day of November, 1827, at 786 Arch street, Philadelphia, Pa., and was the oldest of ten children of Doctor Casper and Lydia Jones Wistar. He was related to many families distinguished in the early Colonial annals of Philadelphia. To his mother he pays this tribute:

"It is useless for me to try to enumerate her countless virtues as daughter, wife and mother. Beautiful in person, cultivated in mind, gentle in heart, sober and sure in judgment, she was to me an incarnation of the qualities which the mothers of the all-absorbing Anglo-Teutonic race have almost unconsciously developed and transmitted to the best and noblest of its sons. She was companion and friend, joy, solace and delight to every member of the family, and when in 1878, after a long life devoted to their happiness, at the ripe age of seventy-four, she died surrounded by her children, calm, fearless and triumphant, something was taken from their lives which changed the tenor of their thoughts forever."

All the environment of his young life was among the sect of Quakers, and he was surrounded by the influence of the Quaker life. The distinguished traits of character which he inherited from his Quaker forebears revealed itself to some extent in the things which he laid his mind and his hand to, whether it be as a plainsman crossing the desert, a prospector for gold, a common seaman on the Pacific, an adventurer, a huntsman, a Hudson Bay trapper, a distinguished lawyer at the San Francisco Bar and again

in Philadelphia, a distinguished soldier and Brigadier General during the Civil War or a great organizer and the head of a great corporation. And in the later years of his life, when in contemplation he contrasted his early Quaker teaching and his early Quaker life, so in contradistinction to those things revealed in his manhood nature, he journeyed across the ocean to Austria to find out something about his early paternal forebears. He found that the nearest ancestor of all the American Wistars was Johannes Wistar, who was born in the same house, which for ages previously and down to this day, is known as the Forster Haus at Wald Hilsbach, near Heidelberg, in the Electorate—now the Grand Duchy—of Baden, on the border of the Black Forest. The Wistars had come from the Austrian Province of Silesia in the train of an Austrian prince who had come to reign at Baden.

The adventurous and warlike spirit which Isaac Jones Wistar revealed in his later life, no doubt, was the call back of the blood of the Austrian of the Black Forest which partly stifled the training of the Quaker impulse, and buried it under the influence of the throwback to the adventurous spirit of the forster to the King.

While in Savannah and St. Augustine in 1848, there came to him and some young friends the celebrated report of Colonel Mason to the War Department, confirming the story of the discovery of gold in great quantities in the then unknown and almost mythical land of California. Here was offered to his wild spirit a combination of fortune hunting and adventure unequalled since the days of the Buccaneers, and well nigh irresistible, which came not alone to him, but to all the adventurous and ambitious youth of the country, who swarmed in tens of thousands along every route, known and unknown, possible and impossible, to the promised land. Across and through the wild fastnesses of the continent, around Cape Horn, through the unknown

interior of Mexico, along every route and by every conceivable method, pushed forth swarms of adventurers, who, leaving those to perish by the way, failed not to press onward despite all obstacles to the long sought spot. The splendid Anglo Saxon Empire which they have there reared, is now well known to all mankind, and constitutes a most fascinating page of American history. The movement struck young Wistar in a susceptible spot, and on April 5th, 1849, at the age of 22, he started on an expedition which led him during many years through much wild and precarious adventure, and directly shaped all his future life. In all the records of all the migrations of all the civilizations that the race has ever known, possibly there never was gathered together more of the flotsam and jetsam of human life than that migratory cohort of motley adventurers that crowded the trail with their faces toward the setting sun, chasing the golden fleece, as men have ever done, than that column which continuously marched, then kept marching all that summer, across the plains and climbed the mountain peaks of the Rockies for the gold that lay beyond. In this horde of adventurous men rode *our adventurer*. He kept a diary, commencing May 3rd, 1849, and almost every day recorded the adventures which each day brought forth. This diary, reproduced in his autobiography, although considerably abbreviated but otherwise in the language then used, written at the age of 22 in the travail of a great adventure, is an index, not only of the power and the diction and the intellectuality of the man, which in after years became a shield and a buckler in many a controversy. This diary is a mighty rendition of days that swarmed with moments and hours that seemed almost virile enough in themselves to preclude the possibility of time being found in those busy days of travel to record what happened. In addition to all the hardships and the thirst and the hunger, the buffalo hunts and the continuous fighting with the Pawnees and other tribes of Indians who infested the prairie in those days, this diary, in itself, is a record of marvelous adventure.

The trail of that march across the prairie was, no doubt, a counterpart of hundreds of other migrations of the adventurous men whose heads and hearts were set upon reaching the new Eldorado. The sudden attack by Indians, the bivouac at night while someone always stood on guard to ward off, not only the Indians but the wolves who, in considerable numbers came barking and howling around about the wagon trains; the thirst, the hunger and the cold, together with the care which had to be exercised in watching that the horses and the mules did not get away; and the deaths of those who, in like condition of spirits, unable to keep up with the privations and labor, and who fell by the wayside, brought many a sad ending of the days.

I would like to tell here a story of a chase by Indians on Sunday, the 27th of May, 1849, when young Wistar had an alarming adventure which came within a hairsbreadth of ending his travels for good. I can only sketch it briefly, but it is a fascinating story in itself. Desiring to distinguish himself by finding the first buffalo, he wandered a distance of several miles from the camp, when he perceived a column of dust ahead which seemed much like signs of the desired buffalo. He watched it closely through a depression of the surface so he could best make a hidden approach. Soon the bright spots of the war painted Indians flashed from out the dust. They saw him, formed in three columns, one center and one on either side for the purpose of outflanking him. He was compelled to make a ride for his life between the main column and one of the flanking columns, and with savage yells that burst from all the Indians they drove this greenhorn pioneer in a chase back across the prairie with savage and exultant war hoops that made his blood run cold. He was badly rattled. Cold chills, perspiration and quick breath came all at once, but he knew he was not a coward. Oh, what a ride that was, for miles and miles, closely and hotly pursued, and when the last ridge was reached his horse sprang forward and plunged to

his shoulders in a treacherous morass, concealed by the long grass. A triumphant yell burst from behind and the Indians came tearing down the hill. Dismounting, he led and pulled his horse out of the mud, knowing that the Indians would gain the same morass. They pot shotted him, but he got on firm ground and rode up the hill, while the Indians were pulling their ponies out of the mud. It was necessary to give the spur to his exhausted horse. One more hill between him and camp. In another bound he was over and right ahead the white circle of wagons, not bigger than prairie chickens, held all there was of hope and safety and life. The mid-day siesta of the boys with the wagon train was broken up in such an exciting manner that everything about the camp was in confusion, but the gratifying speed with which the condition of affairs was changed showed the stimulus of a charge by hostile Indians. And then followed, of course, a fight. This is, of course, but a mere outline of the crowded hours that came to our young friend on that busy day. There were many other similar battles and pursuits by bands of Indians when on his individual excursions, and many an Indian arrow sniped him in the back. (Five arrow wounds marked his back.)

This diary of this journey must be skipped over very hastily, although it is filled with the record of adventures as exciting as any of the hours that come to adventurous men.

On the 116th day out, in rags, almost starved, without provisions, and almost without tools, the great migration is done. They come to the land of gold. They don't know what to do with themselves—whether to be glad or sorry. There were to be no more Indian alarms, no more stampedes, no more pulling and hauling and tugging at wagons. Although worn and weary, they were in an exhilarant and joyous mood. The gold was there, sure enough, for they saw it, and they could raise the color themselves everywhere, even on the main branch of the Greenhorn creek where

they halted, while the men on the Bear river, which is a tributary of the Yuba, at the mouth of the creek, they took out from one to three ounces per day and some more. Then came those fascinating days in seeking the coy and tantalizing metal. Round and round flew the pan with its momentous secret, and they held their breath as the shining yellow residium of gold and black sand revealed itself to their doubting eyes. Over-greedy they were sometimes, and many a time they reflected that they might have earned more back home husking corn.

And then came those days in the rough gold mining camps of California, full of the rough and tumble—made up of all manner and kinds of men—college graduates, broken down sports, criminals, beech combers and vagabonds, who soon swarmed from all the shores of the Pacific, and almost from all the ports of the world.

From prospecting and mining, young Wistar found partners and engaged in herding emigrant cattle on Lower Bear river in the Sacramento Valley. He hunted wild cattle, and some of the most exciting times of his life he had in those days. Even more exciting than hunting grizzlies or buffalo was corralling and fighting wild bulls.

From gathering in wild cattle, he engaged in the business of setting up a water wheel and starting a sawmill, for sawed lumber in those days arose to the price of a dollar per foot. He was soon visited, however, by an American Ranchero, accompanied by a number of Spanish and half-breed vaqueros who claimed ownership, by a Mexican twenty league grant, to all the ranch land at the debouch of the river into the plain twenty miles below, and on which Wistar was a trespasser. But at that time Wistar and his friends knew little of the facts and nothing of the law or the treaty, and laughed at the "cheek" of their visitors, ordered them away and invited them to come and put them off whenever they were ready to begin. It was not more than twenty days afterward, when some fifteen vaqueros,

led by one or two Americans, descended from the hills and made an attack, when young Wistar and his friends sallied forth, opened fire from rocks, trees and stumps, and whipped them with ease in a few minutes. They let them recover their wounded and retire, giving them warning that if Wistar and his party had lost a single man, they would have caught and hung the whole gang. However, the sawmill contest ended in their being convinced that they could not fight the United States and they gave in and surrendered.

Going to Sacramento he purchased a half interest in a whale boat, and in company with an Irish sailor, lost no time in loading with provisions and started for Marysville, at the head of navigation on the Sacramento river. And so it seems that at this time, after traveling across the plains in search for gold, our narrator got his first taste of life on the water. His first venture did not last long, for he purchased pack mules and made a number of successful trips, in company with an Indiana man, through a long and memorable winter, with the snow laying fully thirty feet deep on the divide, they become freighters between Fosters and Goodyears. On one of their trips they found at Goodyears and points above several scores of starving men who had plenty of gold, and who took their entire lading at \$4.00 per pound before it was off the mules backs. On a trip in the mountains in that year he was suddenly attacked with mountain fever. He rode down, almost without stopping, to Neys, where he arrived nearer dead than alive in a delirious condition. He lay there helpless for some time in a small canvass lodging house, deserted and partially robbed. With a strong constitution, and sufficiently improved to enable him to take passage in a small stern-wheel steamboat, which had just found its way to Neys, he was carried aboard, and taken to the Bay, as San Francisco was then known in the interior. A piratical doctor aboard the boat charged him an ounce of gold a visit, which soon swallowed up his modest pile. The call to the sea came to

him. He engaged at \$50.00 per month to Captain Franklin of the English bark "Change" for a voyage in ballast, by way of Callao to Iquique in the Chinchas, there to load guano for Liverpool. The "Change" was a good, staunch, slow-sailing bluff-bowed old collier of 400 tons, then deemed a good-sized vessel. Wistar was the only Yankee and "Johnnie Raw" on board. He was not long, with his spirit, in getting into collision and perpetual rows, and shindies between himself and the young Mate furnished the principal topic of daily interest during a long and monotonous voyage. All the degrading work aboard ship was put on young Wistar. He got hazed all right, and one day, when he was sent to the foremast chuck to slush down spars, he watched the ship's roll, and letting go at the right moment, he dropped the bucket, which weighed fifty pounds, on the head of the Mate. Although Wistar had become quite enough of a sailor by this time, the Mate soon got after him with an iron belaying pin, and whether it was his Quaker or his Austrian blood that came to the fore, Wistar drew his belt knife, and slashed him across the body, putting all his strength in the blow. After the skipper had swabed him off and tied him up, he sent for young Wistar and gave him the pleasing information that he was about to put him in irons and hand him over to the Admiral at Callao to be taken to England for trial.

Many things happened to change the purposes of the Captain. It was somewhere near the coast of Ecuador, during a dead calm, the Captain of the ship Sea Queen of Dundee came aboard. He was just out from Panama, and told that the place was thronged with thousands of Americans willing to pay any price for passage to San Francisco. This was too much for the equanimity of the Skipper, and he put down for Panama, which was reached after seventy-three days from San Francisco. Panama, at that time, was very much in the condition it had maintained for centuries. All land is beautiful to the seaman who sees it from the

deck of his vessel, after a long voyage, where nothing had been visible but sea and sky, but pristine Panama had a beauty and loveliness of its own. The grey mediaval masonry of the fort and town, embowered in tropical foliage, and backed by the picturesque mountains of the Isthmus—the whole seen across the fine bay with its islands, vessels and native craft—was irresistably attractive to eyes which for so many days had wandered idly over the weary expanse of an almost untraversed ocean.

Again, was it the instinct of the Yankee Quaker or the Austrian, which compelled the Skipper, upon demand of Wistar to pay him additional wages for the remainder of the voyage from Panama to Iquique, and his board in Panama until a vessel should be ready for Iquique. Such cheek from a foremast Jack had never been heard of in the British marine, and it nearly took the Skipper's breath away, but Wistar told him he would put up his claim to the five hundred or more Americans who were then going along the streets of Panama. The Captain yielded and sailed away, but not before young Wistar had bluffed the Mate into coming ashore, and the Mate and the Jack Tar immediately began to strip. The sailors immediately made a ring outside of which stood gathered a crowd of market Negroes and stranded Americans. As he, Wistar, was pounding the Mate's head against the ground a platoon of black soldiers charged down on them with fixed bayonets, and broke up the fight.

Soon young Wistar, who could speak a little Spanish, and rapidly increased his knowledge, got together a gang of cargadores and did a prosperous transporting business within the walls of old Panama for merchants and others until everything was thrown into confusion by the celebrated American riots. The transportation business being destroyed, and since his debut in Panama was not such as to entangle him into any fine distinctions, he became a gambler in passage tickets in Panama to Atlantic and Pacific ports.

The price of tickets rose sometimes to \$1,000 and upwards, and he was soon \$5,000 ahead in gold sovereigns. While his comparative wealth lasted he was a very popular character with his seafaring acquaintances whom he treated liberally, and he might have had command of many desperate enterprises then projected. One of these was the purchase or seizure—the parties were not particular which—of a schooner, getting a lot of Negroes on board at Taboga (the neighboring island where all vessels then took aboard their water) and landing them to plant coffee at some such place at the Isle de Cocas. But all these schemes were fortunately cut short by the loss of his entire capital one unlucky night in a gambling room where Monte was the game. The next morning found him absolutely penniless, and when he and his beach-combing followers got sufficiently hungry, there was nothing left for them to do but to ship at \$40.00 per month on a Spanish schooner for the coast of Central America. The ship brought back a cargo of thirsty and starving mules into Panama. Getting ashamed of his very indifferent surroundings and with money in his pocket, he cut the whole concern and shipped as a foremast hand on the American steamship Columbus. The ship was built for 100 passengers, but she carried 1,100 passengers in a voyage of 3,500 miles to San Francisco. They had scarcely dropped the headlands of the deep gulf of Panama when the "coast fever" or "yellow jack" broke out, venemous and deadly from the beginning, and the scenes on deck soon begged description. The vessel was soon a howling bedlam. A hundred or more died of the fever, and the story of that voyage, with the panic stricken passengers, with the consequent spread of the disease, is one of the harrowing tales of Wistar's autobiography.

Back again in San Francisco it seemed that an astonishing transformation had already taken place in the city, and it was for him to consider whether he would repair to the mines or adopt the sea as a profession, so he concluded to

try his luck in the mines again, and, repairing to Stockton, he invested his savings in mules and started out with a small pack train for the Mokelumne mines. Shipping his mules aboard the Scotch steamship Eudora, bound with a large freight and passenger list to Trinidad Head, a landing point below the mouth of the Klamath river, intending to start for the then little known mines situated on the upper Klamath, Trinity, Salmon and Shasta rivers. Wind and weather failed—a great gale came up, and with the Captain drunk and incompetent and a mutiny aboard ship among both passengers and crew, he was called to the Captain's state room and there found David E. Terry, afterward Chief Justice of the State, his brother William, and Doctor Ashe, formerly of North Carolina. The active revolutionists were then mustered and the Mate was ordered to take command. In this episode Wistar displayed the commanding qualities which afterwards at Balls Bluff and Antietam were to single him out for gallantry and promotion.

This paper is already getting too long, and yet one-half has not been told of what this man did as a sailor and a freighter and a trader in this wonderful narrative of the early emigration to California.

Trading in an Indian country he led a most eventful life. Listen to the details of this episode :

“Camping one night in the timber, a few miles below Blackburn's, with a large pack train of twenty men (besides Mexicans, who don't count much in an argument with fire-arms) we made a daylight start next morning, and as we approached the prairie back of B.'s, began to hear firing at his place. Quickly getting the white men in front, we cautiously opened the prairie and charged down to the ferry, seeing no Indians, although the firing ceased. When we arrived and opened communication with B., who was shut up alone in the small house, a horried scene was disclosed on the bar. The canvas shanty had been surprised and all its occupants simultaneously massacred. Their dying groans

had aroused B., who opened fire and had successfully defended himself in the clapboard house. The eight bodies were scattered about the bar mutilated in every shocking manner that the ingenuity of the savage had been able to devise.

“Sometime during the night a body of Indians had surrounded the place quietly, cut their way into the canvas house and at a signal had killed, without noise, every man. B., awakened only by the groans of the victims, had knocked off some of the upper clapboards of his shanty and opened fire. Being an old mountain man he wasted no shots, but the Indians knowing the small house could contain but one man, were ashamed to run away and leave him. After rushing several times on the house, with disastrous results to themselves, they retired and tried to crush the roof by stones thrown down on it from the bluff. But as they had to carry the stones up from the beach, and the stones they were able to heave so far were not heavy enough for the purpose, they returned to the beach and after considerable discussion among themselves, commenced a series of single rushes on the door, one at a time, trying to chop it down. They might have kicked in the slight clapboards anywhere, but thinking, naturally enough, that the place to get in at was the door, they gave their whole attention to it, each volunteer shouting his death song, as like the Homeric heroes, they successively devoted themselves to death. But as the door was much the strongest part of the house, being made of split puncheons several inches thick, and B. did not give them much time for chopping, their devotion went for nothing and all their efforts failed. B. thought he had ‘saved’ at least six, though their bodies had been successfully carried off. We buried on the prairie the horribly mangled remains of the eight men as far as they could be found and gathered up and took B. along with us, but not before he had buried a box of powder under one end of the ferry scow then being built on the beach. In the box he

placed a flint lock cocked, and the trigger made fast to the scow. It was afterwards learned through friendlies, that when the Indians returned, after our departure, and tried to push off the scow, an explosion occurred, which perhaps gave them a new idea of the ubiquity of the white man's vengeance."

After this he became a hunter and trapper for the Hudson Bay Company in that great portion of the Northwest traversed by the Peace, Saskatchewan, Athabasca, Liard, Columbia, Thompson and Frazer rivers; and it was at Trinidad that he met Francois Bisell. Let him tell you about this comrade.

"Francois Bisell was like many of his class, a half-breed of Canadian and Huron stock, the Indian blood predominating, since his father had been a half-breed before him. In my partial eyes, he retained most of the best traits of both races, possessing, with the tenacity and coolness of the whites, the Indian's taciturnity and silent endurance, with the courage and intelligence of both. He was exactly of my age, having been born on the same day, six feet high, handsome and well proportioned, fearless in character, though extremely amiable, and was by far the best hunter I have ever met. Our intimacy commenced with a circumstance which I am sure neither of us had cause to be ashamed of or regret, although it led to subsequent acts not perhaps so easily defensible. We had been up the coast some miles above Trinidad to an Indian village, where we occasionally got a sea otter skin or two, and were returning to camp by way of Trinidad, the only available trail lying through the town. On emerging from the 'One Mule Gulch', just above the town, we came upon several of the boiled-shirt gentry (gamblers) who had three Indians bound to trees and were discussing in what manner to put them to death. The Indians, who knew us, called on us to save them, and we recognized them as inhabitants of the village we had just come from. Some cattle had been killed near the town,

and the gamblers, who knew nothing of Indians and could neither find nor catch any wild ones, had seized these poor friendlies who were in frequent and amicable communication with packers and fur men, 'and living in permanent quarters nearby at the whites' mercy, would have as soon thought of suicide, as of hostile acts against such dangerous neighbors.

"The gamblers, however, were determined to have the fun of murdering some one, and the only effect of our remonstrance was to draw their cheap wrath upon ourselves. They cursed us for d——d 'fur men' and 'mountain men,' who were no better than Indians ourselves, and, in fact, were in league with them and should by right be hung also. Like the rest of their kind, they flourished bright, shiney six-shooters and bowie knives, but had no rifles, thinking, no doubt, their numbers gave them a sure thing on us; but not of that opinion was Francois, who possessed that dangerous sort of temperament that becomes cooler in exact proportion as danger comes nearer, and at the very crisis, he was sure to be almost painfully deliberate. Without taking his eyes an instant from the enemy, he remarked to me in a drawling tone in Chinook: 'Will you fight?' 'Yes.' 'Then I will be captain; watch me.' It must be explained that the first step of mountain men on getting into a tight place with Indians or others, is to select a captain, whose actions and words are to be closely regarded. Thus no talking is required, and the captain, knowing the others will do what he does, neither too soon or too late, need not remove his eyes an instant from the enemy. Suddenly drawing his rifle Francois ordered: 'Throw down your pistols. Hands up!'"

There is more of this story, and it does not end here, but the friendship which he speaks of lasted for a long, long time, and during those days which they spent together, summer and winter, and especially in the winter when the cold was most intense, there came into their lives one

episode, an exemplification of faith in God and the supernatural by Francois, which saved two jaded starving desperate human lives. It was somewhere up on the Rocky Mountains on the Smoky Fork of the Peace river. The ground was covered with a heavy snow. The streams were hard bound with ice, and frequent wind storms which at the low prevailing temperatures none can face and live, and no great time had elapsed before their provisions were exhausted, in a difficult country where game was not to be had. Let the story go on here in the words of Wistar :

“Making a temporary shelter in a bad place and under unfavorable circumstances, we therefore proceeded to devote our whole attention to hunting, till after some days we became awake to the fact that the district was absolutely without game. Every day the weather permitted, we covered long distances in opposite directions, without finding so much as a recent sign or track. Then we set traps for fish in such rapids as remained open, and for birds and small animals, but without success. Travel over the rocky side hills concealed by snow, was exhausting and dangerous, both of us getting some bad falls. Moreover, as one dare not stir from camp in the uncertain weather without carrying a considerable weight and bulk of articles like furs, snow shoes and so forth, which might at any moment become essential to life, we soon became weak and exhausted. After trying in vain all the resources practised by trappers in such straits, all of which were well known to Francois, we ate the grease in our rifle stocks, all the fringes and unnecessary parts of our buck leather clothes, gun and ammunition bags, and every scrap of eatable material, boiling it down in an Assinaboine basket with hot stones, and were finally reduced to buds and twigs. After many days of this extreme privation, no longer possessing strength to travel or hunt, I became discouraged, and as we lay down one night, I determined to abandon the struggle, and remain there, enduring with such fortitude as I might the final

pangs which could not be long deferred. At this last stage in the struggle, an event occurred of the most extraordinary character, which cannot seem more strange and incredible to anyone than it has always appeared to me on the innumerable occasions when I have since reflected on it. Notwithstanding our exhaustion and desperate conclusion of the night before, F. rose at daylight, made up the fire as well as his strength permitted, blazed a tree nearby on which he marked with charcoal a large cross, and carefully reloading and standing his gun against that emblem, proceeded to repeat in such feeble whispers as he was yet capable of, all the scraps of French and Latin prayers he could remember, to all which I was in no condition to give much attention. When he got through he remarked with much cheerfulness that he was now sure of killing something, and urged me to make one more effort with him, which I rather angrily refused, and bade him lie down and take what had to come, like a man. With cheerful assurance he replied that he was not afraid to die, but our time had not come. He knew he would find and kill, and we would escape all right. Then desisting from his useless effort to get me up, F., leaving his heavy snow shoes behind, directed himself with weak and uneven steps down the little stream in the deep gorge of which our camp was made, and never expecting to see him again, my mind relapsed into an idle, vacuous condition, in which external circumstances were forgotten or disregarded. But scarcely a few minutes had elapsed, and as it afterwards appeared, he had hardly traversed a couple of hundred yards, when I heard his gun, which I knew never cracked in vain. I had thought myself unable to rise, but at that joyful sound promptly discovered my mistake. I found F. in the spot from which he had fired, leaning against a tree in such deep excitement that he could speak with difficulty. On that rugged side hill, apparently destitute of all life, in that most improbable of all places, within sound and smell of

our camp, he had seen, not a squirrel or a rabbit, but a deer. Attempting to climb for a better shot, the deer jumped, and with terrible misgivings he had fired at it running. He had heard it running after his shot, but was sure he had made a killing hit. Scrambling with difficulty up the hill we found a large clot of blood and a morsal of 'lights', which we divided and ate on the spot. After taking up the trail we soon found the animal.

"I do not undertake to explain that astonishing circumstance. I suppose it must be regarded as an accidental coincidence, but it is of the kind that staggers one in the acceptance of that easy and common explanation. Its extraordinary character is most of all apparent to such as may from similar experience be able to realize the desperate nature of the situation. Two good hunters had ransacked the vicinity for miles without finding a living thing, and had tried in vain all the numerous resources known to the trapper, when a caribou, the wildest and most timid of all deer, walks right into camp, as one may say, at the last moment when further delay was death. How came he there? Where did he come from, and whither was he going? Where were his companions, and what attraction of company or food brought him into that wild and snowpacked gorge at that critical moment? No one can guess any plausible answers to such questions, though Francois believed, and till his latest breath will continue to believe, that after all human efforts had been put forth in vain, the hoily Saint Francis, his patron saint, moved by his suffering and prayer, had himself bared an arm for our relief.

"Francois, of course, had many tales to tell to justify his faith. A lifetime of adventure and association with superstitious Indians and pious and credulous half-breeds, had not failed to include many perilous dangers and escapes, and to establish an unswerving reliance on the sympathetic and simple Priests, who in the humble frontier villages of

Canada are the depositaries of all the mysteries of nature and religion."

I wish I might tell you of those stirring times which followed the days when he abandoned the life of a trapper until the time when he got back to civilization again, of those days of departure from the occupation of a trapper for the Hudson Bay Company; down through the Cascade Mountains to the return to the American frontier, where their skins could be converted into money rather than take compensation in trade from the Hudson Bay Company, a risky thing to do, by the way, because it meant a breach of the laws of the Company which required their trappers to trade with it alone. This meant the avoidance of the company port and the company's traveling parties. To observe the law strictly would condemn him to the trapper's life forever. They had gotten clear of the Upper Frazer and Thompson rivers and crossed the divide; and in that long journey of hundreds of miles he and Francois encountered not only Indians, but raiders whose attacks and maraudings were such that it is a wonder that the two of them ever got out of it alive. Just before reaching the American settlements on the Willamette they were attacked by Indians, one of the most thrilling Indian stories of that wonderful biography, and of which Francois and himself were survivors, but a most disastrous fight. They divided the horses and Wistar's share of means was increased by which he might indulge again in the insidious pastime of Monte. He was never to see Francois again, and this is his final tribute to him.

"Alas, poor Francois! The best, bravest and surest friend I ever possessed. Many a sad and sleepless night have I regretted him, and I do surely hope and believe that far away in the northern wilderness he also may have passed some hours in thinking of the old comrade who trusted him so implicitly and loved him so fondly but can never see him more. Notwithstanding his affection for me, he entertained

a theoretical hatred and distrust of 'Bostons', or Americans, and after surviving the horse episode, could not bring his mind to following me across the hated border, preferring to return to a hard life and constant adventure in the far northern solitudes he had roamed so often."

And he then adds this for his Indians:

"No, I could not remain always with my Indians, and there was no place where white men might be encountered, to covet their property and corrupt their families, that was safe to leave them at. Hostile tribes may be whipped, driven away, or conciliated, but neither resistance, nor docility, can hold or tame the rascally scum that ever floats first on the advancing wave of the white man's advance. The frontier abounds in cowardly, murderous wretches, who delight in robbing and maltreating the weak, when it is easy and safe, and notwithstanding the invaluable aid I should have had from my native herdsmen in California, I dared not take them any farther. I therefore left them encamped somewhere not far above the crossing of the upper Klamath, under the protection of 'Captain Jack', a famous Rogue river chief, while I rode on to obtain blankets, ammunition, and so forth, to pay them off. This was at length effected to mutual satisfaction, and after a most sentimental leave-taking, at which the men looked sober and women wept, I rode sadly away and saw their faithful and loving faces no more."

If I have not recounted here as many of the tales of adventure and fighting that young Wistar's life abounded in, it is partly because it is difficult to do them justice without entering into the details of the surroundings and the depiction of the characters who were his associates, and who shared with him in enterprises that were not always of the kind that we tell our children of as deeds to be commended, but nevertheless there were episodes when suddenly organized parties of trappers gathered together with their winter's spoils in the far off districts of the Peace and

Liard rivers and along the Frazer, in a disturbed Indian country, the expected or unexpected outbreak would come. The assumed hostility of the Indians was due to the influx and depredation of the American settlers. The penalty for the offenses of these settlers fell upon the mountain men first. It was useless to try to get anywhere without horses, and the only way to procure them was to take them from the Indians on the plains. And in those fights, oh! how desperate they were, these trappers were glad to retire baffled in purpose but satisfied to keep whole their skins. In ordinary war the scout or picket may, at the last moment, surrender without loss of honor and save his life, but in Indian warfare it must be victory, escape, or death, without quarter given or received.

From one of the worst horse raids that Wistar was ever in, and after dividing the horses and somewhat increasing his pile, he departed company from that band of mountain men and trappers, and traveled south to the Willamette. He never again laid eyes upon or heard a word of any of them, not even the faithful and devoted Francois. He then established a cattle camp in Scott Valley, on a large tributary of the Klamath, from which rose the lofty barrier of the Trinity mountains in Northern California. After a winter in this business with nothing more exciting than personal encounters with grizzlies, an encounter with "Oregon Jim", a real bad man of the mountains, who was tried by a miners' court, and for want of actual proof was adjudged not guilty brought from General Wistar, when he recalled the rough justice of those California days where no real constituted authority existed, the following:

"The popular jurisdiction out of which this 'difficulty' grew, is none the less interesting when we reflect that it is almost peculiar to our own race and has at one time or another prevailed in every State of our Union, except those settled directly from European countries and thence supplied by charter, with complete ready-made judicial machinery. In connection with the various unwritten popular civic

codes affecting mineral lands and water supplies, the faculty of popular appreciation and enforcement of order is anterior to the advent of statesmen, or legislators, or of even public education. It is embedded deep in Anglo-Teutonic nature, and is traceable far back to those primitive days when our barbarous German ancestors met in the forests in general assembly of all the warriors, and by the clash of sword on shield signified their unconstrained and effective judgment on all propositions, including those of peace and war.

“Can it be possible that in the march of luxury and civilization, we have lost, or are in danger of losing, that unique heritage among the corrupt and bungling failures of modern legislative methods, sustained upon the universal suffrage of ignorance and numbers? Must we believe that that early love of the masses for justice and political vigor has been, or is in danger of being, corrupted or impaired by the poverty and struggles which seem more and more incident to the civilized condition?”

After closing out his affairs in Scott Valley he took stage at Reading Springs for Sacramento, about 300 miles distant, which was made in about twenty-four hours, where he took the steamer Senator for San Francisco.

About this time, early in 1852, this Argonaut, after a brief stay in the City of San Francisco, bought a farm at Contra Costa, where Oakland now stands. He attempted farming on 160 acres of land which he had purchased, but soon getting tired of that, the call of the sea got him again, and in the bark “New World”, chartered by a joint stock party, of which he was one, started on a voyage to Puget Sound. Where the City of Seattle now stands he came in contact with the old Indian Chief Seattle, for whom the city was named. After several voyages up and down the coast, some of them very stormy and very dangerous, he returned to San Francisco in 1853 and became interested in a slave question growing out of the presence in San Francisco of a few Negroes brought by a neighbor of his from Missouri. Some

sort of a proceeding had commenced in the court of a Justice of the Peace in Oakland, and as the Justice was afraid of an imminent riot over a question, sent for Wistar, begging him to organize a party to maintain order while the court transacted its business. This incident led to his embarking into the study of the law. He became a lawyer's clerk at \$40.00 per month, in the office of a leading law firm, where he was entrusted with the framing of mortgages. He was soon permitted to appear in the courts of California as a full-fledged lawyer. One attorney who behaved very generously toward him was no less a person than Colonel Edward D. Baker of Illinois, who arrived in San Francisco in 1850, formerly Colonel of the 4th Illinois Regiment in the Mexican War, and afterward the first Senator of the United States from the newly admitted State of Oregon, and subsequently Brigadier General of Volunteers in the Army of the United States and later distinguished on both sides of the Continent, with whom, afterward, Wistar was admitted in a professional partnership, and with whom he continued to maintain the closest business relations and friendship until his death, which occurred at Wistar's side on the battle field of Balls Bluff, Virginia, October 21, 1861. Colonel E. D. Baker was one of the most brilliant of California's men in those days. He did much in saving California for the Union in the days just preceding the war, and afterwards; and it is a notable fact that those two men who stood side by side in the days of the Vigilantes in San Francisco, and shared together in the great effort to restore law and order in California, should years afterward, with Baker in the Senate from Oregon and Wistar back home in Philadelphia practicing law on his return from California, be joined together in the raising of a regiment to be known as the First California, and afterward the Seventy-first Pennsylvania, and both fall, almost side by side, the one mortally wounded and the other seriously so, at the Battle of Balls Bluff.

Nothing in Wistar's life was more valiant than the part both he and Baker took in those days when San Francisco trembled, when the city was stricken with the outrages which grew out of the prevalence of mob law. There were two eras when the city was stricken in this way, one in 1851 and one in 1857. At this latter time, General William Tecumseh Sherman was a banker in California, after resigning from the army, and was Major General of the State Militia. The Governor of California, William Neeley Johnson, sent for Wistar to come to Sacramento during the excitement growing out of the murder of James King, a newspaper editor, by a man named Casey, a former Bowery tough, who was then editing a newspaper in San Francisco. The Governor, realizing that excitement and passion were extending throughout the State, thought the time had come to exert the force at his disposal to suppress it at the fountain head in San Francisco. With the entire militia force of the city having practically gone over to the enemy with their arms, he desired to call out the weak semblance of such organizations from the country, and had nothing reliable in view except in Sacramento and Stockton. The Governor commissioned Wistar an Aide-de-Camp and sent him to San Francisco with orders to obtain a small sloop, man her with a few picked men and conduct her to General Wool's headquarters at Benicia and obtain the arms, which General Wool had promised to deliver on requisition furnished to Wistar, and carry them to the State Penitentiary at San Quentin. Wistar strongly criticised General Sherman for not being at Benicia when the Governor had directed him to take up the demands made by the Governor through Wistar. One of the men whom Wistar had with him at that time was John C. Heenan, a fighting blacksmith, whose name as a pugilist in a struggle with Thomas Sayres, as the Benicia boy, afterward filled the pugilistic world. General Wool finally listened to the demands of Wistar, and the guns and ammunition were secured, and as he was the

last to jump aboard the sloop, the jib was already up, when he informed the mob gathered on the wharf, that if a single shot was fired, he would let go the anchor and sweep the wharf with shot as long as a man remained on it. However, this attempt on the part of the State authorities to suppress the San Francisco mob by force of arms, on account of the weakness displayed on the part of prominent men in the State and city service, was not as successful as it should have been. Colonel Baker and Wistar acted as counsel for Casey, the murderer, in the determination, as they put it, to attempt to restore the orderly working of the courts and the processes of the law.

In September, 1857, he took his last look at San Francisco and sailed away on the steamship "California", by way of Panama, back to the East.

Those days in San Francisco, during his lawyer period there, were filled with demands made upon his vigorous and brave spirit to sustain, in many a hot fight and battle, what he considered the righteous determination and stand to take on the public questions which in those days stirred most deeply the civic life of that City of the Argonauts.

When he arrived home, in Philadelphia, gold having mounted to a premium of about 20 per cent., he was able to realize very heavily upon his holdings. The gold bonds of California, which he had purchased at between 70 and 80 per cent., he re-sold in New York at par, and thus transferred to his pockets in the East a considerable sum of money.

In 1858, the excitement of the discovery of gold at Pike's Peak, Colorado, started him off for the new Eldorado. He went into the cattle business in Iowa, shipping to Chicago. He landed his stock safely at the old stock yards in Chicago, and in three days he had closed out his stock and trebled his investment. After his successful cattle business in Iowa and Chicago, he returned to Philadelphia. In March, 1861,

his old law partner and friend of the San Francisco days, Colonel E. D. Baker, took his seat as United States Senator from Oregon. This wonderful man at once took a high place in Congress. He was an intimate friend of Lincoln, having formerly resided at Springfield, Illinois, Abraham Lincoln's home.

Those were the days of that strange ebullition of political affairs in the United States, in which everybody of any consequence, North or South, became immersed, but few were able to realize the imminence of the stupendous reality of Civil War, and when Fort Sumpter was fired upon, Wistar offered his services and was on duty in mustering and preparing for the field the Philadelphia Division under Major General Cadwallader.

It was not long before Senator Baker notified Wistar that he had received an order from the President, dated May 8, 1861, authorizing him to raise and equip an infantry regiment of sixteen companies to be called the California Regiment, to be mustered into the United States service at New York, and to be commanded by himself as Colonel.

Wistar joined Senator Baker in raising the regiment, partly in New York and partly in Philadelphia. He raised the most of it in Philadelphia, and took the men over to New York and had them mustered in.

Early the next morning, after he had conferred with Baker, he distributed his cases among willing friends, packed up his law books and stored them, covered his office walls with placards, hired a fife and drum corps and made life miserable for his neighbors, while the California Regiment was under process of organization. The history of the organization of the regiment up to the time of the disastrous battle of Balls Bluff, October 21, 1861, was full of that energetic life and industry which Wistar always exemplified.

Colonel Baker fell at Balls Bluff, as stated, and Wistar was seriously wounded. Just after Baker, himself, had

picked Wistar up from the ground where he had fallen, Baker was hit by the enemy. The regiment continued on and won great fame and was distinguished as the peer of any in the glorious Second Army Corps, and covered the retreat of Pope's routed columns from Manassas, charged Jackson's veterans at Antietam. It was at Antietam, when the enemy advanced over and were driven back over Wistar's prostrate body on the field, and it was to receive on its steady bayonets the shock of Pickett at Gettysburg, and to have emblazoned on its standard the historic names of The Peninsula, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Spottsylvania and other innumerable fights.

Not long after Baker's death, President Lincoln sent for General Wistar, inviting him to a private audience on two occasions, and gave a considerable portion of his time and capacity to a discussion of the best means of remedying the difficulty concerning inefficient and worthless officers who had been foisted upon the army through a vicious volunteer system. As a commander of a division, he received the highest commendation from Major General Benjamin F. Butler for his brilliant and ably executed movement upon Richmond, which failed only from one of those unfortuitous circumstances for which no foresight can provide and no execution can overcome.

General Wistar continued to distinguish himself at West Point, Va., and Bermuda Hundred. He had entered the last battle against the remonstrance of his medical officers, and was in a very bad state of health, and owing to the exposure incident to the movement against Petersburg and Drury's Bluff, he paid the penalty justly to be expected, and was compelled by fever to be sent to the hospital at Fortress Monroe; and during the close of the year 1864, by reason of his physical condition, was compelled to resign his commission.

In 1865 it was that he organized the canals of Eastern

Pennsylvania and became their President, and in 1869 assisted in organizing the Susquehanna Coal Company and became its active head.

In the year 1877 occurred the labor riots. Governor Hart-
ranft went to Philadelphia, called on General Wistar to inquire if he could raise an effective force in the cause of order. He expressed a confident opinion that it would be quite practicable, in a day or two, to raise all the force required, officered with experienced officers, and suppress the riots within twenty-four hours after arrival in Pittsburg. He proposed to undertake the responsibility himself, if the Governor would give him full authority as he required it, but when the Governor asked him what he meant he said:

“Well, Governor, I have worked hard all my life, and have accumulated a little property, not much, but of some importance to myself. If I go to Pittsburg, I don’t propose to put down the riot by coaxing, but by force; and as matters now stand, the relations of every loafer who gets himself killed would be bringing suits against me for the rest of my natural life. Do your own share. Declare martial law, so as to protect your military agents, and I will take a sufficient force to Pittsburg, prohibit all street assemblages, require the surrender of all firearms, fire on every unlawfully assembled squad, and after a reasonable time, hang on the spot, every man taken with prohibited arms in his possession. Give me lawful authority and a safe legal status, and I will guarantee you such order in Pittsburg that, in twenty-four hours after my arrival, no prayer meeting could be more orderly and law-abiding. But you must accept the fact that at the stage where things have arrived, order will cost blood, and blood must be shed.”

Surely this was a recrudescence of the fighting spirit which he had shown during the days on the plain in forty-nine, in California, and in San Francisco in the days of the

Vigilantes, and then again in that mighty Civil War for the Union. Of course, the Governor could not confer such broad powers upon Wistar.

General Wistar's life at the head of the corporations was a very busy and a very successful one. He was a great lover of natural history or physical science; he was a Director in the Philadelphia Zoological Society; a Director of the Board of Trustees of the Building Fund of the Academy of Natural Science of Philadelphia, and later was elected President. He became interested in the subject of the organization of an appliance for municipal engineering and administration, and the organization, discipline, instruction, mobilization and supply of great modern armies, especially those of England, Germany and France. His name will always be associated with the progress of American science, not only by reason of his personal gift to anatomy in the founding of the Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, but also on account of his personal interest in the various associations with which, in his later years, he was connected.

General Wistar died September 3, 1905, at Claymont, Del., where he had lived for years.

Those who enjoyed the privilege of knowing General Wistar intimately had the greatest admiration for his force, his independence, his deep human sympathies, and the qualities that are combined in a true friend. Personally, I cherish the realization of a fine intimacy with General Wistar, and although this narrative, which I am reading here to-night may not possess to many the interest which his adventurous life and attributes has for me, I feel a confidence in here repeating what I opened the paper with, by saying that he was one of the bravest of brave men; certainly as brave a man as I have ever had the pleasure of knowing.

A VISIT TO WILKES-BARRE
BY A YOUNG PHILADELPHIAN
IN THE YEAR 1840.

AS RELATED IN THE JOURNAL OF MR. B. B. REATH
OF PHILADELPHIA.

READ WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY GEORGE R. BEDFORD, ESQ., BEFORE THE WYOMING
HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER 8, 1915.

Friday, 7th August, 1840. —

At about one o'clock this morning we left Shickshinny for Wilkes-Barre, and of all the rough rides I ever had I think this was about the roughest. The road runs up through two mountains, and is covered with loose stones, which throw the stage up and down in a manner that is really scandalous—in fact, I was tumbled from one side to the other continually from the time I started. To add to the inconveniences of the journey, it was very damp and cold, so cold that when we reached Nanticoke I got off the coach and went into the house, where there was a fire burning, which felt as comfortable as ever it did in the midst of winter. When the sun rose I got off, and mounted with the driver, with whom I rode for the rest of the way. In coming round the hill above Wilkes-Barre I noticed that the road was very dangerous, being too narrow for two vehicles to pass, and running along the edge of a bank, quite sufficiently high to have knocked the stage to pieces in short order, had it been unlucky enough to pass over.

NOTE.—The route traveled by the diarist, from Shickshinny to Wilkes-Barre, was obviously on the West side of the river, for the reason that there were no bridges below Wilkes-Barre; the Nanticoke referred to was evidently West Nanticoke.

The narrow road mentioned was a stretch of highway extending below what is now the Woodward Colliery, for a half mile or more toward Plymouth along the river, and was, in 1840, and for many years later, known as the "Narrows". As suggested by the diarist, the road was too narrow for two vehicles to pass, except at certain places where the bank had been dug out for the purpose.

It will be noticed that traveling in those days by stage began in the early morning. At Shickshinny the stages no

doubt connected with stages to and from Harrisburg. At that date the stages going over the Wilkes-Barre mountain to Easton and thence to New York and Philadelphia, left Wilkes-Barre at about three o'clock in the morning, supposed to arrive (dependent on road and weather conditions) at Easton the first night, and at their destination the second night.

At about six o'clock, arrived at Wilkes-Barre, and put up at the Phoenix Hotel, situated on the bank of the Susquehanna. After breakfast I walked out to look at the town. Wilkes-Barre is a very beautifully built village, settled altogether by Yankees, who have built it in the real New England style—the houses being chiefly of frame, and handsomely ornamented with pillars, etc. There are several churches, some of them very neat, and one of them, the Methodist, has a handsome steeple on top, containing an excellent bell. There are some very fine houses in the place, owned by the *lawyers* and other *great men*. The lawyers will always be at the top of the notch, and when they get *this child* among them, I guess they will be a little higher yet.

NOTE.—This last remark about the future improved status of lawyers obviously has reference to the diarist's intention to join their honorable company, which four years later he accomplished by admission to the Philadelphia Bar in 1844.

The diarist very properly speaks of Wilkes-Barre as a village. In its customs, as well as its appearance, it recalled the New England village of the time. Every night at nine o'clock the bell of the old church on the Public Square rang out as a reminder to old as well as young that it was about time to prepare for the night, and after that hour very few persons, young or old, were abroad on the streets of the village.

The population did not exceed eighteen hundred. Franklin and Washington streets ended at South street, with farms beyond. Washington street was grass grown and most of the lots on Washington street and many of the lots on Franklin street were without buildings. Main street extended through the Public Square. On the South side of the Public Square was located the old Court House, taken

down about 1858; on the East side of the Square, apposite the present Fort Durkee Hotel, was located a stone building generally called (though erroneously) the "Fireproof", which contained the public offices of the county; on the West side of the Square was located the church hereafter mentioned, and on the North side, opposite the Bennett building and other buildings, was located the "Wilkes-Barre Academy". Of this latter institution it is said in a publication in 1830 that:

"The Wilkes-Barre Academy, incorporated in 1806, has deservedly acquired a high reputation. It contains students pursuing the higher branches of learning. The Latin and Greek languages are here taught, together with mathematics and all the various branches of an English education. This institution has produced a number of scholars, and has prepared numerous young men to enter the Northern colleges."

It may be further said of this institution that a number of its students later attained eminence in the professions and in public life.

The same narrative refers to the "Wyoming Seminary" for the education of young ladies, then recently established in Wilkes-Barre, and not to be confounded with the Wyoming Seminary established some fifteen years later at Kingston. Of this school for young ladies it is said that the same "promises as extensive usefulness as any institution of its kind in our country. Under the care of Mrs. Chapman (the widow of the author of the earliest 'History of Wyoming'), its principal, and Miss Trott, her assistant, both highly accomplished and well qualified instructors, this Seminary is exciting an interest and is acquiring a reputation not usual in the infancy of institutions of its kind."

The Miss Trott here mentioned a little later became the wife of Hon. George W. Woodward, and the mother of the late Hon. Stanley Woodward and of Mrs. Eben G. Scott.

The City Cemetery was located at the corner of East Market and Washington streets, where now are the City Hall and other buildings, and the county jail was located on the corner diagonally opposite where now is located the Derr building occupied by the White Hardware Company.

The canal followed the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad south from Northampton street and of the Lehigh Valley Railroad from Market street to a point above Union street, and thence to the river, and was crossed by bridges at considerable elevation located at River, Franklin, Main, Wash-

ington and Canal streets. And where now stands the Lehigh Valley station was a large canal boat basin, and another where now stands the County Court House on the upper River Common.

The Phoenix Hotel mentioned was located on River street less than two hundred feet below Market street. It was taken down in 1865 and was succeeded by the Wyoming Valley Hotel, which in turn was taken down a few years ago and replaced by the present office building of the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal Company.

The Phoenix Hotel at the time mentioned and for many years before and after was famed for its table. It was in the days when there were no game laws, and when game was abundant. As soon as the weather permitted, game was supplied in great quantities, and the larder of the Phoenix Hotel was always furnished during the cold season with venison, pheasant, quail and an occasional wild turkey. The hotel was fortunate in having a famous cook, and its patrons from the cities were regaled with game cooked to the "Queen's" taste. The landlord, Gilchrist, presided at table, did the carving for his guests, and looked after their comfort. The dinner table was always supplied with two bottles of brandy for such use as the guests might care to make of them.

It would seem that the Methodist Church here referred to was one built about the year 1800, and generally spoken of by the people of the town as "Old Ship Zion". It was noted for the symmetry of its very tall steeple, and was located on the Public Square facing what is now known as the "Welles Building", occupied by the Isaac Long Store. It was for many years used as a union church, being in turn occupied by Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Methodists, but before the date of this journal it had been taken over by the Methodists.

About eleven o'clock I went around to see Miss Mary Stille, and remained with her for about half an hour; while there, was introduced to Mrs. Osterhout and two young ladies, whose names I really do not recollect. Had nothing to do all afternoon but lounge about the tavern—an amusement not much to my liking, but as I felt not very well, owing to the long stage ride of the preceding day, I deferred going out on the hills for another time. After tea, walked

out on the green bank of the river, and indulged in various agreeable reminiscences of events that had happened in other days—in fact, it was quite a fine place for indulging in poetic flights. This evening the hotel is crowded with passengers, who have come on from Mauch Chunk.

NOTE.—The Mrs. Osterhout referred to was the wife of Mr. Isaac S. Osterhout, the founder of the Osterhout Library. He was at the time a leading and successful merchant, having his store on the Public Square and his house adjoining, all on the premises now occupied by the large department store of Jonas Long's Sons.

The mention of Mr. Osterhout's name recalls a matter related to me by the elder Mr. McClintock. Mr. Osterhout and other merchants were in the habit of visiting Philadelphia twice a year, for a stay of some two weeks for the purpose of selecting and purchasing goods for their stores, which included dry goods, groceries, and a large variety of merchandise, very much on the plan of the present day department store, but, of course, on a very much smaller scale. At such times it would happen that on the evening before leaving Wilkes-Barre Mr. Osterhout would be called on by his friends and neighbors to say "good bye" and oftentimes be given some commissions to execute; the trip being then considered about equivalent to the trip of to-day to Europe.

Saturday, 8th.

This morning I scraped acquaintance with a Mr. Jordan of Philadelphia, who is staying at our hotel, and is engaged in collecting his debts in this part of the country. We neither of us had anything to do during the morning, and therefore agreed to go out on an expedition to Prospect Rock, a position that commands a view of the whole valley. This place is situated on the mountain immediately back of the town, at a height, I presume, of about twelve hundred feet, and is, of course, very difficult of access, although when one once gets up to the place, he is amply repaid for all his pains, by the beauty of the prospect. For the last half mile it became very tiresome, and withal somewhat dangerous, as we were obliged to make our way through a path which was for the most part overgrown with underbrush, and

which, as we very well knew, was in some places thickly tenanted by rattlesnakes, copperheads, and such like reptiles, a visit from whom would have been anything but agreeable. However, we at last did reach the top, and undoubtedly, with the exception of the view from Mt. Holyoke, I never did see so beautiful a landscape. And then what a fine place this was for romance and poetry! Here, we were looking down upon the scene of adventures of the renowned Gertrude of Wyoming—here, we were overlooking the spot where our fathers fought and bled for their country and their liberties—that spot on which so many of them fell victims to the barbarous scalping knife and the tomahawk—this very mountain received the fugitives from the massacre—some of them, alas, escaped but to perish in the wild solitudes of the forests—in such a place, could any one help feeling his blood course more rapidly through his veins, if he had the least spark of poetry or romance in his composition? I at least should think not. But again; suppose that some illustrious chief, the last of a noble, and once powerful race, now driven from the homes and hunting grounds of his fathers, to wander amidst the forests and prairies of the west—suppose that he should place himself upon this rock, “as the last rays of the setting sun were gilding the village spires”, and, leaning upon his rifle, contemplated the scene of wealth and prosperity beneath him—founded upon the ruins of his own once happy homes. Where, in other days, the singing of the birds, the humming of insects, the music of the waterfall, and the twinkling of the mountain rills, saluted the wornout hunter, as he threw himself down at evening beneath the shade of some majestic tree, planted by the hand of the Great Spirit, was now heard the bustle of business—the noise of the axe and the hammer --the rude footsteps and the voice of the white man—but the Indian could no longer be seen. Where once stood the wigwam of the Delaware, now rose the stately mansion of the stranger—where once stood the lofty pines and wide spreading oaks, the choicest of nature’s gifts, were now seen

the fields, loaded with their rich, waving harvest treasures of which the simple native had never known or heard, and without which his years had rolled calmly on, in the joys of liberty and a forest life. What would have been the feelings of the chief, when he viewed these changes, so rapidly effected within the space of a few years, and reflected that he was now looking down for the last time on those scenes, in which his childhood's pleasant hours had been passed, but which must now be forever abandoned to wanderers from distant climes. And yet the picture of our imagination has not been much overdrawn. It is quite possible, not to say probable, that such a scene has taken place on this very spot.

NOTE.—It is to be remembered that at the time this picture was drawn by the diarist there were many persons living who survived the battle and massacre of Wyoming, to whom the scene suggested by the diarist would recall the experiences of the days then long ago when an Indian Chief was a familiar figure.

Now then, gentle reader, we hope that we have not tired you out with spouting poetry, but really it is a thing that we do not often indulge in, especially to such an extent as in the present instance, for which we humbly crave your forgiveness and we promise not to offend again in a similar manner. Think not, however, that we were doomed to reach the hotel without any adventure. As we were coming down the mountain we paused several times to look into some large holes, which we thought might contain rattlesnakes or copperheads, and during one of these halts, as I happened to cast my eyes up to the other side of the road, an animal leaped suddenly out of the thicket, not more than two hundred feet from where we were standing. It was a beautiful creature, considerably larger than a fox, but of a similar color, and stood there quietly looking at us out of its sparkling eyes, and throwing its ears timidly back and forth, just as a fine horse when frightened. I was actually so much taken by surprise that for a while I just stood and stared at it; at last, however, I called the

attention of Mr. Jordan to it, when he immediately recognized it for a fawn or young deer. We both sprang off after it, but on seeing us approach, it wheeled about, and bounded lightly off into the cover. It has always been the practice with novelists to compare beautiful young ladies to fawns, referring to their gracefulness, and if all the fawns move as handsomely as the one we saw, we think that our bright-eyed fair ones will not much suffer by the comparison.

NOTE.—The incident related here of meeting the deer upon the mountain side was not an unusual one in 1840. Deer were abundant on the mountains about Wilkes-Barre, and some years later than the incident related by the diarist a deer, pursued by dogs, rushed down the mountain side, and through Northampton street, swam the river and escaped to the Kingston mountain. The late Walter G. Sterling told me some twenty-five or more year ago that in his hunting experiences he had first and last killed seven deer about on the location of the Glen Summit Hotel.

This afternoon Mr. Jordan and myself procured an old batteau and went out to take a row, which sufficed to amuse us until supper time. The boat was about the hardest article of that sort that we ever had the pleasure of sailing in, bearing a striking resemblance to a coffin—both in shape and colour. It may be supposed that in a craft so inauspiciously constructed, our sail would have been none of the pleasantest—we, however, were not so superstitious as to allow this circumstance to produce any effect. The waves ran very high this afternoon, as high, indeed, as the waves on the Delaware on a rough day, the consequence of which was that we got a most precious pitching and tossing, but the affair went off all safe. So end our adventures for the day. My face has been very much burned to-day by the sun, and feels all in a glow.

Sabbath, 9th August.

NOTE.—It will be noticed that the diarist uses the term "Sabbath" instead of Sunday, with which word it is said not to be strictly synonymous. Sabbath denotes the institution; Sunday is the name of the first day of the week. The Sabbath of the Jews is on Saturday, and the Sabbath of most

Christians on Sunday. In New England the first day of the week was in the early times almost universally called "the Sabbath" to mark it as holy time.

This morning, having made inquiry as to the whereabouts of the Presbyterian Church, I directed my steps thitherwards, and having reached the place, proceeded to reconnoitre through the crack of the door, before making my grand entree? I perceived that the pews were very inconveniently arranged for a stranger, as you had to enter with your back to the pulpit, and face the congregation, upon observance of which I came to a dead halt—owing either to my not liking exactly to march up under full fire from so many bright eyes as were there assembled, or perhaps through fear of carrying the whole church before me out at the other end? As undoubtedly the entrance of such a "distinguished stranger", as your humble servant, would or at least ought to have produced no small sensation. Be that as it may, as was above stated, the halt was made, and how long it might have continued is beyond the knowledge of my understanding, but fortunately relief was at hand, in the shape of an invitation from an old gentleman who came in, to take a seat in his pew, which I certainly made no bones of accepting. It occurred to me at the time he must have been a man of *no small discrimination*, to judge from my phiz, what a talented *young gentleman* he had got hold of.

NOTE.—The Presbyterian Church of that time was a frame structure which stood where now stands the Osterhout Library, with the pulpit toward the street, and the congregation facing the entrance. This structure was taken down about 1850, and was re-placed by the new church, which has been converted into the Osterhout Library.

The preacher fairly tired me out—that I must confess; he was one of the most drawling preachers I have ever come across during the course of my travels.

When the purse came round at the close, I searched my pocket for a penny, but, confound it, not anything less than a "levy" could I find, which in consequence had to be thrown in, seeing that I was ashamed not to throw anything in,

when the old fellow had been so impressed with my dignity as to invite me into his seat. Just to think of a whole "levy" gone, and that, too, for the benefit of a parcel of chaps to whom I, the donor, was a perfect stranger! Absolutely scandalous! Wasn't it? Well, I suppose I must console myself with Jacob Faithful's maxim: "Take it coolly; what's done can't be helped."

NOTE.—The contribution of a "levy" to the church collection recalls the fact that the silver currency of the time was based on the Spanish dollar, and a levy in Philadelphia and a shilling in New York were each equivalent of twelve and one-half cents; the silver piece of one-half that amount, to-wit, six and one-quarter cents, was known as a "fip-and-a-bit" in one locality and as a "six-pence" in another—the prices of goods offered for sale in the stores were stated in one or the other of these terms. The contribution of a levy to the ordinary church collection would at that time be regarded as unusually liberal.

After dinner Mr. Jordan and myself walked over to the old entrenchments (about four or five hundred yards from the hotel) and seated ourselves there for a while, to think upon the past. Now, then, here would be a fine field for some more poetry, such as that in yesterday's journal, but we promised not to be again guilty of anything of the kind and we always keep our promises, so *mum*.

NOTE.—The entrenchment mentioned was what was known until recent years as the "Redoubt". This was a rocky ridge formation just above Union street, and crossing what is now River street, and extending from near the river to a point between River and Franklin street. In later years River street was cut through and since then the Redoubt itself has been entirely removed, but some remains of the formation are still shown at the junction of River and Jackson streets, on the premises occupied by the George W. Leach house. This natural Redoubt was availed of by the Connecticut settlers in their controversy with the Pennamites.

I walked round during the afternoon to the Episcopalian Church, but finding it closed, returned to the hotel, went up to my room, threw myself upon the bed, and was soon embraced in the arms of Morpheus, from whom I did not

escape until tea time. During the evening I walked round to the Methodist Church, and there heard an excellent sermon—indeed, in some parts the speaker became quite eloquent; there was likewise none of that rant about him, which is often so objectionable in the Methodist oratory. So ended the events of the day.

Monday, 10th.

This morning Mr. Jordan and myself, according to agreement, went out to take a ride up the valley. He had some business a few miles up, and after remaining there a few minutes, declared that he must return to Wilkes-Barre, as he would otherwise miss some two thousand dollars. I must confess that this declaration did somewhat destroy my equanimity, for it had been agreed between us—at least so I thought—that the ride should extend up as far as the monument. Nevertheless, I was necessitated to return with him and accordingly did so, very much against my will. After our arrival at the hotel he went off to look after the Rhino, while I, having the horse and wagon to myself, started to take a small drive around the town, which I continued through the principal streets.

NOTE.—The term “Rhino” was a slang term for money and in this instance had reference evidently to the \$2,000 collected by Mr. Jordan.

During the course of my peregrinations I met my friend of the church yesterday, who stopped me and desired to know the young gentleman by name, to whom he had given a seat in his pew on the preceding day, in which very reasonable request I was very happy to gratify him, and after sundry bows, scrapes and compliments, we parted on the best terms imaginable.

This evening I called to pay my last visit to the ladies. When I first arrived I found none but Mrs. Osterhout at home, with whom, however, I seated myself, and we had a very clever talk until the arrival of Mrs. Stille. Mrs. Osterhout said she hoped she would have the pleasure of seeing me again at Wilkes-Barre, when she trusted she would have an opportunity of introducing me to some of the young

ladies of the place, which last is certainly a consummation devoutedly to be wished. I should like to remain here another day, as the ladies were telling me that there will be a general turnout of the Wilkes-Barre girls to-morrow—they having determined to visit the court house “en masse”, to hear some lawyer of the name of Woodward address the jury in behalf of four Irish men now on their trial for murder.

What a grand array they will all make, seated in the dirty court room, and hanging with rapture on the tones of this American Cicero! Who could not speak eloquently when encouraged by the smiles of so many listening fair ones? I suppose they should tempt him to plead *his own* cause, in place of the cause of the prisoners at the bar; suppose we should see in the papers as the latest case of absence of mind, that the eloquent Mr. Woodward, when he should have said “May it please your honor, I stand here to-day to plead the cause of my innocent and much injured clients”, said in place there of, “My dear Miss there, with the laughing black eyes, I stand here to-day for the purpose of asking you to marry me”! Actually awful, isn’t it? Really the man’s in danger.

NOTE.—The Woodward referred to was George W. Woodward, at the time a young lawyer of about thirty-one years of age. He had already achieved distinction at the bar, and when only twenty-eight years of age took a leading part in the Convention in 1837-'38 that framed the Constitution of the State; he later became a member of the Supreme Court and Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. He was the father of the late Hon. Stanley Woodward, and grandfather of the present Judge John Butler Woodward.

At the present day the business of this populous county is so great that our Courts, composed of six law Judges, are in almost continuous session, and a term of court is therefore now a commonplace affair, but in 1840 the sitting of Court happened only four times a year, in the months of January, April, August and November, and with only one Law Judge, was an important event in the life of a village of the size of Wilkes-Barre. It was often made something of a social affair, when as narrated by the diarist, some import-

ant case was on trial, and ladies availed themselves of the opportunity to attend.

Forensic oratory was in favor and quite the fashion, and it is safe to assume that on such occasions the arguments of the lawyers were framed almost as much to edify and entertain the fair auditors as to convince the Court and jury.

This evening, after I returned home, Mr. Jordan gave me a package containing some two thousand dollars to carry home for him. I had some scruples in my own mind about taking it, but at last agreed to do so, and chalked off to bed, meditating on robbers, etc., etc.

NOTE.—The request to carry the two thousand dollars in money to Philadelphia was not an unusual one, inasmuch as there were no express companies and no other safe way for the transmission of funds. The Wyoming Bank, the only banking institution of the time, as well as individuals who desired to remit moneys to Philadelphia for the purposes of exchange or payment of merchants' bills, availed themselves of the opportunity to send funds by the hands of men of character whom they could trust.
Tuesday, 11th.

This morning I parted from the beautiful village of Wilkes-Barre and the fair valley of Wyoming, and that, too, in a conveyance by no means so classic as might have been anticipated in so romantic and poetical a situation, for it was even in that most humble of vehicles, a market wagon. We had five miles to ride up a mountain, in order to reach the White Haven railroad, which has reached the summit, and is to come down the hill by three inclined planes, now in the course of being constructed; of all the rough rides I ever had (and I had hitherto thought that some of them were pretty good specimens), this was decidedly the worst. The road actually beggared all description—we might almost as well have driven through the forest at once. Now and then, to be sure, we had some small respite, when we came to the grades of the new inclined planes, but well might it be said, as of the immortal Washington, "it was a road, taking it all in all, we ne'er shall see its like again"—at least I hope so. Upon arriving at the top we took a car there provided, which was drawn by a couple of horses, who

trotted along at one side of the track, and were attached to our vehicles by means of a rope—thus drawing us along canal boat fashion. Among our passengers we had one *original*, quite a droll genius, who exercised his wit on almost everything we met with, and with a very good grace, too, keeping his countenance drawn up with an air of the most imperturable gravity, and never deigning to join in the mirth that his observations excited, not even by so much as a smile. While we were in the wagon I happened to enquire of him what sort of cars the company had? “Why, sir,” replied he, “they have a variety of cars on hand; they have one covered, which they usually manage to send in *dry* weather, but for the rain they generally accommodate passengers with an open one.” It must be remembered that the day was damp and wet. The course of the railroad is very wild, passing through forests almost uninhabitable—mountains on every side, no matter in what direction you turn your eyes. Over one hill there is a temporary inclined plane, which will be removed on the completion of a tunnel, which is now being made. We were drawn up one side of the hill by mules, and allowed to descend the other side by the force of gravity, which processes were neither of them altogether to my liking, since had the mules broke loose or any other accident happened, we might have descended with a velocity somewhat greater than would have been agreeable. Be that as it may, however, we reached White Haven about noon, and then took dinner, after which we entered the canal boat on the Lehigh navigation, bound for Mauch Chunk.

NOTE.—The railroad from the top of the mountain to White Haven now forms a part of the New Jersey Central road. After the completion of the planes, which happened shortly after the date of this journal, cars were hauled by horses from the foot of the planes to a railway station erected on South street, and located on the present premises of Mrs. W. L. Conyngham.

The Lehigh is a very romantic stream, winding through banks covered to the water's edge with lofty forests, whose solitudes are disturbed for miles together by no human

sounds, save those caused by the passing of the boats, and the managng of the locks. Towards Mauch Chunk the banks become mountainous, and rocky, and exceedingly picturesque—some of the rocks have a very fantastic appearance, especially at a place called the ox-bow, where there is a great bend in the river. There is one rock here that is very prominent, standing alone, with a pine tree waving from its top, and to which a very expressive appellation has been given—"The Devil's Pulpit". Whether his infernal majesty was ever caught in the act of holding forth here, or not, my informant was unable to say, but such is the name, and we shall leave it for other antiquarians to decide as to its origin. In several places I observed what were called Rollways, consisting of a species of steep inclined planes, down which the timbers are thrown from the top of the mountain.

The distance between White Haven and Mauch Chunk is twenty-five miles, and in that distance there are no less than twenty-nine locks, most of them of twenty, twenty-five, and thirty feet lift, and each of them accompanied by a dam across the river, with a fall equal to the lift of the lock.

The expense of constructing these locks and dams must have been very great—too great, as I should think, ever to repay the company. I had quite an argument this afternoon, in endeavoring to prove to some of the passengers that these great lifts wasted more water than if the same height were overcome by several successive locks of a smaller lift; succeeded, however, in convincing them at last. The Beaver Meadow Railroad runs parallel with the canal for a considerable distance before you reach Mauch Chunk. When about five or six miles from this last place we received on board a number of young ladies—real smiling bright-eyed fair ones, who kept us lively during the remainder of the passage. Shortly after eight o'clock we arrived at our destination and immediately after supper I decamped to my room, where I was speedily embraced in the arms of Morpheus.

NOTE.—At the time mentioned the Lehigh river was what was known as slack water navigation, and formed a very important highway. Boats were owned and operated by the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company by means of twenty-nine dams and locks between White Haven and Mauch Chunk, as mentioned by the diarist.

This state of things continued until 1862 when, as a result of violent storms, a great flood happened in the Lehigh river all dams were swept out, accompanied by large loss of life, especially at Mauch Chunk, where the water reached up far on the hillside. There was a general protest against rebuilding the dams, and they were abandoned. The Lehigh Valley Railroad Company and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company extended their roads to White Haven, thence over the mountain to Wilkes-Barre. Remains of the locks to a considerable extent can be seen from the car windows on trains both on the Lehigh Valley and Central Railroad of New Jersey.

We are at the end of this very pleasant recital of the experiences of the young Philadelphian in the vale of Wyoming in the year 1840. Were he yet living he would be near the century mark, and would see changes greater than he could possibly have imagined.

When he visited Prospect Rock in 1840 he looked upon a scene of rare beauty, embracing a flowing river, and mountain forests, attractive villages, green meadows and waving grain fields, interspersed with bits of woodland, while to-day, were he here, he would look upon towns whose natural beauties have been enhanced by the artistic hands of the architect and landscape gardener, but at same time are hives of industry embracing great mining and manufacturing plants, and together containing a population of upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand souls.

More than that, from Prospect Rock he could overlook the great anthracite coal field of the Wyoming Valley, producing every year fifty million dollars worth of anthracite coal, thus justifying the declaration of the late Charles Parish, the greatest coal operator of his time, that this valley in extent three miles wide by twenty miles long is the most valuable bit of territory of its size on the surface of the globe

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE
WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL
SOCIETY, HELD 1859.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY BY GEORGE R. BEDFORD, ESQ., DECEMBER 10, 1915.

The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was founded on the 11th of February, 1858, and hence its first anniversary on 11th February, 1859, at which time an important meeting was held, followed by a dinner at the Phoenix Hotel. A full account of this anniversary meeting was given in the "Record of the Times", February 16th, 1859, a weekly publication, of which William P. Miner was editor and proprietor, who some years later founded the daily edition of the paper, which was then called, and since, been called the "Wilkes-Barre Record".

Following is the newspaper account of the meeting :

"THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

"Friday, the 11th inst., was the anniversary of the birth of this Society. In accordance with the published notice that the rooms of the Society would be open to the public, Friday morning found the hall well swept and warm, and the neat appearance and systematic arrangement of the curiosities of the museum fully explained the reason why for the past week a bright light has glimmered upon Franklin street from the room windows almost till the morning sun has extinguished it in his bright beams.

"An eager crowd from early in the forenoon until late dinner time poured up the stairs and showed by their numbers the interest excited in town, and by their pleased and surprised countenances how well they considered the public interest repaid and deservedly earned.

"About one o'clock the members of the Society and its friends gathered informally in the 'Old Fell House' in the identical room, where upon the identical hearth, the identical

grate, in which the experiment of burning the anthracite coal of the valley was first successfully made upon that identical day fifty-one years ago, was piled to its brim with red hot glowing coals of the same anthracite character. The company passed a couple of pleasant hours peering curiously at the singularities of the old building, wondering at its limited conveniences in proportion to its massive structure, and in listening to the stories of the early times and gay parties the old walls had seen.

“The ball room drew forth an amusing fund of reminiscences. It is a room on the ground floor, paneled as all rooms of that date of the beginning of the century were, about thirty feet long and fifteen feet wide and seven feet high. It is divided in the middle into a drawing room and kitchen by a partition, which is swung on hinges at the top, and may be lifted up and hung on hooks driven into the ceiling. A huge fireplace occupies nearly the width of the room at its kitchen end, and on state occasions was piled high with logs, and at times the dining table and chairs were cleared away, and with a fiddler in the chimney corner, away went the merry dancers down the middle and back—cast off and down the outside—join hands four—till the candles burned low, and flickered in the light of coming day-break.

“One anecdote was told illustrative of the times and of the ardor our grandfathers and grandmothers pursued their pleasures as well as their labors.

“A party from out of town had gathered under the then grand roof, fully equipped and anxious for a dance. The dances had been numerous that winter and candle dip had run low, so low, in fact, that there were not enough in the house or in the adjoining groceries to illuminate the ball room, but they were bound to have a dance and a light to see by. Placing a keg of Monongahela in front of the big wood fire a boy was set a straddle of it with direction so to manipulate the tap as to keep a steady stream of the fiery spirit upon the blaze, and so judiciously did the youth

perform his slightly adventurous duties, and with such success that not a merrier party tripped the toe upon the well-worn floor that season, and the barrel was not so empty but at the close of the dance the gallants had sufficient to toast the health of their lady loves."

At about half past two the Society and invited guests sat down to a substantial and sumptuous dinner prepared by mine host of the Phoenix Hotel. After grace by the Rev. Dr. Peck (not so long that the dinner got cold by waiting) on hour's serious discussion of the viands ensued. That Mr. Gilchrist himself superintended the tables is a sure pledge that the eatables were duly appreciable. When the noise of rattling of knives and forks had about ceased from sheer exhaustion, E. L. Dana, Esq., the chairman of the day, rose, and in a few appropriate words gave a history of the origin, formation, progress and proceedings of the Society and of the occasion of their meeting.

J. B. Conyngham, Esq., on behalf of the Committee of Invitations, read some very interesting and congratulatory letters from Rev. Dr. Richards, of Darby College, New Hampshire; Prof. J. R. Loomis, of University of Pennsylvania; Thomas Sweet, Esq., of Providence; James Archbald, Esq., of Scranton, and from William S. Reddin, Esq., of Pittston. A telegraphic dispatch was received while at the table from C. L. Ward, of Towanda, dated from Burlington, and proposing as a toast:

"Wyoming warriors sons of old,
And matrons worthy of their time,
Deep in our inmost hearts we hold,
Their memories sacred and sublime."

The Chairman then read the regular toasts in order:

"THE MINERAL DEPOSITS OF LUZERNE."

Responded to by V. L. Maxwell, Esq., who said:

"The celebration of this anniversary has seemed to be appropriate for many reasons.

"We are here in the midst of the largest anthracite coal fields in the world; and when we look at the geological map of our State, it stands out conspicuous above all others, and we cannot but point to it with pride, as the region of our homes and the basis of our wealth. Other coal fields are somewhat nearer the seaboard markets, but this is within their reach. From its northern extremity coal is carried with advantage to New York and the East; and its southern point, lying low upon the Susquehanna, supplies Southern Pennsylvania, Baltimore and the South. The centre is likewise pierced by three railroads, also carrying its treasures to the seaboard; and by a canal and a railroad from the north opening up to us a valuable market, in which no rival coal field can trouble our collieries.

"It possessess also a historic interest. Here anthracite coal was first found by the eminent grants of New England. Here ingenious and enterprising mechanics first learned to use it in the forges. This valley also sent the first anthracite to market; and even during the Revolution supplied its fuel to the fires of our first national army.

"It was an honored citizen of this town, who first proved by successful experiment the utility and value of anthracite coal. It was another honored citizen of this valley, yet living among us, who in 1813 first projected the railroad and canal now crossing our mountain barriers, and carrying coal to the Atlantic cities. In this enterprise he and his associate, Jacob Cist, first led the way successfully.

"They transported the first coal favorably received in the Philadelphia market; for they carried it to the right men; to men who were able to comprehend its value and to appreciate the feasibility and importance of the railroad and canal thus projected for their future supply; men who had heads and hearts and courage to undertake the work and carry it through.

"These men ought not to be forgotten, and I trust never

will be forgotten. We all cordially respond to this remembrance of our mineral treasures, but let us ever connect with them the names of Charles Miner, Jacob Cist, Josiah White, Erskine Hazard and Maurice Wurtz, who first turned the minds and the hearts and the judgments of Pennsylvanians and others in favor of these great internal improvements centering in this valley, and which, in consequence of its mineral wealth, have become national in their character and effects."

"THE REMAINS OF THE RED MAN."

Responded to by the Rev. Dr. Peck of Scranton:

"The history of the American Indians is an anomaly in the universe, their traditional history is involved in mystery—their written history, every line of it is stained with blood—their true history is unwritten, and will remain so until the wailing of the last Red Man shall die away upon the breezes of the Rocky Mountains. The Indians have sinned, they have sinned grievously. They have ravaged and desolated unoffending settlements—they have bathed their tomahawks and scalping knives in the blood of women and children—their savage hearts have known no pity, but while it is not to be disputed that they have sinned, is it not equally clear that they have been sinned against?

"The first complaint that they make is, that the pale faces wrested from them their land—driving them from their hunting and fishing grounds and from the graves of their fathers.

"Another complaint is that the whites have imparted to them the vices without the blessing of civilization—these vices have been the means of sadly demoralizing their character and diminishing their numbers. An Elliot, a Brainard, and others had succeeded in producing an impression upon the savage heart, and laid a foundation for a hope of their elevation, but the wars in which they became enlisted

blasted all their hopes. For this great evil civilized and Christian nations have been largely responsible and the poor Indians have been the victims of a stupendous wrong.

"They owe to the white man their intemperance, and the influences which have inflamed their savage natures to deeds of cruelty, with many other sins which have degraded them from their native simplicity and nobleness of character. An Indian once declared in my hearing that the white man "brought the devil here—for" said he "before the white men came to this country, the Indians were sober, honest and happy."

"The Red Men, I repeat it, have been sinned against. They have been sinned against by the British and French governments—they have been sinned against by land speculators and government agents, and I would that I could say that they had not been sinned against by the Federal Government itself."

"RELICS FROM THE OLD WORLD."

Responded to by Dr. Ingham :

"Gentlemen: As it has become my province to reply to the sentiment you have just heard, I have to regret that I am, perhaps, without a single qualification to appear before you as a speaker—not that the cause we are engaged in demands ingenuity of argument or rhetorical flourish for its advancement, no—for its merits are so palpable that even the plainest diction cannot fail to do some good.

"In this view permit me to make reference to a few of the leading circumstances connected with the origin, design and success of our association. As to the time of its origin I need only to say that this is a day of its date, and the many happy faces around me, the figures of its calendar. I was not so fortunate as to be of the praiseworthy company at the first, but I can readily imagine that it was one of much pleasure where many joyous reminiscences flashed

upon the mind to enliven the conversation and enrich the anecdote, and that finally a good share of satisfaction remained to each from the reflection that whatever should betide, they had at least originated the idea of a laudible, a highly useful association.

“It devolved upon the few early members to provide, as it were, the corner stone, and to this task they applied themselves with alacrity; the hills were crossed and dark anthracite vaults resounded for a time to stranger steps, and soon the corner was firmly laid. No monumental arch, no temple or shrine, can boast of more befitting stone.

“On this, the ceral rock, by fossil flora are inscribed high attributes to God, his wisdom and his power in language universal, in characters not formed by man. (Here the speaker paid a tribute to the generosity of General Ross) whose gift he said: ‘Cannot be subject to the contingencies of things perishable—for this act of generosity must endure in grateful remembrance far in the distant future.’

“As yet there are but few among us who watch the rapidly extending moral influences of this institution, or are aware of the liberal and wise feelings engendered by it. The circle of its influences cannot fail to extend—but as I have before said, there is much to be done.

“I feel conscious that in view of the future, it is not too much to say that our institution will yet be held as the great and indispensable auxiliary to all public teachings, whether from the school, the bar, or the pulpit, for in time to come there will be stores of knowledge in these cabinets, in these portfolios, which will be sought for in vain in books.

“For who will be fully and properly informed on the thousand points connected with the wonders of art, without that demonstration here to be afforded? How far does the reading in numerous instances fall short in conveying a knowledge of color, form, weight, size and other properties of matter?

“Who among us has not derived more satisfaction from an examination of our specimen of the Atlantic cable than by the perusal of all that has been put forth on the subject? Could either of us apart from those specimens, by description, arouse in the minds of our hearers that spirit of general inquiry that will so often follow the inspection of those threadless fabrics of the Sandwich Islands?”

“And thus we might go on to exemplify the utility of this institution and show its intimate relations to a system of liberal education.

“What have we that may command attention from the theologians? I answer much; and more there will be—already can be seen that, which to the men of contemplation will not fail to be improvingly suggestive, for much has it to do with the rise and progress of Christianity; the history of the valley of the Nile is inseparably connected with that of the land of the Patriarchs. The argument is strong, the lesson plain when the benign influences of Christianity are shown by contrast with the blind, yet curious teachings of idolatry, whether in Mormon or in Druid temple, on Aztec sacrificial stone, or within the secret depths of the Egyptian pyramids.

“And yet how much more mighty are those other sacrificial stones from pyramids not made by hands; the lofty altars of the living God, the domes and minarets of earth:

“’Tis not alone the blood of goats and lambs, nor yet the ox in hecatombs, which here has left the stain, far mightier was the sacrifice, a whole organic world was at each time the great ovation.”

“THE MUNIFICENCE OF WILLIAM S. ROSS.”

Responded to by the President of the Society and of the day, E. L. Dana, Esq.:

Mr. Dana gave a very graphic sketch of the condition of the Society at the time when the purchase of Mr. Chamber’s

collection was first broached—the bare walls of the room—the lack of public interest, and the almost discouragement of the members; and their wishing for something worthy as a nucleus around which to gather together the curiosities and relics of the valley. Something really valuable to give the public assurance of their purpose and security for mementoes entrusted to their keeping; the first whisper of the collection of Mr. Chambers; the rumor of its being for sale; the committee's visiting it and reporting on its value; the schemes for its purchase; the impossibility of perfecting them; the forlorn hope of interesting some wealthy individual in procuring it; the mentioning of the matter to General Ross; his listening to it; considering of it, favoring it, and finally concluding to present it to them.

“All these were told simply, but elegantly, as only Captain Dana can tell a story, and effectively, and when he closed, after a few remarks upon the value to the Society of the present, by stating that the papers for the museum were to be formally delivered to the Society at the meeting in the evening, a tornado of applause told how well the generosity was appreciated and how happily the speaker had storied it.”

“THE MEMORY OF JACOB CIST.”

C. E. Wright, Esq., responded as follows:

“I feel great pleasure, Mr. President, in attempting a response to this toast. Yet I am free to acknowledge my incapacity of doing even partial justice to the memory of the learned scientific and distinguished gentleman, who forms the subject of the sentiment just offered.

“The name of Jacob Cist is conspicuous in the history of our valley's prosperity—it is deeply graven on every enterprise of his day, and is remembered with just pride by our citizens. I may add, it is a name that his descendants may regard as the most invaluable of legacies.

“Permit me at this social gathering, a brief indulgence in

reminiscences, which if not a matter of profit, may not be unsuited or uninteresting to the occasion. They are grateful to my own remembrance, constituting, as they do, my personal recollections of the man. The last time I saw him was at my father's house, where on a Sabbath but a week or two before his untimely death, he came to pay a friendly visit. He was then worn, feeble and emaciated. A greater part of the time he passed in bed. I am aware these may seem meagre incidents to you, but to me they are far otherwise. They are referred to not without purpose, for they stamped an impress on my youthful mind that will never fade. They captivated me as a demonstration of urbanity, graceful ease and quiet dignity inimitably pleasing. Do not understand, I pray you, that I had never seen a gentleman beneath that roof before; it was the first by whose fascinations I had been electrified.

“Jacob Cist was associated with all the growing impulses of his day, having in view the prosperity of his adopted valley, and the accumulation of scientific and general knowledge.

“Added to his deep and extensive acquirements in the higher branches of scholastic learning, philosophy and science, he was possessed of those beautiful and graceful accomplishments that lend so much to the delights of human taste. The pen, the pencil, the brush, and the crucible were alike familiar to his hand. Their demands upon his time left him never an hour's relaxation. His hands and his mind knew no release from incessant labor. The rare endowments nature had bestowed and education had enhanced were chiefly directed to the development of the wondrous resources of our Commonwealth. Those were all within the scope of the mental vision of this superior man whose foresight outstripping the day in which he lived, acquired him the wrongly imputed reputation of a visionary fanatic. He was leader in those local enterprises, the harvests of

whose ultimate success we now reap. It was his pen that awakened by a long series of letters and communications the American mind to the importance of anthracite for domestic and manufacturing purposes. He was first in essaying the development of the vast mines of the Lehigh as well as the equally inexhaustible beds of Wyoming. He was familiar with the extent and quality of the iron deposits of Montour.

“At the time when Pennsylvania, intoxicated by the experiments of New York, grew insane upon the subject of canals, Mr. Cist stood almost alone in his advocacy of the superiority of railroads. He urged with all his powers the building of a great trunk line across the mountain barriers to the waters of the Atlantic. His far-reaching mind had foreseen that the sluggish canal would be inferior to the mighty train—that the iron track, stretching away to the sea coast would make the borough of his home what Manchester is to the British Isles.

“Our neighbors of the Lackawanna laid hold on the thread in 1850 which the prophetic genius of Jacob Cist had spun in 1826. Let me add, in conclusion, but without any purpose of being invidious, and with the hope of offending no one, that I regard this man, all in all, as perhaps the greatest of our predecessors.”

We regret exceedingly that we missed hearing the two following toasts:

“The Memory of Mattias Hollenback and Jesse Fell,” responded to by Colonel H. B. Wright, and the seventh regular, “The Historians of Wyoming, Chapman, Miner and Peck,” responded to by Judge Conyngham. But we were called away by unavoidable business. We hope, however, the addresses will be printed, as from the character of the speakers, and the subjects appointed them, they could but be worthy of reading.

The afternoon had well worn away, and the subsequent toasts upon the programme were read without any responses.

(8) The Wyoming Historical and Geological Society—its objects are entitled to the respect, the sympathy, and aid, and its success to the confidence of an intelligent public.

(9) The patrons who have in the infancy of the Association entrusted their donations to its care, and with their favors imposed an obligation most binding, and for whose full discharge the whole future is pledged. With a few remarks from the President congratulating the Society upon its appearance for its age—its future prospects, the pleasant anniversary, and expressing to the host the thanks of the company for the luxurious repast that had been enjoyed the company dispersed, well satisfied with the afternoon's enjoyment, while the members of the Society adjourned to their rooms to attend to their regular business, this being their monthly meeting.

At the close of this most interesting account of the first anniversary of this Society, Mr. Bedford added to the pleasure of it by reading an additional article, which appears in the following pages, describing the "Wyoming Valley and Wilkes-Barre as they appeared to a visitor in 1859."

THE WYOMING VALLEY.

FROM THE PHILADELPHIA "NORTH AMERICAN" AND
"U. S. GAZETTE", SEPTEMBER, 1859.

WILKES-BARRE, September, 1859.

To the corruption of an uncouth aboriginal synonym for "The Big Plains", history and poetry are indebted for the classic and euphonious name of Wyoming. And both the historian and the poet have found in the earlier annals of the lovely vale to which that name belongs, in the contentions, the struggles, the bloody baptism of its infant colony, as well as in the suggestive features of its unrivaled scenery, themes of thrilling narrative and romantic story, stately prose and flowing verse.

To review the events of the past is beside my purpose. To describe, with any approach to fidelity, the present aspect of the valley, is beyond my power. It might, indeed, task to the utmost the most expert master of the felicities of diction to convey to the mere reader an adequate idea of realities, such as here exist in beautiful and harmonious combination, and which must be regarded in the aggregate to be appreciated. The mountain ranges, on either hand, tracing with their forest-fringed summits, bold and graceful boundary lines between the dark verdure of earth and the bright azure of upper air are grand and noble features, but the charm of the landscape is not in the mountains. The lesser hills, innumerable, infinite in variety, swelling from the plains, mantled with cultivated fields, and lifting, to half the mountain's height, the domains of rural industry and successful tillage, are also beautiful; but the charm of the landscape is not in the hills. The winding Susquehanna and the exuberant plain, dotted with towns and villages, are pleasant to behold; but the charm is not in the river, or the plains. It is in the soft, gradual, unabrupt blending of all these, without striking contrast or sudden transition. The plain, tracing the stream with reflected verdure, merges

in the hills; the convoluted hills lose themselves in the mountains; the mountains, gradually enclosing the whole, form the wall of what may, by a legitimate indulgence of fancy, be compared to a paradisiacal nest, suspended from the blue vault above.

Such is the general character of the valley, viewed as a whole, though, if examined a little more in detail, rocks, precipices, chasms and other rugged features may be discovered in abundance; and however much like Eden it may appear in other respects, the similitude certainly holds good so far as the "trail of the serpent" is concerned; rattlesnakes, copperheads and other varieties of the reptile, having their haunts among the woods and rocks of the vicinity.

Wilkes-Barre, the central and most important town of the region, is reached from Philadelphia by either of three different routes. First, by way of the Reading Railroad to Port Clinton, thence over the Catawissa road to Rupert or Danville, from either of which places the cars of the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg road convey the traveler to Kingston, a pretty village about a mile from the borough on the opposite side of the river. The second route is by way of Trenton and Belvidere, in New Jersey, from which latter place the connection with the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western road, at Bridgeville, about three miles distant, is made by stage; thence over a broad gauge track, by way of Delaware Water Gap, to Scranton, where cars are again changed and passengers brought down over the Lackawanna & Bloomsburg road to Kingston. Thirdly, the journey may be performed over the North Pennsylvania, Lehigh Valley, Beaver Meadow, and Hazleton roads to Eckley, thence seven miles by stage to White Haven, whence there is direct communication by rail with this place. The latter is much the shorter route, though, on account of the staging, is not so popular as it might otherwise be.

This town is one of the most pleasant in the State, delightfully situated upon a wide plateau, laid out with considerable taste and ample allowance of space, and contains

many handsome residences. Being a place much visited by summer tourists, it is rather deficient in hotel accommodations and attractions, and would doubtless sustain, in addition to the present houses, generally resorted to, (which are very good, but of limited capacity) a first-class hotel of modern construction, and containing such improvements and conveniences as travelers now-a-days regard as indispensable. At the head of such a house, Mr. Jack Gilchrist, the present attentive host of the Phoenix, would cater to the increased satisfaction of his guests, and doubtless with well merited benefit to himself.

There are quite a number of valuable improvements, in the way of building, now in progress here. A few months ago, a row of buildings of little value, facing the Public Square, was destroyed by fire, and a handsome block of brick stores is now being erected upon the site, and will, when completed, add much to the appearance of the locality, which is the center of business.

Messrs. Hollenback and Reets are putting up an iron front store, the first of the kind in the borough, which will be commodious for business purposes, as well as ornamental, and will probably prove the pioneer of other similar architectural enterprises.

The Luzerne County Court House, now nearly completed, is, and will probably be for some time the most noticeable edifice in the place. It is an unusual, if not novel, specimen of the court house architecture of Pennsylvania. The style is the Norman; the materials of the walls brick, trimmed with a fine granite from the vicinity; the beams and girders are of iron; the roof is of slate, and with the exception of flooring and furniture, the whole is fireproof. The front or transverse portion of the building is 104 feet in length, by 50 feet in depth, and affords, in the two principal stories, ample accommodations for the clerks, Prothonotary, Recorder, Sheriff, and other county and borough officers, grand jury rooms, and the like. The main building is occupied by the court room, which is one of the best

arranged and most commodious of which I have any knowledge. Neither in Philadelphia nor in New York is Justice so comfortably and luxuriously seated, and I doubt if anywhere those who come into the halls made sacred by her hoodwinked presence, whether as Judges or jurors, counsel, suitors, witnesses, or auditors, enjoy more ample space, more perfect ventilation, or more convenient means of ingress or egress than are enjoyed in this handsome temple of inland litigation. The narrow, crowded, noisome dens in which some of the courts of Philadelphia and New York are held, would seem to be designed for the trial of the health and lives of all the parties, as well as of the cases on the docket. Unless it be deemed expedient to render law as deleterious as it is expensive, it would be well if this Wilkes-Barre institution were generally resorted to as a model. The architect is a Mr. Wells of New York. I have forgotten his first name.

The Wyoming coal basin contains the most extensive deposit of anthracite known, and this, though not originally a mining town, has become the seat of very extensive and important mining operations, which will, it is to be hoped, yet add to the wealth and prosperity of the community, though under the present circumstances of depression to which not only here, but throughout the State, the mining interest is subjected, but little benefit is realized from the capital, skill and labor employed, and, perhaps, with a majority of the operators, the principal reason for continuing is that they lose less by going on than they would by stopping. The idea of making anything just now, by coal mining, seems to be entertained by none of those engaged in the business, with whom I have had an opportunity to converse. There is, however, sometimes expressed a hope, how well grounded I know not, that a better time is coming, when a truly national policy, fostering national industry by the simple expedient of protecting its products against foreign competition, will enable the miner to find a remunerative market for his coal, the farmer for his grain, and the

merchant for his goods. Whether or not the policy of protection to be the true one, it is not my design in this correspondence to argue, but I record as one of the facts most frequently brought to my notice, that the prevailing and almost universal sentiment expressed by practical men throughout the State, so far as my experience extends, is unqualifiedly in its favor. The question, indeed, is considered, and very properly so, as an economical and not a political one, and by whatever party name a man concerned in the industrial welfare of our Commonwealth may be known, he is certainly an avowed protectionist.

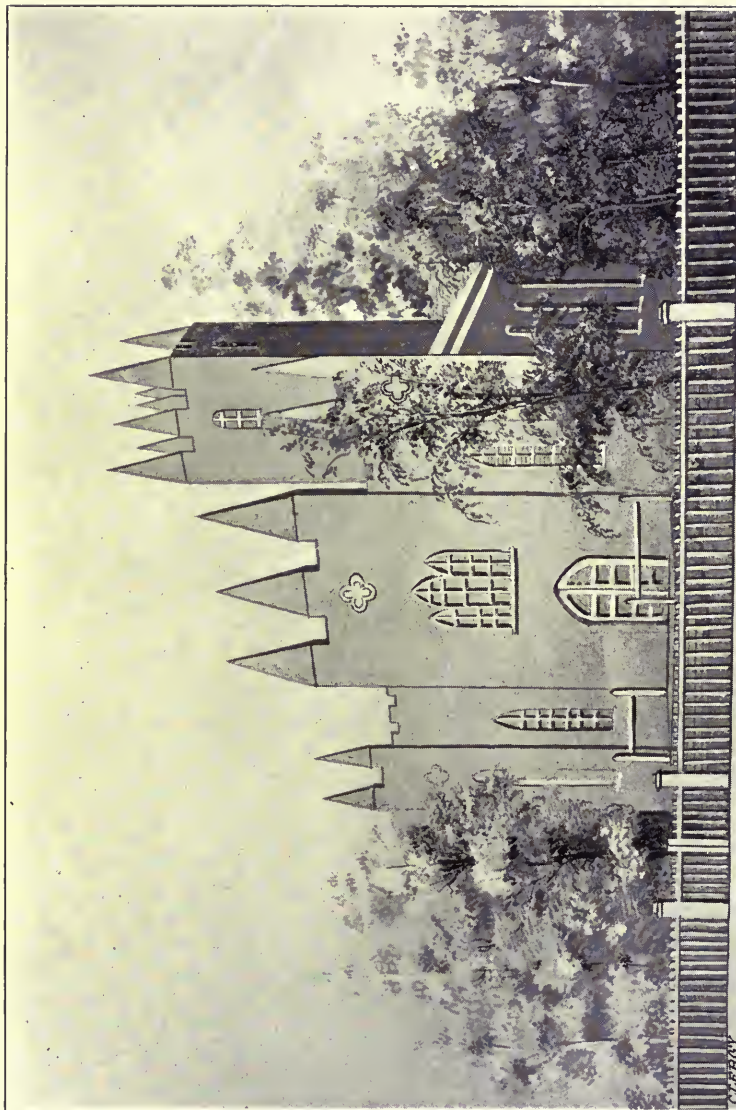
The mines in this region, considered merely as objects of curiosity and interest to the stranger, are scarcely less important than the historical reminiscences and romantic scenes from which the celebrity of the valley is principally derived. The coal veins are of surprising extent and richness, cropping out upon almost every hill, underlying the plains, and frequently concealed from the light of day by the slightest covering of superimposed strata. Horizontal, vertical, or dipping at every intermediate angle, they are worked, with greater or less facility, by every usual method. The tunnel, the slope, and the shaft are respectively employed, according to circumstances, and in some cases open quarries. Of the latter, perhaps, the most remarkable is that upon the lands of the Baltimore Company, about a mile from this borough. There a vein may be seen about twenty-eight feet in thickness, into which the miners have worked deeply, though on account of the dangerous character of the employment they work it no longer. A vast cave remains, through which the curious visitor may wander until weary, but the cracked and threatening appearance of the roof warns him of danger impending, notwithstanding the massive pillars of anthracite, the contents of either of which would stock a respectable city coal yard. Though this vein, which is one of the oldest operated in the vicinity, is no longer worked at the opening referred to, its contents are still reached and brought forth by other avenues, and the

various improvements of the company about the premises are among the best constructed and most valuable of the kind.

As the Baltimore vein is one of the oldest, so the Hollenback mine is one of the most recent of those opened hereabouts. It is in the immediate neighborhood of the former, and promises in time to become equally valuable. It is worked by a tunnel and a slope, the former already penetrating 1,200 feet into the bowels of the land, through a very fine vein. The same vein, which has a very steep, and in some places almost perpendicular dip, is again reached by a slope, from which a gangway extends into a still richer and purer bed of the mineral than that entered by the tunnel, three hundred feet above. I descended this slope upon a car so constructed that the platform remains level, while the track inclines at an angle of about 45 degrees. A longitudinal view of this car represents a right angled triangle, the apex of which is toward the mouth of the slope and the hypotenuse parallel to the track. At the Dundee works a shaft is being sunk, which has already reached a depth of 750 feet without having arrived at the vein sought for. There are numerous other operations within a few miles from Wilkes-Barre, from which, if the market were more favorable, an enormous supply might be derived. The amount now actually produced and sent to market, though large, can hardly compare with that from older and more favorably situated mines, and is much less than the capacity of the present means of transportation.

In beauty, fertility and mineral wealth; in the enterprise, refinement and intelligence of the inhabitants; in all that contributes to render a community happy, prosperous and respected, Wilkes-Barre and its environs are, perhaps, unequalled; and I have visited no place in the course of my wanderings, in which my sojourn was more pleasant, and from which I brought away more favorable impressions.

J. R. C.



CLERGY

- Rev. Samuel Sirogaves Jr.*
- " Ernoch Harrington*
- " James May*
- Walter J. Clark*
- Robert B. Claxton*
- " Charles D. Copper*
- " George D. Miles*

St. Stephen's Church

ABOUT 1850.

THE PARISH REGISTER OF ST. STEPHEN'S
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
WILKES-BARRE, PA.
1839—1866.

(Concluded from Volume XIV, page 262, of the Proceedings.)

The following Vital Statistics of this old Church, completing the record from 1822 to 1866, 76 pages, has far exceeded the expectation of the Editor. But the historic value of the data thus preserved and made public cannot be estimated, as it is the history of so large a part of the resident families of the Wyoming Valley for near half a century.

The Society is promised for future volumes the Vital Statistics of the First Methodist Church of Wilkes-Barre from 1820 to 1866, which, with what has already been printed in Volume V of the First Presbyterian Church, will almost entirely cover the family history of this section of Luzerne county.

H. E. H.

REGISTER OF CONFIRMATION.

1839. BY RT. REV. HENRY M. ONDERDONK, D. D.
Aug. 4. 1. Miss Annabella H. Clark.
2. Miss Frances Butler (Mrs. Shiras).
3. Miss Martha Bettle (Mrs. Sisty).
4. Miss Elizabeth Scott (Mrs. Claxton).
5. Mr. Jenks N. Sherman.
1841.
Aug. 15. 1. Mr. John N. Conyngham.
2. Mr. Volney L. Maxwell.
3. Mr. DeWitt Clinton Loop.
4. Mrs. Rachel Le Clerc.
5. Mrs. Ann T. Slocum.
6. Mrs. Ann Vernet.
7. Mrs. Mary Phinney.
8. Mrs. Sarah Myers.
9. Miss Jane Myers.
10. Miss Harriet Myers.
11. Miss Catherine Scott.
1842.
Dec. 4. 1. Mr. Frederick McAlpine.
2. Mr. Dennis Quillinan.
3. Mr. William W. Wallace.

4. Mrs. Esther Morris.
5. Mrs. Mary Dille.
6. Mrs. Rachel Woodcock.
7. Miss Jane White (Mrs. Frey).
8. Miss Mary Ann Hutchins.
9. Miss Eliza Roche Butler (Mrs. Totten).
10. Miss Sarah Sharpe.

1845.
Nov. 16.

BY RT. REV. ALONZO POTTER, D. D.

1. John Patterson.
2. Henry Colt, Jr.
3. George W. Woodward.
4. Isaac Bowman (in private).
5. Mrs. Hannah Detrick.
6. Mrs. Sarah H. Dana.
7. Mrs. Sarah Davidge.
8. Mrs. Mary Ann B. Wright.
9. Mrs. Nancy Severn.
10. Mrs. Gertrude Kröst.
11. Mrs. Rachel Ann McGuiggan.
12. Mrs. Mary B. Purden.
13. Miss Sarah F. Tracy.
14. Miss Hannah Bettle.
15. Miss Mary H. Collings.
16. Miss Sarah Hutchins.
17. Miss Sarah Young.

1848.
Aug. 30.

1. Mrs. Elizabeth Slocum.
2. Mrs. Hannah Hillard.
3. Mrs. Riley.
4. Miss Frances Bulkley.

1849.
Aug. 1.

1. Mrs. Leggett.
2. Mrs. Martha Streater.
3. Mrs. Ellen May Woodward.

1850.
July 10.

1. Mr. Asa Brundage.
2. Miss Elizabeth Bulkeley.
3. Miss Mary Conyngham.
4. Miss Rachel Sharpe.
5. Miss Cecelia Riley.
6. Miss Sarah Ann Thomas.
7. Miss Magdaline Schrader.

8. Miss Elizabeth Schrader.
9. Miss Rebecca Kaser Yarrington (in private).
10. Mrs. Maria Mills Fuller (at Honesdale).
- Aug. 4. 1851.
July 6. 1. James Lee Maxwell.
2. Abram Goodwin.
3. Miss Emily Horton.
4. Miss Ellen Scott.
1852.
Nov. 2. 1. Miss Mary Elizabeth Snow.
2. Mrs. Maria Harding.
3. Mrs. Jemima Turner.
4. Mr. John Turner.
5. Mr. Charles Myers.
1853.
June 20. 1. Henry Clay Mills.
2. Anna Maria Conyngnam.
3. Martha E. Kidder.
4. Elizabeth Sharpe.
5. Arabella Gray.
1855.
April 19. 1. Sarah I. Myers.
2. Martha Ann Myers.
3. Ellen G. Stout.
4. Catherine P. Dennis.
5. Anne V. Pierce.
6. Mary Elder.
7. Mary Hillard.
8. Cornelia B. Loop.
9. John Barber.
10. Herman G. A. Müller.
1856.
July 13. 1. Ebenezer W. Sturdevant.
2. E. Victoria Kidder.
3. Arabella D. Lewis.
1857.
Sept. 27. 1. Mrs. Rebecca D. Carey.
2. Mrs. Mary Reynolds.
3. Mrs. Elizabeth Collings.
4. Mrs. Amanda Teed.
5. Mrs. Julia Miner.
6. Mrs. Ruth Collings.
7. Mrs. Lucinda C. Myers.
8. Mrs. Isabella W. Bowman.

9. Mrs. Clementine Brodhun.
10. Miss Hannah Hackett.
11. Miss Sarah Hackett.
12. Miss Catherine Patten.
13. Miss Phebe Ann Carpenter.
14. Miss Sarah Morris.
15. Mr. Caleb F. Bowman.
16. Mr. E. B. Chase.
17. Mr. C. Edward Butler.

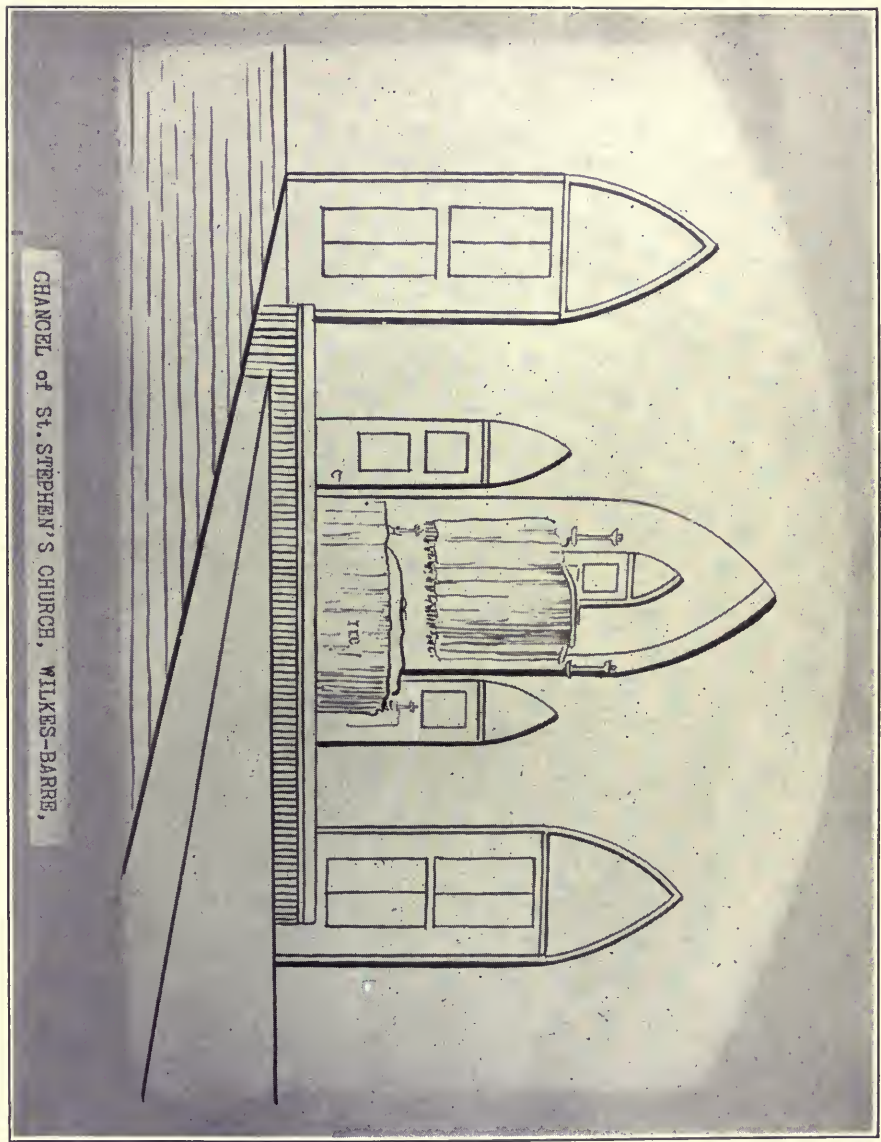
1859.
Jan. 30.

BY RT. REV. SAMUEL BOWMAN, D. D.

1. William S. Ross.
2. George Scott.
3. J. Quincy Ingham.
4. Stephen Y. Kittle.
5. Mrs. Sophia A. Kittle.
6. Mrs. Margaret Howe.
7. Sarah Nagle.
8. Sarah A. Dana.
9. Elizabeth C. Maxwell.
10. Mary O. Maxwell.
11. Jennat Jenkins.
12. Margaret Riley.
13. Catherine Mock (in private).

1860.
June 7.

1. Nathan G. Howe.
2. Geo. A. Lennard.
3. Agib Ricketts.
4. Samuel R. Marshall.
5. Mary Willets.
6. Emily J. Thornton.
7. Adelia A. Becker.
8. Martha Stanton.
9. Ellen Hoffman.
10. Kate Riley Snow.
11. Ruth Ann Reese.
12. Harriet Hillard.
13. Olivia Hillard.
14. Abi D. Slocum.
15. Ellen Brodrick.
16. Emma M. Brodrick.
17. Helen M. Reel.
18. Ellen Clary.
19. Elizabeth Wilson Cahoon (in private).



CHANCEL of St. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, WILKES-BARRE,

ARQU'T 1850.

1861.
Oct. 13. BY RT. REV. GEORGE BURGESS, D. D.

1. Phebe Ann Lester (in private).
2. Margaret Colt.
3. Temperance Chahoon.
4. Helen M. Gilchrist.
5. Sarah G. Leuffer.
6. Eleanor B. Beaumont.
7. Hortense Beaumont.
8. Alice M. Collings.
9. Julia B. Reichard.
10. Catherine F. Reichard.
11. Alice J. J. Argue.
12. Anna A. Argue.
13. Sarah B. Wragg.
14. Mary T. Roth.
15. Julia A. Elliott.
16. Emily Miner.
17. Samuel G. Turner.
18. Henry W. Palmer.
19. Charles L. Bulkley.

1862.
Oct. 26. BY RT. REV. WILLIAM BACON STEVENS, D. D.

1. Elizabeth Elliott.
2. Eliza Ross Miner.
3. Helen Catherine Titus.
4. Elizabeth Riley.
5. Anna Maria Carpenter.
[John C. Morris] of Friendsville, Susquehanna County.

1863.
June 27.

1. Lewis C. Paine.
2. Annie L. Paine.
3. Frederick Pickett.
4. Ann Pickett.
5. Welding F. Dennis.
6. J. Pryor Williamson.
7. Charles H. Kidder.
8. Amanda Butler.
9. Sophie Lippincott.
10. Ellen H. Wright.
11. Caroline G. Wright.
12. Martha Robinson.
13. Elizabeth W. Norton.

14. Amanda R. Cook.
15. Emily Dilley.
16. Grace E. Marshall.
17. Jennie E. Chase.
18. Susan Puterbaugh.
19. Mary Ann Ingham.

1864. BY RT. REV. ALONZO POTTER, D. D.
 Sept. 26.
 1. Josephine Gross Meyer.
 2. Amelta Esther Meyer.
 3. Mary Ann Pickett.
 4. Elizabeth Ann Hamilton.
 5. Margaret Caird.
 6. Charles H. Sturdevant.
 7. George Wilmot Gustin.
 8. Mrs. Chollett.

1866. BY RT. REV. THOMAS H. VAIL, D. D.
 May 8.
 1. Mr. Charles Miner Conyngham.
 2. Mrs. Helen Hunter Conyngham.
 3. Mr. Christopher Eldridge Hawley.
 4. Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Hawley.
 5. Mrs. Charlotte Latham Williamson.
 6. Mrs. Sarah Ann Preston.
 7. Miss Marian Wallace Preston.
 8. Miss Louise Stoeckel.
 9. Miss Ida Catherine Melissa Erdman.
 10. Miss Margaret Augusta Abeel.
 11. Miss Elizabeth Shoemaker Meyer.
 12. Miss Mary Harriet Woodward.
 13. Miss Margaret Shultz.
 14. Miss Elinor Lyons.
 15. Miss Lizzie Bolles Cooke.
 16. Miss Ebenezer Greenough.
 17. Miss Catherine Julana Shoemaker.

REGISTER OF BURIALS IN ST. STEPHEN'S, 1822-1865.

1822.
 November. Mrs. Sarah McCoy.
 Mrs. Ellenor Bowman.
 Mr. John Ellsworth.

1824.

January 17. Maurice Bywater; died January 15, 1824.

NOTE.—The Rev. George Lane, of the Methodist Society, read the burial service of the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Parish being at this time vacant.

David Scott, one of the Wardens of St. Stephen's Church.

March 19. Mrs. Oakley; died March 18, 1824. Buried in Kingston Yard.

March 23. Joseph McCoy, Esq.; died March 21, 1824, aged 33 years.

April 6. Infant child of A. Beaumont; died April 5, 1824, aged 3 months.

Child of — Edwards; aged 2 years.

Child of Pat'k Gormand.

1827.

April 3. — Gormand; aged 23 years.

March 13. Peleg Tracy, one of the Vestry; aged 57 years.

February 28. Dominique Germain; died February 27, 1827, aged 72 years.

Mrs. Harriet Wilson.

Mrs. — McGuiggin.

Mr. Isaac Haines.

Ebenezer Bowman, Esq.; died March 1, 1829, aged 72 years.

1830.

June 5. Infant daughter of Geo. C. Drake, Esq.; died June 3, 1830, aged 2 months.

1831.

Mrs. Santee.

August 10. Lucy, infant daughter of Dr. Atkins; aged 3 months.

August 22. Charles F. Bowman; died August 21, 1831, aged 6 years.

August 22. George Denison, Esq.; died August 31, 1831, aged 41 years.

1832.

November 18. Mrs. Catherine Scott; died November 15, 1832, aged 40 years.

1833.

April 14. James May Bettle; died April 13, 1833.

April 25. Mrs. Hannah H. McClintock; died April 23, 1833, aged 29 years.

May 12. Mrs. Abigail Drake; died May 10, 1833, aged 25 years.

June 12. Hannah H. McClintock; died June 9, 1833, aged 7 weeks.

June 13. Mary Ann Miner; died June 12, 1833. (Infant of Dr. Thomas W. Miner).

July 1. Mrs. Caroline Denison; died July 1, 1833, aged 35 years.

July 23. Susan Bowman; aged 17 months.

Samuel D. Bettle; died November 11, 1833.

1835.

February. Thomas Hutchins; aged 36 years.

1836.

January 25. Mrs. Mary Perry; aged 60 years.

February. Infant of Elijah Worthington.

April 22. Sarah, daughter of H. Pettebone; aged 8 years.

June 19. Mary, daughter of E. W. Sturdevant; aged 3½ years.

August 28. Infant daughter of — Reichart.

September 11. Infant daughter of W. H. Wells; aged 9 months.

September 18. Richard Sharpe; aged 54 years, 6 months.

1839.

April 18. Samuel Keyser; aged 21 years, 7 months.

May 9. James, son of Wm. and Catherine McNally; aged 10 months.

May 9. Hannah, wife of Thomas Collinson; aged 36 years.

July 25. Phoebe Young; aged 89 years.

December 31. Hon. David Scott; aged 57 years.

1840.

May. Charles Vernet; aged 21 years.

December 12. William Boice Scott; died December 9; aged 28 years, 3 months, 16 days; Church Yard.

December 18. John W. Robinson; died December 16; aged 61 years, 8 months, 11 days. Old Ground.

1841.

February 23. Randolph Montanya; died February 22; aged 18 years. Old Ground.

February 26. Benjamin L. Perry; died February 24; aged 26 years. Church Yard.

April 25. Egbert McAlpin; died April 23; aged 21 years, 6 months, 9 days. Old Ground.

October 7. Mrs. Rebecca J. Bull; died October 6; aged 69 years, 27 days. Old Ground.

November 7. Anna Sharpe; died November 6, aged 6 years, 8 months, 29 days. Church Yard.

1842.

January 17. Mrs. — Elder; died January 13, aged 67 years. Paxtangs Yard.

February 3. Mrs. Rachel Hollingsworth; died February 2, aged 46 years. Old Ground.

May 17. Mrs. Lucy E. Miner; died May 15, aged 35 years. Church Yard.

May 30. Mrs. Frances Feuerstein; died May 29, aged 65 years. Old Ground.

May 10. Mrs. James Linch; died May 9, aged 56 years. Old Ground.

July 10. Miss Elizabeth Barnes; died July 9, aged 16 years. Old Ground.

July 21. Mr. William B. Norton; died July 20, aged 34 years, 5 months, 21 days. Church Yard.

August 11. Gen. William Ross; died August 9, aged 82 years. Private ground. Warden of St. Stephen's.

August 21. Miss Mary Watson Dennison; died August 19, aged 18 years. Church Yard.

August 31. Thomas McKinley; died August 30, aged 1 year, 7 months. Plains.

Ada M. Bidlack; died August 30, aged 1 year. Old Ground.

September 30. John Carey Babcock; died September 29, aged 17 years. Old Ground.

October 23. Mrs. Martha D. Sturdevant; died October 20, aged 34 years. Old Ground.

November 13. Ralph Peters, Esq.; died November 11. Church Yard.

1843.

March 19. George B. Dennison; died March 11; aged 22 years, 7 months, 12 days. Church Yard. Candidate for Holy Orders.

May 2. Miss Sarah Barnes; died April 30; aged 15 years, 1 month, 18 days. Old Ground.

May 12. Norman J. Dennis; died May 11, aged 27. Church Yard.

May 23. Frederick Van Fleet; died May 21. Old Ground.

May 25. John Wallace; died May 24. Old Ground.

June 9. Jonathan Sinyard; died June 8. Old Ground.

- June 18. Benjamin Perry; died June 17. Church Yard.
 February. Mrs. R. Bethel Clayton; died February.
 July 10. Mrs. Catherine E. Titus; died July 8, aged 44.
 Old Ground.
 July 12. Mrs. Frances M. Strouper; died July 11, aged 85
 years. Church Yard.
 July 16. George T. Jackson; died July 15, aged 29 years.
 Church Yard.
 July 30. Lucy Miner Bowman; died July 29, aged 1 year.
 Church Yard.
 September 12. Eleazar Blackman; died September 10, aged
 78 years. Old Ground. Buried with Masonic honours.
 1844.
 February 3. Benton McNelly; died February 1, aged 11
 months. Old Ground.
 March 23. Mrs. — —Kithline; died March 21; aged 75
 years. Old Ground.
 June 1. Mrs. Julia Colt; died May 31. Church Yard.
 July 11. William Wilson; died July 10, aged 14 years, 3
 months. Old Ground.
 August 18. Mary Ann Woodfield; died August 26, aged 16
 years. Old Ground.
 August 20. Elizabeth Reichard; died August 19, aged 2
 months. Church Yard.
 August 21. Richard Patterson; died August 20, aged 2
 weeks. Old Ground.
 August 22. William Hannis; died August 21, aged 34 years.
 Old Ground.
 September 12. Lucretia Ann Chapman; died September,
 aged 21 years, 4 months.
 December 11. Jane Burnish; died December 9, aged 13
 months. Old Ground.
 December 19. Edward Ratheram; died December 18, aged
 50 years. Old Ground.
 December 28. Jacob Thomas; died December 25. Old
 Ground.
 1845.
 January 12. Mrs. Albertina Schroeder; died January 11,
 aged 52 years. Church Yard.
 January 25. John Hannis; died January 23, aged 71 years,
 5 months. Old Ground.
 February 8. Mrs. Ellen Williams; died February 6, aged
 26 years. Old Ground.

- February 26. Henry F. Lamb; died February 24, aged 61 years. Old Ground.
- April 1. Daniel Bristol Ward; died March 31, aged 3 years, 4 months. Old Ground.
- April 11. Charles Lewis; died April 10, aged 1 year, 11 months. Old Ground.
- June 7. Joseph Walker; died June 5. Old Ground.
- June 20. John M. Merrick; died June 28. Old Ground.
- July 13. John A. Merrick; died July 11, aged 1 year, 5 months. Old Ground.
- July 18. Agnes Wilson; died July 17, aged 15 days. Old Ground.
- August 15. Mrs. Mary Slocum; died July 13, aged 26 years. Old Ground.
- August 20. Sarah Ann Williams; died August 19, aged 14 months. Old Ground.
- November 7. Mrs. Sarah Barnes; died November 5, aged 58 years. Old Ground.
- November 7. Constance Merrick; died November 6, aged 3 years. Old Ground.
- November 15. Infant son of Benj. A. Bidlack; died November 14, aged 4 months. Old Ground.
- November 29. Henrietta W. Drake; died November 28, aged 6 years. Old Ground.
- December 26. Winfield Warner; died December 25, aged 3 years, 6 months. Old Ground.

1846.

- March 16. George Dalgarno. Old Ground.
- May 30. Mrs. Naomi Preston; died May 29, aged 75 years. Old Ground.
- June 7. Catherine Hillerd; died June 6, aged 6 years. Old Ground.
- July 17. Elizabeth Pettebone Streeter; died July 16, aged 6 weeks. Church Yard.
- July 18. Marietta Totten; died July 17, aged 10 months. Old Ground.

William Kingston Morris.

Mrs. — Dille.

1847.

- Mrs. Hannah Tracy.
- March 7. Mrs. Abi Dennies; died March 7, aged 55 years; wife of Col. Jacob J. Dennis; daughter of Judge Fell. Breeze.

March. Alexander Hamilton Bowman.

Thomas Riley.

April 7. Selida Hoffman.

April 11. Mary Riley; died April 9, aged 12 years.

April 16. William Sharps Pettibone; died April 15, aged 16 years.

April 29. Henry R. Worrall; died April 28; aged 6 months.

May 16. John C. Snow; died May 14, aged 41 years.

August 14. — Elliott; died August 13, aged 12 months.
1848.

July 23. Mrs. Esther Bowman; died July 21; aged 70 years.

August 30. Mr. John Trumbull Robinson; died August 28, aged 34 years.

November 5. Luke Floyd; died November, aged 45 years.

November 26. Mrs. Catherine S. Murdock; died November 24, aged 25 years.

1849.

April 3. Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Capt. Reichard; died April 2, aged 1 year.

July 11. J. Kesler West, of Philadelphia; died July 10, aged 21 years.

July 27. Mrs. Harriett Leavenworth; died July 25, aged 22 years.

November 26. Mr. Thomas Davidge; died November 25, aged 66 years.

1850.

January 21. Ellen May Woodward; died January 19, aged 14 years.

January 27. Mr. John Myers; died January 25, aged 59 years.

March 17. John Goodwin; died March 15, aged 28 years.

May 12. Dr. Thomas W. Drake; died May 10, aged 37 years.

June 6. Joseph, son of Capt. Reichard; died June 4, aged 9 months.

June 26. Jane, daughter of Wm. Patten; died June 24, aged 14 years.

July 24. Thomas Andrew, son of Wm. Patten; died July 23, aged 6 months.

August 2. Gen. Isaac Bowman; died August 1, aged 77 years.

September 1. David George Denison; died August 28, aged 2 years.

- September 6. Thomas Wilson; died September 5, aged 3 years.
- September 13. Jane Lambert; died September 11, aged 70 years.
- October 4. Mary Roughsedge; died October 3, aged 27 years.
- November 10. Rebecca K. Yarrington; died November 7, aged 36 years.
- November 18. Elizabeth Turner; died November 16.
- December 17. Samuel Bertels; died December 16, aged 4 months.
- March 24. Isaac William Prosser; died March 22, aged 15 years.
- May 13. Sarah Griswold; died May 11, aged 75 years.
- June 2. Hannah Patten; died May 31, aged 3 years.
- June 14. John Turner, Jr.; died June 12, aged 19 years.
- June 27. Catherine Snow; died June 26, aged 46 years.
- July 18. Thaddeus Hillard Lynch; died July 17, aged 3 months.
- August 9. Frances Randolph; died August 6, aged 38 years.
- August 23. Emma Frances Mills; died August 21, aged 8 months.
- 1852.
- January 16. William Henry Ensign; died January 14, aged 3 years.
- January 20. John Manley; died January 19, aged 3 years.
- January 30. Elizabeth Elliott; died January 29, aged 3 months.
- March 10. Elizabeth Manley; died March 8, aged 8 months.
- March 29. William Reichard; died March 28, aged 4 months.
- July 23. Charles Roth; died July 22, aged 6 years.
- July 25. Henry, son of S. G. Miner; died July 24; aged 6 years.
- August 23. James Riley; died August 22, aged 12 years.
- September 11. Catherine Coleman; died September 10, aged 63 years.
- September 15. David Richards Horton; died September 14, aged 14 months.
- October 7. James Dudley Eichelberger; died October 5, aged 7 months.
- December 8. Rachel Sharpe; died December 6.
- December 17. Joseph Cook; died December 15, aged 24 years.

1853.

- January 9. Theodore Anson Mordecai; died January 8, aged 3 months.
 January 14. Nancy Chapman; died January 12, aged 53 years.
 January 23. Eleazer Carey; died January 20, aged 68 years.
 March 18. Alfred B. Withers; died March 17, aged 10 months.
 August 8. Cornelius Coleman; died August 7, aged 71 years.
 August 11. Dallas Bache Bowman; died August 10, aged 2 months.

1854.

- January 15. Joseph W. Potter; died January 12, aged 33 years.
 February 4. Benjamin Worden; died February 3, aged 45 years.
 March 1. Ellen Louisa Hay; died February 28, aged 1 year.
 March 19. John Hunt; died March 17, aged 27 years.
 April 22. James Quinn; died April 21, aged 24 years.
 July 27. Dennis W. Hillery; died July 26, aged 13 years.
 August 5. Frederick McAlpin; died August 3, aged 36 years.
 August 6. Thomas Hay; died August 5, aged 29 years.
 August 27. Martha Ann Stoops; died August 26, aged 4 months.
 August 30. Caroline Ellison; died August 29, aged 10 years.
 September 1. Thomas W. Klipple; died August 31, aged 6 years.
 September 3. Sarah Elizabeth Klippel; died September 2, aged 2 years.
 October 2. Luther Kidder; died September 31, aged 46 years.
 October 1. Charlotte Baker; died September 30, aged 35 years.
 October 4. Peter Allabach; died October 2, aged 70 years.
 October 12. Daniel Collings; died October 10.
 October 15. Mary Miner; died October 13, aged 7 years.
 November 15. Elizabeth Roughsedge; died November 14, aged 28 days.

1855.

- February 21. Emma Bauer ; died February 20, aged 2 years.
February 28. Susan Bauer ; died February 26 ; aged 3 years.
April 14. John Cook ; died April 12 ; aged 18 years.
April 28. Sarah Newcomb ; died April 26, aged 9 months.
May 13. Esther Ann Ward ; died May 10.
May 14. Charles F. Ingham ; died May 13, aged 3 years.
May 17. Waters Smith ; died May 15.
June 17. Joseph H. Myers ; died June 15, aged 33 years.
August 17. Eugene Mordecai ; died August 16, aged 6 years.
September 25. Sarah Overholtz ; died September 23.
September 30. Patrick McGuigan ; died September 29.
November 16. Caroline Diettrich ; died November 14, aged 3 years.
January 4. Sylvia A. Tracy ; died January 3, aged 5 months.
January 10. Samuel Holland ; died January 7, aged 73 years.
February 14. Elizabeth Wearmouth ; died February 12, aged 54 years.
February 18. Rachel Ann McGuigan ; died February 16, aged 73 years.
April 8. Henry Goodwin Denison ; died April 6, aged 2 years.

1856.

- May 13. Ann Robinson ; died May 11.
June 27. Cornelia Burton Loop ; died June 25.
July 10. Julia Riley ; died June 9, aged 6 months.
August 17. Robert Newcomb ; died August 16 ; aged 47 years.
September 3. Rosalia B. Tracy ; died September 2 ; aged 21 years.
September 12. Rachel M. Le Clerc ; died September 11.
September 18. Milicent Lane ; died September 16, aged 53 years.
October 30. Robert Miner ; died October 28.
October 31. Rebecca Shrader ; died October 29.
Captain Francis L. Bowman ; died August, 1856, aged 43 years.

1857.

- January 16. John Liggett ; died January 14, aged 66 years.
January 18. William Patten ; died January 16, aged 5 years.

- January 22. John Severn; died January 20, aged 69 years.
 March 1. Ruth Horton; died February 28, aged 9 years.
 March 10. Magdalena Riesz; died March 7, aged 35 years.
 March 10. Michael Burk [Beck]; died March, aged 45 years.
 March 27. Ellen Burk; died March 26, aged 2 years.
 April 6. Mary Riley; died April 5, aged 50 years.
 March 31. Catherine Scott Woodward; died May 28, aged 35 years.
 September 30. Martin Bauer; died September 28, aged 3 years.
 October 4. John Sharpe; died October 2, aged 13 months.
 October 9. Lydia Trott; died October 6, aged 81 years.
 October 19. Mary Elizabeth Carpenter; died October 17, aged 18 years.
 1858.
 January 15. William R. Marshall; died January 13; aged 1 year.
 February 11. Elizabeth May Brundage; died February 9, aged 1 year.
 February 16. Emma Adelia Howe; died February 14, aged 47 years, 9 months.
 March 9. Ellen Elliott; died March 8, aged 1 year.
 March 13. Gilbert G. Teed; died January 18, aged 32 years.
 April 10. Emily Walker; died April 8.
 June 7. Isabella Brodhun; died June 5, aged 2 months.
 June 21. Elizabeth Streater; died June 18, aged 76 years.
 November 24. Dr. Thomas W. Miner; died November 21, aged 55 years.
 March 5. Frank Teas Sturdevant; died March 3, aged 1 year, 11 months.
 March 16. Halsey Brower; died March 13.
 1859.
 April 9. Catherine Stevens; died April 7.
 May 4. Alonzo Rhodes; died May 12, aged 2 years, 4 months.
 July 18. Elizabeth Shrader; died July 17, aged 36 years.
 October 13. Ann Vernet; died October 11, aged 79 years.
 November 2. Charles Erdman; died October 29, aged 8 years.
 1860.
 February 4. Mary Lee Paine; died February 2, aged 6 years.

- February 4. Virginia Barrett; died February 2, aged 7 years.
- February 29. Jonathan J. Slocum; died February 25, aged 45 years.
- March 24. Ellen May Woodward; died March 23, aged 1 year, 10 months.
- June 2. Harry Brodrick; died May 31.
- August 7. Samuel Lines; died August 6, aged 57 years.
- August 14. Ellen Howe; died August 13, aged 10 years.
- 1860.
- September 5. Mary Ellen Bowman; died September 3, aged 18 years.
- September 8. Ellen Elizabeth Barber; died September 7, aged 5 years.
- September 29. Susan E. Winchester; died September 27, aged 1 year, 3 months.
- October 24. Elizabeth Bulkeley; died October 21, aged 32 years.
- November 30. Margaret M. Relator; died November 28, aged 4 years.
- December 2. Margaret Colt Johnson; died November 30, aged 3 years, 4 months.
- December 19. William Potfield Lockyear; died December 17, aged 3 months.
- December 21. Daniel Mordecai; died December 20, aged 6 months.
- December 25. Charles Robinson Wright; died December 23, aged 6 years, 7 months.
- 1861.
- January 10. William Vernet; died January 8, aged 53 years.
- January 10. Charles Tracy; died January 8, aged 61 years.
- January 15. George Rhodes; died January 13, aged 11 months.
- January 21. Emma C. Jones; died January 19, aged 8 years, 9 months.
- February 17. John Lockyear; died February 12.
- February 19. Florence Ellen Mordecai; died February 17, aged 2 years, 4 months.
- February 20. Ellen Scott; died February 18, aged 34 years.
- March 29. Melinda Collings; died March 28, aged 68 years.
- April 16. Elizabeth W. Chahoon; died April 14, aged 49 years.
- May 6. Thomas Steele; died May 5, aged 1 day.

- May 8. Henry Pettebone; died May 4, aged 59 years.
 May 30. Catherine Mock; died May 29.
 June 3. Matilda Woodworth; died June 1, aged 3 years.
 June 6. Isaac Gray; died June 5.
 June 7. Jacob Teetor; died June 5, aged 54 years.
 July 5. William H. Elliott; died July 3, aged 44 years.
 August 30. Emma Van Loon; died August 29, aged 3 months.
 August 31. Carrie Lucetta Marcy; died August 30, aged 1 year.
 September 16. William A. Lester; died September 15, aged 4 months.
 September 24. Thomas Dyer; died September 21, aged 90 years, 8 months.
 September 28. George Scott; died September 26, aged 32 years.
 October 17. Burdette Winchester; died October 16, aged 7 months.
 November 2. Elizabeth Sligh; died November 30, aged 9 years, 8 months.
 1862.
 January 19. Phebe Ann Lester; died January 17, aged 22 years.
 January 20. Frances Smith; died January 18, aged 1 year.
 March 28. Susan Allobach Drake; died March 27, aged 40 years.
 May 20. Joseph Wright; died May 18, aged 24 years.
 May 23. Mary S. Scott; died May 21, aged 67 years.
 August 17. Thompson Bubble; died August 16, aged 4 months.
 Sept. 18. John Steele; died September 17, aged 6 years.
 September 21. Lucinda Myers; died September 20; aged 11 months.
 September 28. Marian Hendrick Hawley; died September 26, aged 8 months.
 October 10. Leah Sturdevant Marcy; died October 9, aged 7 months.
 October 21. Bainbridge Smith Wheeler; died October 19, aged 1 year, 9 months.
 December 14. Arabella Benning; died December 12, aged 24 years.

1863.

- February 4. Mary Reynolds; died February 2.
February 15. Annie Penn Lynch; died February 11, aged 3 years 3 months.
March 20. Ellen Augusta Myers; died March 19, aged 6 years.
April 13. Augusta Kane; died April 12, aged 4 years, 10 months.
April 28. Mrs. ——— Huston; died April 27, aged 38 years.
June 10. Daniel Griffiths; died June 9, aged 45 years.
June 12. Mary Ann Marcy; died June 10, aged 54 years.
June 22. George A. Chase; died June 20, aged 26 years.
July 19. Joseph Tyson Preston; died July 19, aged 57 years.
July 27. Mary Le Clerc Winchester; died July 26, aged 5 months.
August 2. Hiram Denison; died July 30, aged 4 years.
September 27. Mary Ann Relator; died September 26, aged 35 years.
October 8. Jane Weightman; died October 6, aged 76 years.
October 8. Hortense Beaumont; died October 4.
October 9. Joseph L. Tucker; died October 8.
October 11. Joseph Weightman; died October 8, aged 73 years.
October 12. Dr. Charles Streater; died October 10, aged 82 years.
October 25. Louise Albatine Holms; died October 24, aged 9 months.
November 3. Elizabeth Hutchins; died November 1, aged 35 years.
November 6. Maria Corbett; died November 4, aged 8 years.
November 22. Maria W. Ward; died November 19, aged 60 years.
December 3. George Marsh; died December 1, aged 46 years.
December 6. Peter Hass, a little infant at South Wilkes-Barre.
December 24. Catherine Cook; died December 22, aged 14 years.

1864.

- January 19. Theodore Titus; died January 16, aged 69 years.
- February 9. Harriet Victoria Myers; died February 8, aged 9 months.
- February 14. Alice Gray; died February 12.
- February 18. Ezra B. Chase; died February 15, aged 36 years.
- February 19. Amanda L. Cody; died February 16, aged 24 years.
- March 6. Augusta March; died March 4, aged 28 years.
- March 15. Sarah Myers; died March 12, aged 27 years, 9 months.
- March 22. Samuel Wambold; died March 19, aged 61 years.
- March 23. Edith Mordecai; died March 20, aged 1 year.
- March 24. Rosana Van Why; died March 22, aged 3 years.
- March 28. Francis Scott; died March 27, aged 1 year.
- March 30. Elizabeth Sheppard; died March 27, aged 88 years.
- March 30. Deborah Tracy; died March 27, aged 80 years.
- April 5. Stephen F. Kittle; died April 3, aged 3 years.
- April 9. Elizabeth Metcalf; died April 8, aged 64 years.
- May 16. Sarah M. Bowman; died March 14.
- July 9. Leslie Lyons; died July 7, aged 38 years.
- July 18. Arthur Montgomery Moore; died July 16, aged 5 months.
- July 22. Maxwell Graham; died July 20, aged 4 months.
- July 24. Jane Floyd; died July 23, aged 10 years.
- August 3. Jemima Turner; died August 1, aged 71 years; wife of John Turner and daughter Col. Edward Inman.
- August 3. Stella Elizabeth Myers; died August 2, aged 5 months.
- August 25. John Barber; died August 23, aged 56 years.
- August 26. Florence McDonald Sterling; died August 24, aged 5 months.
- September 1. Adelia W. Maffet, wife of Wm. R. Maffet; died August 29, aged 39 years.
- September 14. Margaret Abel; died September, aged 72 years.
- September 19. Elizabeth, wife of Rev. Geo. D. Miles; died September 16, aged 44 years.
- September 30. James Carp; died September, aged 8 months.

- October 6. Harrison Johnson; died October 4, aged 7 months.
- October 13. Lucy Louisa Roth; died October 11, aged 1 year.
- November 4. Willie Smith; died November 3, aged 7 months.
- November 28. Alfred W. Newcomb; died November 26, aged 19 years.
- December 2. Jane Campbell; died November 30, aged 70 years [daughter of Rev. John Campbell, D. D., confirmed by Bishop White in St. Stephen's, 1823.]
- 1865.
- January 11. Sherman Nelson Paine; died January 9, aged 2 years, 4 months.
- January 12. Dennis Kelley; died January 9, aged 68 years.
- February 22. Emily Lindsley Sterling; died February 18, aged 2 years, 7 months.
- March 1. Jane E. Stockey; died February 26, aged 20 years.
- April 15. — Davis; died April 13.
- April 20. Elizabeth Price; died April 18, aged 18 years.
- July 14. James Phillips; died July 12, aged 27 years.
- July 22. James Hamilton; died July 21; aged 11 months.
- July 24. Betsy Price; died July 22, aged 62 years.
- August 1. Lazarus Denison; died July 30, aged 1 year.
- August 3. John Leonard; died August 1, aged 1 month.
Edwin Tracey; aged 72 years.
- September 12. Thomas Wilson; died September 12, aged 31 years.
- September 14. John Gaw; died September 13, aged 28 years. These two burned by fire damp.
- September 21. Celia Susan Warner; died September 20, aged 5 months.
- October 11. Mrs. — Mordecai.
- December 11. Mrs. (Col. W.) Elizabeth Lee; died December 8, aged 76 years.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

DECEASED MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

BY OSCAR J. HARVEY, HISTORIOGRAPHER.

MISS LUCY W. ABBOTT,

elected a Life Member in 1900, was born in Plains Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, November 25, 1833, and died December 3, 1914, at her home in Wilkes-Barre, where she had lived for about fifty years. She was the second child and elder daughter of John and Hannah (Courtright) Abbott, members of early and well-known Wyoming Valley families. John Abbott was a grandson of John Abbott, a native of Windham County, Connecticut, who settled in Wilkes-Barre in March, 1772. He took part in the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778, and escaped from the bloody field, only to be killed and scalped by Indians some five or six weeks later.

WILLIAM MURRAY ALEXANDER,

elected in 1895, was born in Wilkes-Barre August 26, 1848, and died there February 18, 1912. He was the sixth child and second son of William Hibbard and Maria (Ulp) Alexander. William Hibbard Alexander, born November 19, 1805, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was a grandson of Cyprian Hibbard, an early Connecticut settler in Hanover Township, Wyoming Valley, who was killed at the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778. William H. Alexander, who, for the greater part of his life, resided in Wyoming Valley (where he died May 3, 1864), was a well-known civil engineer and farmer. He was a member of this Society. William M. Alexander was a successful farmer up to the time of his death. He was married in 1889 to Frances Stewart Pfouts of Wyoming County, Pennsylvania, who survived him.

GEORGE SLOCUM BENNETT,

elected in 1892; Life Member, 1906, and "Benefactor", was born at Wilkes-Barre August 17, 1842, and died there January 2, 1910. He was the youngest child of the Hon. Ziba and Hannah Fell (Slocum) Bennett, a grandson of Judge Joseph Slocum, and a great-grandson of Judge Jesse Fell, of Wilkes-Barre. Ziba Bennett (1800-1878), a prominent and successful merchant and banker and a pillar of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Wilkes-Barre for many years, was commissioned an Associate Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County in 1842. He was one of the founders of The Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barre, and was its President from July, 1868, until January, 1878.

George Slocum Bennett was graduated at Wesleyan University in 1864 with the degree of A. B.; receiving the degree of A. M. in 1867. Locating in Wilkes-Barre he soon became actively and prominently engaged in business affairs. He was a Director of The Wyoming National Bank from December, 1864, and its President from February 13, 1895, until his death. He was Superintendent of the Sunday School of the First Methodist Episcopal Church for upwards of forty years, and during nearly all of that period was actively identified with a considerable number of other organizations and institutions of importance located in Wyoming Valley and elsewhere. He was married in September, 1871, to Ellen Woodward, daughter of the Rev. Reuben and Jane S. (Eddy) Nelson of Kingston, Pa. Mr. Bennett was survived by his wife, two sons and a daughter.

LUTHER CURRAN DARTE,

elected in 1884, was born at Dundaff, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, October 27, 1842, and died May 1, 1913, at his home in Kingston, Pennsylvania, where he had resided for forty years or more. He was the second son of Alfred and Ann Elizabeth (Cone) Darte. Alfred Darte (1810-1883) served in the Civil War as Captain of Co. M, 4th Pennsylvania Volunteer Cavalry, from October, 1861, until December 4, 1862, when, on account of wounds received at the battle of Antietam, he resigned his commission. In 1863 he was sent by the Government to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where he organized and commanded a regiment

of Sioux Indians. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County November 2, 1846, and was District Attorney of the Mayor's Court of Carbondale in 1871 and 1873, and Recorder of the same Court in 1872 and 1874.

Luther C. Darté served (first, as a private, later, promoted Sergeant) in the 4th Pennsylvania Cavalry—mentioned above—from August, 1861, until October, 1864. Some years later he located in Kingston, and engaged in business there and in Wilkes-Barre. For some time—until within about five years of his death—he conducted an extensive insurance business. He was very active—as a Republican—in political affairs, and served a three-year term (1879-'81) as one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County. He was a member of the Masonic Fraternity, the G. A. R., the Sons of Veterans, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and other societies. He was twice married: (1) in 1871 to Isabel Abbott Lockhart, who died in 1895; (2) in 1898, to Josephine Stadler, who, with a son by his first wife, survived him.

ALEXANDER GRAY FELL, M. D.,

elected in 1895, was born in Wilkes-Barre April 20, 1861, and died there suddenly on May 1, 1913. He was the second son and youngest child of Daniel Ackley and Elizabeth (Gray) Fell, and a grandson of Alexander Gray (prominent as a coal operator, merchant and banker), of Wilkes-Barre. Daniel A. Fell (1817-1897) was a successful building contractor for a number of years, during which period many important buildings in Wyoming Valley (for example, the Luzerne County Court House, begun in 1856) were erected under his supervision.

Alexander G. Fell was graduated at Princeton University with the degree of B. S. in 1884, and three years later received from the University of Pennsylvania the degree of M. D. He established himself as a physician and surgeon in Wilkes-Barre and ere long acquired a large practise. In 1890 he became a member of the staff of the Wilkes-Barre City Hospital. For a number of years he took a leading and very active part in Luzerne County politics. He was a member of various medical societies, and of the Masonic Fraternity. He was married November 14, 1901, to Rena Maude Howe of Scranton, who, with one daughter, survived him.

THE HON. GEORGE STEELE FERRIS,

elected in 1898, was born in Pittston, Pennsylvania, April 28, 1849, and died at his home in West Pittston April 1, 1913. He was the eldest child of Edwin Fitzgerald and Margaret (Steele) Ferris, and a great-grandson of George Palmer Ransom of Plymouth, Wyoming Valley, who served in the Continental Army from September, 1776, till the close of the Revolutionary War. Subsequently he was Lieutenant Colonel of the 35th Regiment, Pennsylvania Militia.

Edwin F. Ferris (1822-1877) was a member of the original faculty of Wyoming Seminary, established at Kingston, Pa., in September, 1844. Later he was engaged in business in Pittston, and then held a position in a Government department at Washington, D. C.

George S. Ferris was graduated with the degree of A. B. at Allegheny College, Pennsylvania, in 1869, and in 1871 was graduated at Columbian University Law School, Washington. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County February 10, 1872, and practised his profession in Pittston and Wilkes-Barre until November, 1900, when he was elected a Judge of the Luzerne County Courts for a term of ten years. He was a member of the Order of Elks, and of Westmoreland Club, Wilkes-Barre. He was married September 1, 1875, to Ada C. Stark of West Pittston, who, with one son, survived him.

GEORGE HOLLENBACK FLANAGAN,

elected in 1895, was born in Lehman Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, February 4, 1854, and died at his home in Kingston, Luzerne County, January 10, 1915. He was the eldest son of Lorenzo D. and Emily (Ide) Flanagan. Lorenzo D. Flanagan, at the time of his marriage (in April, 1853), was a merchant in Lehman Township. In 1849 and '50 he had been a clerk in The Wyoming Bank of Wilkes-Barre, of which George M. Hollenback was President. About 1871 Mr. Flanagan became a member of the firm of J. B. Wood, Flanagan & Co., which was engaged in the banking business in Wilkes-Barre for a number of years thereafter.

George H. Flanagan was educated at Wyoming Seminary, and upon finishing his studies there became a clerk in the bank of J. B. Wood, Flanagan & Co., mentioned above. For some time about 1880 he was Cashier of the Ashley Savings Bank, and then was Teller in the People's Bank, Wilkes-Barre. He became a clerk in the Wyoming National Bank, Wilkes-Barre, in January, 1883, and from that time until his death continued in the employ of the bank—being its Cashier from and after December 1, 1886. He was a member of the Masonic Fraternity, the Order of Elks, the Wyoming Valley Country Club and Westmoreland Club, of Wilkes-Barre. He was survived by his wife (Julia, daughter of Edwin Davenport, of Plymouth, Pa.) and one daughter.

THOMAS GRAEME,

elected in 1887, was born at Richmond, Virginia, in 1844, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre March 10, 1911. He was the son of John Graeme, of Scottish descent, who was a merchant in Richmond for a considerable number of years. Thomas Graeme served as a soldier in the Confederate States army during the American Civil War, after which he studied law and was admitted to the Bar in North Carolina. Some years later he became an insurance adjuster, and in this vocation was largely engaged until the near the close of his life. During the last twenty years, or more, of his life he resided in Wilkes-Barre, where, on December 18, 1872, he had been married to Ellen Hendrick, daughter of the Hon. Hendrick B. and Mary Ann (Robinson) Wright of Wilkes-Barre. Mr. Graeme was a member of Westmoreland Club and the Wyoming Valley Country Club of Wilkes-Barre, as well as a member of this Society.

Thomas and Ellen H. (Wright) Graeme became the parents of one son—Joseph Wright Graeme. Graduating at the Annapolis Naval Academy in 1897, he served as an officer of the navy during the Spanish-American War. He was promoted Lieutenant in 1903, and in April, 1906, while in the line of duty, was killed by an explosion on the U. S. S. Kearsarge. He was a Life Member of this Society. (See "Proceedings and Collections" of this Society, XI: 232.)

HENRY HARRISON HARVEY,

elected in 1872; a Life Member, and from 1890 till 1896 a Trustee, of this Society, was born at West Nanticoke, Wyoming Valley, September 30, 1840, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre February 4, 1915. He was the third child and younger son of Jameson and Mary (Campbell) Harvey, and a great-grandson of Benjamin Harvey (an early Connecticut settler in Wyoming Valley, and a soldier during the Revolutionary War) and also of Capt. Lazarus Stewart, a Wyoming settler who was slain at the battle of Wyoming. Jameson Harvey (1796-1885) was engaged in coal-mining operations at West Nanticoke from 1828 till 1871, being the owner of the "Harvey Mine". During a part of this period he was engaged also in farming and in mercantile pursuits, and in the manufacture and sale of lumber. He was a Life Member of this Society.

Henry Harrison Harvey was educated at Wyoming Seminary, Edgehill School, New Jersey, and Franklin and Marshall College, Pennsylvania.

From 1861 (upon leaving college) till 1871 he assisted in carrying on his father's mining operations. Then, with his brother, he conducted in Plymouth an extensive lumber business. Later, until his death, he was engaged in real estate, street railway and banking affairs. He was a director in various corporations—notably the First National Bank of Plymouth and the Anthracite Savings Bank of Wilkes-Barre. He was a member of the Masonic Fraternity. He was married April 15, 1885, to Jennie Josephine DeWitt, of Belleville, New Jersey, who, with four daughters, survived him.

F. LEE HOLLISTER, D. D. S.,

elected in 1895, was born August 16, 1846, in Middletown, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre January 24, 1912. He was the eldest child of Frederick P. and Alice B. (Young) Hollister, and a grandson of Cuza Hollister of Connecticut. Frederick P. Hollister (1820-1902) was a merchant, farmer and tanner, and served a term as Sheriff of Susquehanna County. F. Lee Hollister was educated at the Montrose (Pa.) Academy and the Pennsylvania College of Dental Surgery, Philadelphia. Graduating at the latter institution in 1879 with

the degree of D. D. S., he practised his profession at Tunkhannock and then at Towanda, Pennsylvania, until 1886, when he located in Wilkes-Barre. He was a member of the Masonic Fraternity. He was married September 10, 1869, to Lillie Baker of Susquehanna County, who, with a son and a daughter, survived him.

EDMUND HURLBUT,

elected in 1904, was born at Arkport, New York, November 20, 1826, and died at Kingston, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, October 30, 1912. He was the second child of Christopher Hurlbut, Jr., and his wife, Ellen Tiffany. Christopher Hurlbut, Jr. (1794-1875) was the son of Christopher Hurlbut, Sr., of Wyoming Valley, and a grandson of "Deacon" John Hurlbut, who was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, a Selectman and Justice of the Peace in Westmoreland (Wyoming), and a Representative from Westmoreland in the General Assembly of Connecticut. Christopher Hurlbut, Sr. (1757-1831), removed with his family from Wyoming Valley to Arkport, N. Y., in 1797.

Edmund Hurlbut located about 1881 in Sheridan, Wyoming, where he resided until 1898, and then removed to Kingston, Pennsylvania. He was an industrious and intelligent student concerning monetary and economic matters, and wrote and published many articles on those subjects. He was married April 22, 1875, to Eliza R. Tiffany.

GEORGE BRUBAKER KULP,

elected in 1881; Life Member, 1915; was born at Reamstown, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, February 11, 1839, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre February 15, 1915. He was the son of Eli Sellers and Susanna (Bren-eiser) Kulp. Eli Sellers Kulp (1800-1849) was a native of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, but was, for the greater part of his life, a resident of St. Georges, Delaware, where, for a number of years prior to his death, he was a school teacher. George B. Kulp located in Luzerne County in 1858, and began the study of law in the office of Lyman Hakes, Esq., at Wilkes-Barre. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County August 20, 1860, and in the following October was elected Register of

Wills of Luzerne County for a term of three years. In 1863 he was re-elected for a second term. He was a School Director in Wilkes-Barre from 1865 till 1876; Assistant Assessor of Internal Revenue, 1867-1869; member of the Wilkes-Barre City Council, 1876-1882.

In January, 1872, Mr. Kulp established the "Luzerne Legal Register," a weekly pamphlet devoted to legal affairs. This publication Mr. Kulp owned, edited and issued until January, 1904. One of the features of the "Register" for a number of years was a series of biographical sketches of the judges and lawyers of the counties of Luzerne and Lackawanna. These sketches Mr. Kulp subsequently collected and published in three 8 vo. volumes bearing the title "Families of the Wyoming Valley". In February, 1877, he was one of the founders of "The Leader," a weekly newspaper published in Wilkes-Barre. He was Historiographer of this Society for several years. He was married October 4, 1864, to Mary E., daughter of John and Elizabeth A. (Williams) Stewart of Luzerne County, and they became the parents of five sons and one daughter.

WILLIAM ARTHUR LATHROP,

elected in 1892; Life Member, 1913; was born in Springville, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, August 4, 1854, and died at the Wilkes-Barre City Hospital April 12, 1912, following an operation for appendicitis. He was the second child of Dr. Israel Burchard and Mary Elizabeth (Bolles) Lathrop. Dr. Lathrop (1821-1900) was a native of Susquehanna County, and spent his whole life there. He was graduated at the Albany (N. Y.) Medical College, and then, for more than half a century, practised as a physician and surgeon at Springville and thereabouts.

William A. Lathrop was graduated at Lehigh University with the degree of C. E. in 1875. Subsequently he pursued a course in mining engineering, and received from his Alma Mater the degree of M. E. For several years he was employed by the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company as a civil engineer, and then, from 1879 until February, 1888, was actively engaged in engineering work and in superintending coal and iron mining operations in various localities. From February, 1888, until May, 1902, he was Superintendent and General Manager of the Lehigh Valley Coal

Company. Then he became President of the Pennsylvania Coal and Coke Company, whose principal office was in Philadelphia. His home, however, was in Dorranceton, Wyoming Valley. In 1905 or '06 he was made President of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company. At the time of his death Mr. Lathrop was a Trustee of Lehigh University; a Director of the People's Bank, Wilkes-Barre, and a member of the University Club of Philadelphia and Westmoreland Club, Wilkes-Barre. He was married March 21, 1881, to Harriet Eliza Williams, who, with one daughter, survived him.

GEORGE WASHINGTON LEACH, SR.,

elected in 1896, was born at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on Washington's birthday, 1824, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre April 30, 1912. He was the eldest son of Isaiah and Eliza (Kelly) Leach, and a great-grandson of Capt. James Wigton who was killed in the battle of Wyoming, July 3, 1778. Isaiah Leach (1786-1837) was a native of Bridgewater, Massachusetts, but about the beginning of the nineteenth century he removed to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. He was a successful school teacher. Following his death his widow and five children removed from Harrisburg to Wilkes-Barre.

By the time he was twenty-two years of age George W. Leach had become proficient as a painter, and at this trade he worked in various places. From about 1851, until his retirement from active business in 1901, Mr. Leach was extensively engaged in the painting and paper-hanging business in Wilkes-Barre. He was married March 31, 1850, to Mary, daughter of Thomas and Susannah (McKeel) Van Loon of Plymouth, Pennsylvania. Mr. Leach was survived by three sons and four daughters.

WOODWARD LEAVENWORTH,

elected in 1882; Life Member, 1906; was born at Scranton, Pennsylvania, November 22, 1853, and died suddenly in Wilkes-Barre May 26, 1913. He was the eldest child of Franklin Jared and Annie (Woodward) Leavenworth. Franklin J. Leavenworth (1827-1909) was the youngest child of Jared and Jane (Strope) Leavenworth. Jared

Leavenworth was a contractor on public works, and was largely identified with the construction of the Erie and the Delaware and Chesapeake Canals. Franklin J. Leavenworth was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County January 10, 1848, but after practising his profession for about three years he turned his attention to other pursuits. For the greater part of the time up to 1865 he was engaged in banking, railway and mercantile affairs in Scranton, New York and Philadelphia. He returned to Wilkes-Barre in 1865, and thenceforth, until his death, was actively and successfully engaged there in business.

Woodward Leavenworth began his business career at the age of fourteen years, and during the ensuing four years held clerical positions in two different banks. Later he had charge of the real estate department of the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company, and at the same time was Secretary-Treasurer of the Hazard Manufacturing Company—holding this last-mentioned office for sixteen years. In July, 1881, he was one of the organizers of the Red Ash Coal Company of Wilkes-Barre, becoming its President in October, 1903, and continuing as such until his death. In 1887 he became a Director of the Wilkes-Barre Deposit and Savings Bank; in December, 1903, he became its Vice President, and in November, 1908, was elected its President—holding this office until his death. He was a member of the Wyoming Valley Country Club and of Westmoreland Club, Wilkes-Barre, and was an active and efficient member of the Masonic Fraternity—holding at the time of his death the important office of District Deputy Grand Master. He was married March 13, 1878, to Ida Cornelia, daughter of Garrick M. and Jane W. (Stark) Miller, who, with two daughters, survived him.

THE HON. HENRY WILBUR PALMER,

elected in 1902; Life Member, 1913; was born in Clifford Township, Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, July 10, 1839, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre February 15, 1913. He was the eldest child of Gideon W. and Elizabeth (Burdick) Palmer. Gideon W. Palmer (1818-1881) was a native of Hopkinton, Rhode Island. In 1836 he removed to Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, whence he removed

to Carbondale, Luzerne (now Lackawanna) County, Pennsylvania, in 1841. In 1850 he was elected Sheriff of Luzerne County for a term of three years, and in 1854 was elected a Representative from Luzerne County to the Pennsylvania Legislature. During the American Civil War he served as a Paymaster, with the rank of Major, in the U. S. Army. In 1872 he was elected a delegate from Luzerne County to the State Constitutional Convention.

Henry W. Palmer was educated at Wyoming Seminary, Fort Edward Institute and the Poughkeepsie (N. Y.) Law School. He was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County August 24, 1861. In 1863 and '64 he served as a paymaster's clerk in the U. S. Army, after which service he returned to Wilkes-Barre and resumed the practise of law—in which he continued until his death. In 1866 he was elected a member of the School Board of Wilkes-Barre, and in 1872 was elected a delegate to the Pennsylvania State Constitutional Convention. From 1879 till 1883 he was Attorney General of Pennsylvania, by appointment of Governor Henry M. Hoyt. In 1900 he was elected to represent Luzerne County in Congress. He was re-elected in 1902, again in 1904, and again in 1908. At the time of his death he was a member of the Westmoreland Club and a Vice President of the Miners' Bank, Wilkes-Barre. He was married September 12, 1861, to Ellen Mary, daughter of George W. and Lucy D. (Bradley) Webster of Plattsburg, New York. He was survived by his wife, three daughters and two sons.

FRANCIS ALEXANDER PHELPS,

elected in 1886; Life Member, 1896; was born in New York City May 4, 1859, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre July 6, 1911. He was the third child of John Case and Martha Wheeler (Bennett) Phelps, and a grandson of the Hon. Ziba Bennett, mentioned on page 214. John C. Phelps (1825-1892), a native of Granby, Connecticut, removed with the other members of his father's family to Dundaff, Pennsylvania, in 1842. Some years later he took up his residence in New York City, where he was in business until 1862, when he came to Wilkes-Barre, and, with his father-in-law and brother-in-law, established the banking house

of Bennett, Phelps & Co., which transacted a general banking business in Wilkes-Barre until 1879. Mr. Phelps was actively identified with a number of the leading business and financial enterprises of Wyoming Valley, and at his death was a Director of the Wyoming National Bank, the Wilkes-Barre Gas Company and the Sheldon Axle Company.

Francis A. Phelps was, from 1879 till 1882, a student in Wesleyan University, Connecticut, where he was a member of the D. K. E. Fraternity. After leaving college he became a member of the firm of Phelps, Straw & Co., engaged in the hardware business in Wilkes-Barre. A few years later this firm was succeeded by that of Phelps, Lewis & Bennett Company, of which F. A. Phelps was the head. In July, 1892, Mr. Phelps succeeded his father as a Director of the Wyoming National Bank, and he continued to hold that office until his death, at which time he was also Secretary of the Board of Directors. Mr. Phelps was married October 24, 1889, to Margaretta Darling, daughter of William Appleton and Elizabeth (Darling) Drown of Philadelphia, who, with one son and two daughters, survived him.

BENJAMIN REYNOLDS,

elected in 1879; Life Member, 1908; was born in Kingston, Pennsylvania, on Christmas-day, 1840, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre April 4, 1913. He was the youngest child of the Hon. William Champion and Jane Holberton (Smith) Reynolds.

William C. Reynolds (1801-1869) was the eldest of the nine children of Benjamin Reynolds, of Plymouth, Wyoming Valley, and was a grandson of William Reynolds, one of the very early settlers in Wyoming under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company, and a survivor of the battle and massacre of July 3, 1778. For a number of years, at Plymouth and at Kingston, William C. Reynolds, alone, and in partnership with others, was engaged in the mining and shipping of coal, and in the sale of lumber, grain, and general farm products. In 1836, and again in 1837, he was elected one of the two Representatives from Luzerne County to the State Legislature. In March, 1841, he was appointed and commissioned by the Governor of

Pennsylvania one of the Associate Judges of the Courts of Luzerne County for a term of five years. He was one of the organizers, and for a time President, of the Lackawanna and Bloomsburg Railroad Company. For thirteen years he was a Trustee of Wyoming Seminary, Kingston. At the time of his death, and for several years prior thereto, he was a Director of the Wyoming National Bank of Wilkes-Barre. He was an original member of this Society.

Benjamin Reynolds was graduated at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) in 1872 with the degree of A. B. In 1873 and '74 he was a clerk in the People's Bank, Wilkes-Barre. In 1881 he became Cashier of the Anthracite Savings Bank, Wilkes-Barre, and held this position until 1890, when he was elected President of the bank, and continued as such until May, 1912, when the Miners Bank of Wilkes-Barre came into being by a merger of the Anthracite Bank with the Miners' Savings Bank of Wilkes-Barre. Mr. Reynolds was elected President of the new institution, and held the office until his death. He was a Director of The Hazard Manufacturing Company, the Wilkes-Barre and Wyoming Valley Traction Company, and the Hanover Fire Insurance Company of New York, and was a member of the Westmoreland Club.

Benjamin Reynolds was married at Wilkes-Barre December 17, 1879, to Grace Goodwin, fourth daughter of the Hon. Henry Mills and Harriet Irwin (Tharp) Fuller, who, with one daughter, survived him.

CHARLES JONES SHOEMAKER,

elected in 1895; Life Member, 1898; was born in what is now the borough of Forty Fort, Kingston Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, December 5, 1847, and died in Wilkes-Barre September 1, 1915. He was the youngest son of George and Rebecca W. (Jones) Shoemaker. George Shoemaker (1810-1849), who was a well-known merchant and farmer in Kingston Township, was the fifth child of Elijah and Elizabeth (Denison) Shoemaker, and a grandson of Lieut. Elijah Shoemaker and Col. Nathan Denison, who were early settlers in Wyoming Valley under the auspices of The Susquehanna Company, and were prominent and influential in the affairs of the settlement. Charles

J. Shoemaker spent the greater part of his life in Wilkes-Barre. He was never married, and was never actively engaged in business. For some years prior to his death he was a Director of the Miners Bank of Wilkes-Barre. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and was a liberal contributor to religious, educational and charitable organizations.

WILLIAM MERCER SHOEMAKER,

elected in 1883, was born June 20, 1840, in what is now the borough of Forty Fort, Kingston Township, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre November 5, 1911. He was the third child of the Hon. Charles Denison and Stella (Mercer) (Sprigg) Shoemaker. Charles D. Shoemaker (1802-1861) was the eldest child of Elijah and Elizabeth (Denison) Shoemaker—mentioned in the sketch of Charles J. Shoemaker—and was a well-known citizen of Luzerne County. He was graduated at Yale College in 1824; from February, 1824, till April, 1828, he was Prothonotary and Clerk of the Courts of Luzerne County; from April, 1828, till August, 1830, he was Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds of Luzerne County, and then he was appointed and commissioned an Associate Judge of the Courts of Luzerne County. This office he held for several years.

William M. Shoemaker was educated at Wyoming Seminary and Yale College. Upon leaving college he began the study of law in Wilkes-Barre, but in August, 1861, he was commissioned Second Lieutenant of Company L, 92d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers (9th Pennsylvania Cavalry), in the United States service, and he left home "for the front". April 30, 1862, he was promoted First Lieutenant and appointed Adjutant of his regiment. Having experienced considerable active service in camp and in the field, Lieutenant Shoemaker resigned his commission in April, 1863, and returned to Wilkes-Barre. Here he completed his law studies, and was admitted to the Bar of Luzerne County September 3, 1863. However, he never practised his profession, but engaged in business as an insurance adjuster. He devoted himself to the insurance business for the remainder of his life—being from 1885

until his death a partner in the well-known firm of Thompson Derr & Bro. of Wilkes-Barre. He was a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. Mr. Shoemaker was twice married: (1) February 6, 1879, to Ella Schenck Hunt, of Elizabeth, New Jersey; (2) February 5, 1902, to Mrs. Amelia Wright Atwater of Philadelphia, who, with a son by his first wife, survived him.

CHARLES WILLIAM SPAYD, M. D.,

elected in 1898, was born in Philadelphia March 3, 1840, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre September 29, 1911. He was the ninth child of John E. and Catherine Ann (Billinghaus) Spayd. John E. Spayd (1799-1871) was a native of Saxony, but for many years was a manufacturer in Philadelphia.

When the American Civil War broke out Charles W. Spayd was a student in the Medical Department of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Abandoning his studies he received an appointment as Assistant Surgeon in a regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers. In August, 1862, he was appointed and commissioned Surgeon of the 53d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, in the United States service, and in this position he served until honorably discharged from the service in June, 1865. Returning to Philadelphia he completed his medical studies, received his M. D. degree, and then located in Wilkes-Barre, where he practised his profession until his death. Also, during nearly all this time, he conducted a drug store in Wilkes-Barre. He was Coroner of Luzerne County from 1881 till 1884. He was a member of the G. A. R. He was married March 3, 1868, to Barbara J. Hay, by whom he was survived.

ADDISON ALEXANDER STERLING,

elected in 1895; Life Member, 1908; was born in Meshoppen, Wyoming County, Pennsylvania, in 1842, and died at his home in Wilkes-Barre October 5, 1913. He was the eldest child of Daniel Theodore and Susan Ashley (Loomis) Sterling. Daniel T. Sterling (1815-1883) was born at Braintrim, Luzerne (now Wyoming) County, Pennsylvania, of New England ancestry. He was, for many years, until

his death, largely and successfully engaged as a merchant, miller and lumber dealer at Meshoppen. Addison A. Sterling was educated at the University of Wisconsin, of which his uncle, John W. Sterling, LL. D. (at one time a teacher in Wilkes-Barre), was one of the founders, and, for over thirty-four years, was connected with the institution as Dean and Professor of Mathematics.

A. A. Sterling came to Wilkes-Barre in 1872 and became a clerk in the People's Bank, then recently established. In 1882 he was promoted to the position of Cashier, which he filled until 1910, when he was made First Vice President. This office he filled up to the time of his death. He was Vice President of the West End Coal Company, and of the Wilkes-Barre Gas Company, and was a Director in a number of other commercial and financial corporations. He was an original member of the Westmoreland Club; a member of the Wyoming Valley Country Club, the Order of Elks, and the Sons of the Revolution. He was married in 1870 to Mary Hobson, daughter of Charles and Hannah Beardsley, of New York City. Mrs. Sterling died December 22, 1912.

CAPTAIN CYRUS STRAW,

elected in 1895, was born at Hazleton, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, October 1, 1839, and died March 7, 1915, at his home in Wilkes-Barre, where he had resided since 1885. His father was Andrew Straw, who removed with his family from Hazleton to Butler Township, Luzerne County, prior to 1850.

October 27, 1861, Cyrus Straw was commissioned First Lieutenant of Company K, 81st Regiment (Infantry), Pennsylvania Volunteers, in the United States service. This regiment was engaged in police and scout duty in the neighborhood of Washington until March, 1862, when it took the field. During the Peninsula Campaign it was in action several times, losing heavily. It took part in the battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, in Maryland, September 17, 1862—pronounced by competent critics as "the bloodiest day in American history" up to that time. In this battle Lieutenant Straw was wounded. May 1, 1863, he was promoted and commissioned Captain of his company, to rank from October, 1862. He was honorably discharged from

the service June 20, 1863, and returned to his home at Drums, in Butler Township. There, until 1885, he was actively and successfully engaged in the lumber, flour and feed business. For several years about 1880 he was Postmaster at Drums, and previous to that time had been connected officially with the School Board of Butler Township.

From 1885 till 1888 Captain Straw was one of the Commissioners of Luzerne County. Both at Drums and in Wilkes-Barre he was active in Church and Sunday School work. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

After retiring from his Commissionership he became a member of the firm of Phelps, Straw & Co., extensively engaged in the hardware business in Wilkes-Barre. He was a member of the Masonic Fraternity and of the G. A. R. For a number of years up to his death he was a Director of the Wyoming Valley Trust Company, Wilkes-Barre.

Captain Straw was married in 1867 to Sarah Hazeltine Leach of New Milford, Pennsylvania. He was survived by a son and a daughter.

MEMBERS WHO HAVE DIED SINCE THE ISSUE
OF VOLUME XIV.

HONORARY.

Rev. Samuel Hart, D. D.

Hon. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, died September 2,
1916.

LIFE.

Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr., died September 20, 1916.

Andrew Fine Derr, died November 18, 1916.

Miss Juliette Genève Hollenback, died January 28, 1917.

Miss Augusta Hoyt, died May 3, 1913.

Mrs. Anna (Miner) Oliver, died March 16, 1916.

George Shoemaker, died

ANNUAL.

Col. Eugene Beauharnais Beaumont, U. S. A., died August
17, 1916.

James Martin Boland, died May 14, 1917.

John Cloyes Bridgman, died May 28, 1917.

William N. Jennings, died September 26, 1916.

Charles Jonas Long, died May 10, 1916.

Miss Priscilla Lee Paine, died March 23, 1917.

James Sutton, died June 20, 1917.

Mrs. Frances D. (Lynde) Wadhams, died April 4, 1916.

REVEREND HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

After this volume had been printed and was ready for the binder, the Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden died at his home in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., on August 22, 1917, at the age of eighty years.

For many years Mr. Hayden had been Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society with marked efficiency, and it was most largely through his efforts that the Society has grown to its present prosperous condition.

A more extensive history of Mr. Hayden's connection with and work for the Society will appear in a later volume.

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Dr. J. R. Loomis.
Hon. John Maxwell.
Edward Miller.
Millard P. Murray.
Arthur C. Parker.
John Peters.
James H. Phinney.
Rev. J. J. Pearce.
William Poillon.
S. R. Reading.
J. C. Rhodes.
Joseph Trimble Rothrock, M. D.
H. N. Rust, M. D.
Lieut. Henry M. M. Richards.
William M. Samson.
Mrs. Gertrude (Griffith) Sanderson.
W. H. Starr.
Thomas Sweet, M. D.
*Hon. Charles Tubbs.
Samuel French Wadhams.
Abraham Waltham.
Mrs. Margaret (Lacoe) White.
William Alonzo Wilcox.

*Deceased.

† LIFE MEMBERS.

By payment of \$100.

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- *James Plater Dennis.
- *Col. John Butler Conyngham.
- *Hon. Henry Martyn Hoyt.
- *Hon. Stanley Woodward.

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- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| *George Slocum Bennett. | Abram Goodwin Nesbitt. |
| Eckley Brinton Coxe, Jr. | *Isaac Smith Osterhout. |
| Mrs. Sophia E. (Norris) Coxe. | *Mrs. Elizabeth (Laning) Smith. |
| Mrs. Sophie G. (Fisher) Coxe. | Abram Nesbitt Smythe. |
| Miss Amelia Baird Hollenback. | Samuel Nesbitt Smythe. |
| John Welles Hollenback. | Mrs. Sara (Nesbitt) Smythe. |
| Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden. | Irving Ariel Stearns. |
| Andrew Hunlock. | *Gen. William Sterling Ross. |
| Fred Morgan Kirby. | Mrs. Emily Hollenback Taylor. |
| *Frederick Charles Johnson, M. D. | Miss Anna Hollenback Taylor. |
| *Hon. Charles Abbott Miner. | Lewis Harlow Taylor, M. D. |
| *Sidney Roby Miner. | *Edward Welles. |
| Abram Nesbitt. | |
| <hr/> | |
| *Miss Lucy W. Abbott. | *Nathan Beach Crary. |
| *Lucius Ashley. | *Hon. Edmund Lovell Dana. |
| *Mrs. Caroline (Beadle) Ashley. | *Edward Payson Darling. |
| Henry Herbert Ashley. | Thomas Darling. |
| Thomas Henry Atherton. | *Mrs. Alice (McClintock) Darling. |
| *Miss Emily Isabella Alexander. | Mrs. Dorothy Ellen (Dickson) Darte. |
| *Gustav Adolph Bauer. | Andrew Fine Derr. |
| *Joseph Habersham Bradley, Jr. | Andrew Fine Derr, Jr. |
| Mrs. Emily Fuller Bedford. | Miss Elizabeth Lowrie Derr. |
| George Reynolds Bedford. | Miss Katherine Dickson Derr. |
| *Mrs. Priscilla (Lee) Bennett. | *Mrs. Mary D. (Fell) Derr. |
| *Miss Martha Bennet. | Mrs. Harriet (Lowrie) Derr. |
| Charles Welles Bixby. | *Henry Haupt Derr. |
| *William Brisbane, M. D. | Thompson Derr, 2d. |
| Robert Packer Broadhead. | *Allan Hamilton Dickson. |
| *Samuel LeRoi Brown. | Mrs. Kate (Pettebone) Dickson. |
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| Hon. Sterling Ross Catlin. | *Hon. Charles Dorrance Foster. |
| John Nesbitt Conyngham. | Mrs. Mary Jane (Hoagland) Foster. |
| William Hillard Conyngham. | Alexander Farnham. |
| *William Lord Conyngham. | *Lt. Joseph Wright Graeme, U. S. N. |
| *Mrs. Mae (Turner) Conyngham. | Mrs. Sarah H. (Wright) Guthrie. |
| *Alexander Brinton Coxe. | *Col. Elisha Atherton Hancock. |
| *Hon. Eckley Brinton Coxe. | *Hon. Garrick Mallery Harding. |
| *John M. Crane. | *Henry Harrison Harvey. |

*Deceased.

- *Jameson Harvey.
 Mrs. Jennie (DeWitt) Harvey.
 *James C. Haydon.
 Frederick Hillman.
 George Baker Hillman.
 *Henry Baker Hillman.
 Miss Anna Welles Hollenback.
 Miss Julietta Geneve Hollenback.
 *George Matson Hollenback.
 *Miss Elizabeth Walter Horton.
 *Francis William Hunt.
 *Charles Farmer Ingham, M. D.
 Frederick Green Johnson.
 *Edwin Horn Jones.
 *Richard Jones.
 *Ralph Dupuy Lacoe.
 *William Arthur Lathrop.
 *William Tompkins.
 *Woodward Leavenworth.
 *Woodward Leavenworth, Jr.
 George Cahoon Lewis.
 *Edward Sterling Loop.
 Charles Noyes Loveland.
 Miss Elizabeth Shepard Loveland.
 *George Loveland.
 *William Loveland.
 *William Ross Maffet.
 *Col. John Miner Carey Marble.
 Alvin Markle.
 Andrew Hamilton McClintock.
 *Mrs. Augusta (Cist) McClintock.
 Col. Asher Miner.
 Mrs. Eliza Ross (Atherton) Miner.
 Charles Howard Miner, M. D.
 *Charles Morgan.
 *Lawrence Myers.
 *Frederick Nesbitt.
 *George Francis Nesbitt.
 Miss Fredericka Nesbitt.
 *Ralph Nesbitt.
 *Mrs. Sara Myers (Goodwin) Nesbitt
 Daniel Edwards Newell.
 Mrs. Esther (Shoemaker) Norris.
 *Lewiss Compton Paine.
 *Hon. Henry W. Palmer.
 *Rev. Nathan Grier Parke, D. D.
 *Charles Parrish.
 *Mrs. Mary (Conyngham) Parrish.
 Mrs. Ella (Reets) Parish.
 *Calvin Parsons.
 Maj. Oliver Alphonsa Parsons.
 Joseph Emmet Patterson.
 William Grant Payne.
 William Theodore Payne.
 *Payne Pettebone.
 *Francis Alexander Phelps.
 *John Case Phelps.
 Mrs. Martha (Bennett) Phelps.
 Rollo Green Plumb.
 William John Raeder.
 *John Reichard, Jr.
 *Benjamin Reynolds.
 *Mrs. Annie B. (Dorrance) Reynolds.
 Col. Dorrance Reynolds, M.A., LL.B.
 Miss Edith Lindsley Reynolds.
 *Col. George Murray Reynolds.
 Schuyler Lee Reynolds.
 *William Champion Reynolds.
 Robert Bruce Ricketts, 2d.
 William Reynolds Ricketts.
 *Ferdinand Vandevere Rockafellow.
 Mrs. Charlotte M. (Rose) Ryman.
 *William Penn Ryman.
 Miss Rosalys Ryman.
 Theodore F. Ryman.
 Joseph John Schooley.
 Miss Caroline Johnston Sharpe.
 Miss Elizabeth Montgomery Sharpe.
 Miss Mary A. Sharpe.
 *Richard Sharpe, Sr.
 Richard Sharpe.
 Richard Sharpe, Jr.
 *Mrs. Sally (Patterson) Sharpe.
 Miss Sallie Sharpe.
 Miss Rosa Duncan Sharpe.
 *Arthur Yeager Shepherd.
 *Addison Alexander Sterling.
 Forrest Garrison Stevens.
 Mrs. Sarah Covell (Maffet) Stevens.
 Walter S. Stewart, M. D.
 *Charles Jones Shoemaker.
 Irving Stearns Shoemaker.
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 Mrs. Esther (Stearns) Shoemaker.
 Miss Jane Augusta Shoemaker.
 *Hon. Lazarus Denison Shoemaker.
 *Levi Ives Shoemaker, M. D.
 Thomas Kirkbride Sturdevant.
 James Sutton.
 *John Henry Swoyer.

*Deceased.

Miss Katharine Conyngham Snyder.	Raymond Lynde Wadhams, M. D.
Miss Eleanor Parrish Snyder.	*Rev. David Jewett Waller.
Mrs. Emily (Hollenback) Taylor.	Edward Welles, Jr.
*Mrs. Ellen E. (Miner) Thomas.	*Rev. Henry Hunter Welles, D. D.
*Percy Rutter Thomas.	George Woodward, M. D.
Miss Sallie Brinton Thomas.	Christopher Wren.
*Ephriam Troxell.	Anthony Lawrence Williams.
Miss Rosa Troxell.	*Mrs. Emily L. (Cist) Wright.
Mrs. Martha (Sharpe) Tucker.	*Harrison Wright, M. A., Ph. D.
John Augustus Turner.	Harrison Wright, 3d.
Louis Hollenback Twyefforth.	George Riddle Wright.
*Hon. Samuel Gonsalus Turner.	*Hon. Jacob Ridgway Wright.
*Stephen Buckingham Vaughn.	John B. Yeager.
*Mrs. Esther T. (French) Wadhams.	Mrs. Margaret M. (Myers) Yeager.
*Calvin Wadhams.	*Elias Baylits Yordy.

*Deceased.

Total Life Members . . 212

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‡The payment of one hundred dollars at one time by a member not in arrears, shall constitute him a life member, with an exemption from all future payments.

“All moneys received on account of life membership, shall be securely invested by the Trustees in the name of the Society, and shall form a fund to be called “The Life Membership Fund”, the interest only of which shall be available for the uses of the Society.

‡“Any person contributing to the Society at one time a fund of one thousand dollars or more shall be placed on the list of Life Members with the title of ‘Benefactor’. The Life Membership list shall be published annually.”

The life member is entitled to all the publications and privileges of the Society, free, and by the payment of his fee establishes a permanent memorial of his name which never expires, but always bears interest for the benefit of the Society. His is therefore always a *living* membership.

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 Oliver Charles Hillard.
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 John Justin Hines.
 S. Alexander Hodge.
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 John M. Humphreys.
 W. Frank Hughes.
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 Charles Parrish Hunt.
 Lea Hunt.
 *Edmund Hurlburt.
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 Frederick Charles Kirkendall.
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 *George Brubaker Kulp.
 James F. Labagh.

*Deceased.

Elmer Henry Lawall.
 Charles Wilber Laycock.
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 *Charles Jonas Long.
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 Gilbert Stewart McClintock.
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 Granville Thomas Matlack, M. D.
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 Eugene Worth Mulligan.
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 Samuel T. Nicholson.
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 Robert VanAlstine Norris, Jr.
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 Israel Platt Pardee.
 Frank Ellsworth Parkhurst.
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 Leslie Sturdevant Ryman.
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 Rabbi Marcus Salzman.
 Christian H. Scharer.
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 *Capt. Cyrus Straw.
 Seligman J. Strauss.
 Harry Clayton Shepherd.
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 Rev. Winfield Scott Stites.
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 Archie Carver Shoemaker, M. D.
 Harold Mercer Shoemaker.
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 Dr. Louise M. Stoeckel-Lunquist.
 Frank Sturdevant Stone.
 William Romaine Stull.
 Dunning Sturdevant.
 Mrs. Mary Stark Sturdevant.
 Guy Sturdevant.
 William Henry Sturdevant.
 Walter Coray Sutherland.
 Prof. William E. Traxler.
 Miss Mary L. Trescott.
 Isaac Miner Thomas.
 Rev. Frederick von Krug, D. D.
 Theodore Constant VanStorch, Jr.
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 *Moses Waller Wadhams.
 Ralph Holberton Wadhams.
 Levi Ellmaker Waller.
 Samuel D. Warriner.
 William O. Washburn.
 Hon. Louis Arthur Watres.
 Hon. Frank W. Wheaton.
 Henry Hunter Welles, Jr.
 Mrs. Stella H. Welles.
 Theodore Ladd Welles.
 Joshua Lewis Welter.
 James Pryor Williamson.
 William Dwight White.
 Hon. John Butler Woodward.
 Frederick E. Zerby.

*Deceased.

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LIST OF EXCHANGES.

The following list represents the many Societies and exchanges the publications of which are to be found in whole or in part in the Library of this Society, 1917:

- Academy Pacific Coast History. California.
- Adams Historical Magazine, D. A. R.
- American Antiquarian Society.
- American Anthropological Society. Washington.
- American Anthropologist. New York.
- American Archaeology and Ethnology.
- Americana (Amer. Hist. Magazine).
- American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.
- American Geographical Society.
- American Historical Association.
- American Historical Review.
- American Institute of Mining Engineers.
- American Journal of Numismatics.
- American Museum of Natural History.
(Ann. Rept.)
(Bulletins.)
(Anthropology and Archaeological.)
- American Monthly Magazine. D. A. R.
- American Numismatic and Antiquarian Society.
- American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia.
- American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, New York.
- Amherst College, Mass.
- Annals of Iowa—Iowa Historical Society.
- Anthropological Society of D. C.
- Augustana Library Publications.

- Berks County Historical Society. Pennsylvania.
- Boston Society Natural History.
- Bradford County Historical Society. Pennsylvania.
- Bangor Historical Society. Maine.
- Bergen County Historical Society. New Jersey.
- Bridgeport Scientific Society. Connecticut.
- Boston, Massachusetts, Records.
- Boston Record Commission.
- Boston Society of Natural History.
- Bucks County Historical Society. Pennsylvania.

- Brookville Society of Natural History. Indiana.
 Brownings Historical Register.
 Buffalo Historical Society. New York.
 Buffalo Archaeology Society. New York.
- California Archaeological Society. (University of California.)
 California Historical Society.
 Cambridge Historical Society. Massachusetts.
 Canadian Antiquarian, Numismatic Society.
 Canada Agriculture Bureau.
 Canisteo Valley Historical Society. New York.
 Cayuga Historical Society. New York.
 Carnegie Museum Annals. Pittsburg, Pa.
 Chester County Historical Society. Pennsylvania.
 Chicago Historical Society.
 Colonial Society of Pennsylvania.
 Columbia County, Pa., Historical Society.
 Columbia University.
 Confederate Veteran.
 Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science.
 Connecticut Historical Society.
 Connecticut Quarterly Magazine.
 Connecticut Valley Historical Society.
 Current Anthropological Literature.
 Canada Geological Survey.
 Canada Bureau of Mines.
 Canada Institute. Geology.
- Dauphin County Historical Society. Pennsylvania.
 Dawson's Historical Magazine.
 Delaware Historical Society.
- Early Settlers Historical Society. Ohio.
 Essex Antiquarian.
 Essex Historical Register.
 Essex Institute (Historical).
- Fairfield, Conn., Historical Society.
 Field Museum of Natural History. Chicago. (Ann. Rept.)
 Field Museum of Natural History. (Geology, Anthropology.)
 Fireland Historical Society. Ohio.
 Franklin and Marshall College, Pa.
- "Genealogy."
 Genealogical Advertiser.

- Genealogical Magazine.
 Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.
 Genealogist, The (English.)
 Georgia Historical Society.
 Grafton (Mass.) Magazine of History.
 Gulf State Historical Magazine. Alabama.
 "Geology."
 Geological Survey of Colorado.
 Geological Survey of Georgia.
 Geological Survey of North Dakota.
 Geological Survey of South Dakota.
 Geological Survey of Alabama.
 Geological Survey of Arkansas.
 Geological Survey of Illinois.
 Geological Society of America.
 Geological Survey of Indiana.
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 Geological Survey of Louisiana.
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 Geological Survey of Kansas.
 Geological Survey of Mexico. (Geol. Institute of Mexico.)
 Geological Survey of Michigan. (Buletin Minero.)
 Geological Survey of Wisconsin.
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 Geological Survey of Tennessee.
 Geological Survey of Missouri.
 Geological Survey of New Jersey.
 Geological Survey of North Carolina.
 Geological Survey of Ohio.
 Geological Survey of Ohio. (Palaeontology.)
 Geological Survey of Oklohoma.
 Geological Survey of Virginia.
 Geological Survey of Pennsylvania.
 Geological Survey of West Virginia.
- Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio.
 Historical Register. Medford, Mass.
 Holland Society. New York.
 Huguenot Society of America.
- Iceland Archaeological Society.
 Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics.
 Illinois State Historical Society.

- Indiana Historical Society.
 Industrial Gazette. Wilkes-Barré.
 Iowa Historical Record.
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