

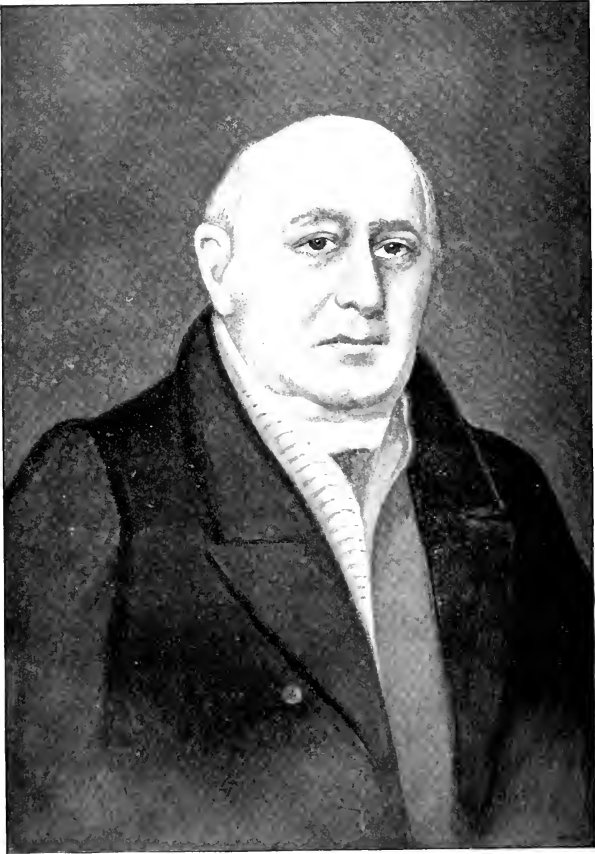
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DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM.

THE
REMINISCENCES
OF

1750-1834

A HERO OF THE REVOLUTION, AND THE HEAD OF THE

REVOLUTIONARY HOUSE
OF
CONYNGHAM AND NESBITT
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, AND ANNOTATIONS

BY

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PREFATORY NOTE.

These Reminiscences of an octogenarian cover a period of seventy years in the early history of the United States. They have been in the possession of the family of the author for the same number of years, a source of pleasure to several generations of his descendants without being made public. Their historical value is greatly enhanced by the fact that the writer of them was an actor in the events narrated, or an eye witness, and records his experience with the accuracy of a daily journal.

New light is shed on many instances of Revolutionary history already known, and many other incidents of that initial period in our history are made public for the first time. Twenty years ago the Editor of these pages promised their publication. Unavoidable delay has hindered the fulfilment of this promise. But the twenty years have brought out so much other historical material that the delay has been the enrichment of the annotations.

These Reminiscences cover three separate periods in the experience of the author.

First, the struggle of the American Colonies for Independence from the inception of the Stamp Act, 1763, to the recognition of our Independence, 1783, which the patriotic firm of Conyngham and Nesbitt were important factors in securing.

Second, the campaign of Western Pennsylvania, or the Whiskey Insurrection, in which he served in the United States Army, 1794.

Third, his visit to the then new State of Kentucky, 1807.

The portrait of David Hayfield Conyngham which prefaces the Reminiscences is from an oil painting in the possession of his family, and the illustrations of the Conyngham House, Fort Wilson and Hon. Richard Peters were generously loaned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

INTRODUCTION.

DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM.

The prominence in the civil and military history of Pennsylvania of the author of the following Reminiscences justifies a more elaborate sketch of his life than has heretofore been written.

DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM was the eldest son of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Letterkenny, Ireland, and Philadelphia, Pa., the original member and founder of the shipping house of "Conyngham & Nesbitt," that held an eminent position in the mercantile history of Philadelphia from 1745 to 1802. As many of the near relatives of Mr. Conyngham are referred to in his Reminiscences, a brief genealogical statement will make clear their connexion.

While nobility of character does not depend on nobility of ancestry, it appears from the Peerages of Dugdale, Burke, Lodge, Foster and others, and from London Notes and Queries,¹ that the

RT. REVEREND WILLIAM CONYNGHAM, D.D., born 1512-13, Bishop of Argyll, Scotland, 1539-1558, was a younger son of William Conyngham, Fourth Earl of Glencairn in the Peerage of Scotland.

Robertson's Ayrshire Families, quoting from Wood's (Douglas) Peerage, says the fifth son of the fourth Earl was "William Bishop of Argyll, ancestor of the present Marquis of Conynghame in Ireland." This William Conyngham, "*juvencem annos sex et viginti natum, ex nobili et potenti familia,*" was educated for the Church, matriculated University of St. Andrew's 1532, made Provost Trinity College, Edinburgh, 1538, and raised to the see of Argyle by

1. *v.* Notes and Queries, 4th S. XI. 16, 78, 264, 488. XII. 18. 5th S. I. 329. *iv.* 282, 357, 435, 518, where the matter is exhaustively discussed.

James V. February 1, 1539. He was succeeded in his see 1558 by Rt. Rev. James Hamilton.

"THE VERY REV. ALEXANDER CONYNGHAM, M. A., was the son of Dr. William Conyngham, Bishop of Argyle in Scotland, a scion of the family of the Earls of Glencairn." (Cotton "Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ," III: 361, 368, 370. V: 266.) In 1616 he was naturalized as an English subject (Rot. Pat. 14, Jac. 1), was the first Protestant minister of Inver and Kellymard, County Donegal, 1611 (Lodge's Peerage, VIII: 178), ordained the Prebend of Inver in 1611, and that of Kellymard in the same year; vacating Kellymard 1622 and Inver 1630, both in the Cathedral of Raphoe, on succeeding to the Deanery of Raphoe by patent of April 27; installed June 22, 1630, when Dean Adair was consecrated Bishop of Killaloe 1629-30." He was born circa 1580; died September 3, 1660.

Cotton errs in making him a *son* of the Bishop of Argyle. Foster more accurately makes him a grandson. He settled at Mount Charles, County Donegal. Part of his estate he held by lease from the Earl of Annandale, part he took up on removing to Ireland, as Charles I. "gave letters patent of denization to Alexander Conyngham, and 320 acres of land in Dromlogheran and Corcoma in present of Portlagh, Barony of Raphoe, called the Manor of Rosse Conyngham." His preferment as Dean secured him the grant of Carrohardvarne, Corleaugh-in-begg, Fodrialter, Fanedorke, Tullydonmill, etc. Part of his estate he acquired by marriage with Marian, daughter of John Murray, who is named in Pynnar's Survey of 1619, as owning all of Boylagh and Banagh, County Donegal, the original property of the O'Boyles, Chiefs of the Clan Chindfaoldadh, of Tir Ainmireach, and of Tir Boghaine, territories which cover all the present Baronies of Boylagh and Banagh.

Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, is credited by Burke with having had twenty-seven sons and daughters,

four of the sons reaching manhood, viz.: Alexander, who died during the life of his father; George of Killenlesseragh, Esq., who died without male issue; Sir Albert, who was knighted and whose grandson became the Marquis Conyngham, of Mount Charles; and William of Ballydavit, Esq.

George Conyngham of Killenlesseragh, County Longford, by will dated May 5, 1684, probated November 25, 1684, devised lands to his brother William Conyngham of Ballydavit, to his nephew Alexander of Aighan, and his brother Andrew; and names his brother Sir Albert Conyngham.

William Conyngham of Ballydavit, County Donegal, by will dated October 8, 1700, entails on his nephew Alexander of Aighan all his lands in County Donegal, with legacy to his niece Katherine Connolly, daughter of his brother Sir Albert, will sealed with the Conyngham arms, "*a shake fork between three mullets.*"

Alexander Conyngham of Aighan, gentleman, whose will is dated December 27, 1701, *entails* on his eldest son Richard Conyngham of Dublin, merchant, all these lands, and the lands of Ballyboe, granted to Alexander by lease forever in 1669 by Richard Murray of Broughton, and on Richard's male heir, in default of which to his second son Andrew, and on his male heir, in default of which to said Richard's right heir. These very lands thus limited on Richard's right heirs are found in 1721 in the possession of Captain David Conyngham of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, the son of Alexander Conyngham of Rosguil, whose will dated November 18, 1757, probated June 15, 1759, entails his estate on his son Redmond Conyngham of Philadelphia, whose will dated March 21, 1778, conveyed the estate to his son David Hayfield Conyngham, whose eldest son, Redmond Conyngham of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, by law inherited the estate, but at whose instance his father broke the entail, disposing of the estate for \$150,000.

ALEXANDER CONYNGHAM of Rosguil, County Donegal, had among his ten children—

1. Rev. William, Rector of Letterkenny, d. 1782, æ 91.
- + 2. Capt. David of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, *supra*.
3. Adam of Cranford, d. 1729, father of Captain John Conyngham, who served with Braddock, 1755, *of whom later*.
4. Gustavus of Rosguil, father of Captain Gustavus Conyngham, U. S. Navy, 1775-1783, *of whom later*.
5. Alexander, who d. s. p. and left his estate to his nephews.
6. Andrew.

II. CAPTAIN DAVID CONYNGHAM of Ballyherrin and Letterkenny, Ireland, had—

- + 7. Redmond of Letterkenny, and Philadelphia, Pa.
8. Isabella, married David Stewart, and had David, *of whom later*.
9. Mary, married Rev. Thomas Plunkett, and had William Conyngham, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Baron Plunkett; and Captain David Plunkett of the American Army, *of whom later*.
10. Alexander, who died Philadelphia, Oct. 14, 1748.
11. Hannah, married Rev. Oliver MacCausland, Rector of Finlangen, *of whom later*.
12. Catharine, married Colonel, Sir David Ross, whose only son, David Ross-Conyngham, was made the heir of Redmond C. pending the attainder of David H. Conyngham.
13. Isabella Hanlon. 14. Martha A. 15. Margaret. 16. Lydia. 17. Elizabeth. All of whom died single.

VII. REDMOND CONYNGHAM, ESQ., b. Letterkenny, Ireland, 1719; died there January 17, 1784, where he and his wife are buried. He married, Philadelphia, January 13, 1749, Martha Ellis, born Philadelphia, February 13, 1731; died Derry, Ireland, April 15, 1768, daughter of Robert Ellis, Esq., of Philadelphia, and Catherine, his wife.²

“Died. April 15, 1768, Mrs. Martha Conyngham, the amiable and virtuous consort of Mr. Redmond Conyngham of this city, Merchant, departed this life at Londonderry, greatly and deservedly regretted by all who had the Pleasure of her Acquaintance, particularly her Relations and intimate Friends. And it may with Propriety be said on this affecting Occasion,

“When such Friends part
The Survivor dies.” —*Pa. Gazette, Aug. 11, 1768.*

Redmond Conyngham came to Philadelphia about 1740, and established himself as a shipping merchant, in which business he became eminently successful. The published statement that he was a Quaker and emigrated in 1731, when only fifteen years old, is not correct, nor is it sustained by any family tradition. That he was a young man of wise judgment, thorough business habits, and possessed of an unusual knowledge of human nature, appears not only in his commercial success, but also in the character of his associates and of those with whom he surrounded himself as employees. About 1748 he associated with himself in business Mr. Theophilus Gardner, under the firm name of Conyngham & Gardner, which was dissolved probably the latter part of 1751, when Mr. Gardner shipped goods to Londonderry in his own vessels. Mr. Gardner does not appear in the shipping list after 1751. Among the appen-

2. ROBERT ELLIS, merchant and iron founder. He was a prominent man in early Philadelphia; Member of the Common Council Oct. 3, 1722-24; Member of Durham Iron Co., Bucks Co., 1727—sold his product to the Moravians at Bethlehem; Grand Jurymen, Philadelphia, October, 1734; Member of Christ Church, and Vestryman 1719, 1720, 1722-27, 1735. In 1741 he signed the appeal from the Wardens and Vestry that Rev. Richard Peters might succeed Rev. Archibald Cummings, who died April 19, 1741, as Rector of Christ Church. He was Justice of Bucks Co, Dec. 17, 1745, and June 30, 1749. (Davis' Bucks Co., 642-644; Shippen Papers, 12; Pa. Mag., XXI, 122; Pa. Arch., 2d S., III, 748.)

tices³ who entered Mr. Conyngham's counting room to learn the business by four years of service, and those to whom he entrusted his affairs, were such men as John Maxwell Nesbitt, his partner 1759-1784, and his brothers Alexander and Jonathan Nesbitt, all connected with his own family in Ireland; Walter Stewart, another kinsman, apprenticed to him in 1772, who later became distinguished as Colonel in the Pennsylvania Line, brevet Brigadier General 1783, and Major General, Pennsylvania Militia 1794; David Stewart, his nephew; David Plunkett, his nephew, Captain in the Revolutionary Army; and Gustavus Conyngham, his first cousin, the son of his uncle Gustavus, who came to Philadelphia 1763, and whose exploits as Captain in the U. S. Navy 1775-1783 are so well known; Andrew Stewart and others. The apprentice first named, John Maxwell Nesbitt,⁴ so impressed Mr. Conyngham by his fine

3. APPRENTICES.—From the 15th century Trade Guilds dominated the commercial life of Great Britain: skilled labor alone was recognized by these Guilds. By the "Statute of apprenticeship" (5th Eliz'h), no person could exercise any trade, craft or mystery then exercised in England unless he had previously served to it an apprenticeship of seven years at least. The influence of this law was felt throughout the Colonies as well until the middle of the last century. In commercial business four years became the limit in America.

Anciently benchers in the Inns of Court were called "*apprentices of the law*;" a medical bond before me at this writing, dated 1734, binds as "*an Apprentice and Servant* in the business of Physick Surgery and Pharmacy for six years," one of the most prominent physicians of the Revolutionary War.

4. John Maxwell Nesbitt, b. Loughbrickland, County Down, Ireland, about 1730; d. unmarried, Philadelphia, January, 1802; will dated April 24, 1800; probated January 25, 1802. He was the son of Jonathan Nesbitt of Loughbrickland, and his wife, sister of Alexander Lang, who in 1747, and later, was a shipping merchant in Philadelphia, where he died 1749. Mr. N. was one of a family of nine children—John Maxwell, Jonathan, Alexander (all of whom came to Philadelphia), James and George (who had lands adjoining lands of J. M. N. in Pennsylvania), Frances, Sarah, Esther and Elizabeth Ann. To each of his sisters, Francis, Sarah and Elizabeth, and brother James, he gave by will \$50 annually for life. The others probably dead 1802. He made D. H. Conyngham, his "friend and partner," his residuary legatee. The Nesbitt family of L. was probably connected with that of Redmond Conyngham. Alexander N., who went from Scotland to Ireland 16—, married his cousin Alice, daughter of Rev. Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, and their grandson George N. of Woodhill County Donegal, married Catherine, daughter of Capt. David Conyngham of Ballydavitt. (Burke's Land. Gent., 1852, 938.)

John Maxwell Nesbitt came to Philadelphia, sailing from Belfast in the ship of Capt. Faulkner, February, 1747, under the care and expense of his uncle Alexander Lang,

business faculty and habits, that when he had completed his apprenticeship, about 1756, he took him into partnership under the firm name of Conyngham & Nesbitt. In 1766 Mr. Conyngham, having firmly established his business and increased his estate, decided to return to his home

who apprenticed him to Conyngham and Gardner to learn the shipping trade. Mr. Lang dying 1749, his father wrote him: "You can't yet be Sensible of your loss in so Dear a friend as your Uncle was wch you can only have made up by a Steady Trust in God. The true way to procure his protection and advice, Take heart and discharge your duty and Trust. Make no doubt that God will in Good Time promote your Interest."

This advice Nesbitt followed, as his successes prove. It was Mr. Lang's intention to take him from C. & G. into his own office, but his death preventing this change, he remained with Mr. Conyngham. He also brought his brothers, Jonathan and Alexander, to Philadelphia as apprentices to the same concern. His business qualifications and his integrity of character so commended him to Mr. C., that probably as early as 1756 he was taken into partnership under the firm name of "Conyngham & Nesbitt." As early as 1756 the two owned and sailed ships in partnership, and in 1759 the "Hannah" of 50 tons was registered as owned by "Conyngham and Nesbitt." After Mr. C. had returned to Ireland and D. H. C. was made a member of the firm, it was changed to Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. During the war it was also J. M. Nesbitt & Co. In 1783 D. H. C. signed the name C. N. & Co., but after the death of the senior member it became Conyngham & Nesbitt.

Mr. Nesbitt filled many honored positions, social and official, in Pennsylvania. Original Member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 1771; Vice President May 1771—June 17, 1773; President June 16, 1773—June 17, 1782, and June 17, 1782—March, 1796; Member Hibernian Society 1790 and one of its founders; Member Com. Correspondence May 20, 1774, State and County; Deputy to the Provincial Convention July 15, 1774; Paymaster State Navy September 14, 1775; Treasurer to the Council of Safety July 27, 1776; of the State Battalion July 27, 1776; of the State Navy Board February 18, 1777; of the State Board for Land Service March—August, 1777; of the Board of War March 14, 1777, &c.; appointed to settle accounts of the late Committee and Council of Safety Dec. 15, 1778; Member Republican Society March, 1779; Warden of the Port of Philadelphia October 7, 1788. His firm subscribed £5,000 to the Pennsylvania Bank 1780, and he was elected an Inspector of the Bank. In 1781 he was one of the organizers and member Board of Directors of the Bank of North America until January 9, 1792. (v. Hist. Bank N. A.) In 1791 he was elected President Insurance Company of North America. For further mention of him see the Reminiscences.

Part of the property willed by Mr. Nesbitt to Mr. Conyngham was in possession of Major Harry Gordon of the British Army, who was attainted of high treason as "Henry Gordon" by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania March 20, 1781. It was patented to him for 1497 acres May 17, 1774, in Frankstown township, Bedford county, Pa., and confiscated in 1781. The Agents of Forfeited Estates sold this land in 1782 to James Wood for £2,008. Between the above dates Peace was proclaimed. In 1783 the Executive Committee conveyed the 1497 acres to James Wood, he to J. M. Nesbitt, and Nesbitt by will devised it to D. H. Conyngham, whose claim was confirmed by the courts. (Yates' Penna. Reports, 3, 471.)

In 1783 J. M. Nesbitt also bought 11 lots of land in Philadelphia county, forfeited estate of Andrew Elliott, for which he paid £14,640; the President of the State gave the deed. (Col. Rec. 12, 646, 746.) This was property occupied by the firm of C. & N., on Front St., Philadelphia, 1783.

in Ireland, where he held large landed interests, to end his days near his mother, then living, retaining, however, his interest in the shipping and importing house in Philadelphia. An account of this return is given in the Reminiscences.

In February, 1775, his son David Hayfield, having completed the term of his apprenticeship, was made a partner in the house, when it is claimed that the name of the firm was changed to Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. After the Revolutionary War was fully opened, it was deemed best, owing to the fact that the head of this important firm resided in Ireland, and the junior member was an active patriot, and soldier in the American Army, to alter the name to John M. Nesbitt & Co., under which title the firm continued business until the death of Mr. John M. Nesbitt, 1802. However this may be, papers of the house still exist that show the firm name to have been Conyngham & Nesbitt from 1764 until dissolved by the death of Mr. Nesbitt.

Mr. Conyngham's shipping interests, doubtless begun on a small scale, soon developed into the ownership of vessels in which to ship his goods. The Philadelphia Ship Register shows that December 3, 1746, he registered his first vessel, the ship "Hamilton Galley," 100 tons, built Philadelphia, owned by himself and William Hamilton of Londonderry, Ireland, to whom she was consigned. The next ship registered was the "Prince William" of 90 tons, April 13, 1748, owned by himself and Messrs. Gamble and William Hamilton, Londonderry. The ship "Culloden," 100 tons, followed November 21, 1750, owned by Conyngham & Gardner and the consignees, Alexander and Francis Knox, Londonderry; the "Isabella," 60 tons, 1750-1, by C. & G.; the "Alexander," 70 tons, 1752, owned by himself and Alex. Knox, Londonderry; the "Hayfield," 100 tons, owned mainly by himself and Mr. J. M. Nesbitt, in 1756; the "Hannah," 55 tons, in 1759, owned by "Conyngham & Nesbitt;"

the brigantine "Polly," a prize taken by the Privateer, "Polly's Revenge," sailed under the ownership of Mr. C. and Mr. Nesbitt, 1760; the "New Culloden," 150 tons, owned by C. & N. and John and Robert Knox of Londonderry, Dec. 14, 1761; the brig "Hayfield," 80 tons, and the ship "Rainbow," 100 tons, both owned mainly by Messrs. Conyngham & Nesbitt; and finally the ship "Hayfield," 80 tons, and the ship "John and Mary," 100 tons, registered October, 1765. These vessels, all but two built in Philadelphia, formed a part of the shipping fleet of the house from 1746 to 1766, when Mr. C. sailed in the "Hayfield" for Ireland. The "Charming Peggy," which, in 1775, Captain Gustavus Conyngham commanded, and in which Mr. D. H. Conyngham sailed to Ireland, was doubtless the Privateer of that name commissioned as a Letter of Marque December 5, 1758.

The Philadelphia "Ship Registers," 1726-1776, published in Penn. Arch., 2d S., II. 331-371, and Penna. Mag. Hist., XXII. *et seq.*, do not appear to give all the vessels owned by Philadelphia shippers, nor all the Privateers and Letters of Marque that were sent out by them during the wars of that period. The Council of Safety, November 13, 1776, granted a commission to Thomas Bell, commander of the ship "Speedwell," navigated by 25 men, 10 carriage guns, owned by John Maxwell Nesbitt & Co. Mr. Conyngham, in the following pages, mentions several vessels and "Letters of Marque of from 4 to 30 guns, as sent out by the firm;" but the only vessels owned by them and sailed as privateers, the names of which have been preserved, were the "Speedwell," the "Charming Peggy," the "Revenge," the "Nesbitt," the "Shillalah," and the "Renette," all of which are noted in the Reminiscences.

In 1761 Mr. Conyngham and other merchants in Philadelphia appealed to Governor Hamilton for the erection of piers in some suitable place in the Delaware River to protect their vessels from ice during the winter. The Governor

sent a special message to the Provincial Council, February 25, 1761, strongly urging prompt action in the matter, and proposing appropriating to the purpose the money to be secured by the sale of the Provincial Ship of war. An act was passed March 14, 1761, and enlarged February 17, 1762, in accordance with the Governor's message. (Stat. at Large, VI. 74, 176; Col. Rec., VIII. 574.)

Mr. Conyngham was progressive in his ideas, fond of the beautiful, and stimulated others to improvement by adorning his own property. His home was at No. 96 Front street, between Walnut and Spruce, and his shipping house No. 94, adjoining. Here the family lived while in the city until 1802. Watson states that "there was once a range of beautiful sloping gardens declining from Front street houses into Dock Creek, so as to be seen by passengers along the west side of Dock street. They belonged to Steadman, Conyngham and others. They were seen by T. Matlack and such aged persons. Conyngham's garden, as it existed in 1746 in the ownership of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., was peculiarly beautiful; it had stone steps, descending into the Dock Creek, to which was chained a pleasure boat always ready for excursions and fishing parties.⁵ The mansion was the same now [1842] No. 96 South Front street." (I, 494.) Mr. Conyngham was a signer of the Non-Importation Agreement, prepared and signed October 25, 1765, as a protest against the Stamp Act by the Philadelphia merchants.

Mr. Conyngham was in religion a Churchman, his family

5. "The land about Dock street at the Draw Bridge was originally a swamp, and was intended to be granted to the city, on the 25th of October, 1701, with liberty to dig docks and make harbors there. Before that time, through inadvertance, it had been patented to John Marsh. John Penn afterwards, about 1758, to his enduring credit, purchased it from Marsh and presented it to the city, as was intended by the charter." (T. Ward.) In his Reminiscences Mr. C. mentions having passed up the Dock to above Third street, and having unloaded goods from flat boats in Second street. For the account of the filling up of Dock Creek and the opening of Dock street see Westcott, 433, 2147-8.

having been for over a century members, among them clergymen, of the Established Church of Ireland, Protestant Episcopal. When he removed to Philadelphia, having been confirmed in the Church in Letterkenny, he attached himself to Christ Church, where he was elected for twelve years, 1754-1766, a Vestryman, and from Easter, 1754, to Easter, 1759, a Warden of the Church, and here his eldest son received baptism. In 1751 he was one of the subscribers for "the building of the steeple and providing bells for the Church." A lottery was held in 1752 to secure money for the purpose, and the bells were hung in 1754. In that year he, with other members of Christ Church, presented to the Proprietaries a petition stating that the members of the Church of England had grown so numerous in Philadelphia that Christ Church could not seat more than one-half of them, and praying for the grant of a lot on Third street for another church and yard for that purpose. The grant was promptly made, and in 1758 the Vestry of Christ Church unanimously agreed to erect the new church by subscriptions. Mr. Conyngham was appointed, with six others, a committee to receive and care for the funds, and to prepare a plan and an estimate for the building. He was also one of the committee to supervise the work.

In 1759 he and Evan Morgan signed as Wardens the petition to the Bishop of London for the induction of Rev. Jacob Duché, Jr., as Assistant Minister of the Church. In 1761, as Vestryman, he participated in the opening of St. Peter's Church, of which he was also named a Vestryman in the Charter of the "United Churches of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church," 1765.

In person Mr. Conyngham was of medium height, but stout, courtly in manner and active in movement. He enjoyed the social pleasures of the day, as his name appears in a list of subscribers for the first Assembly held in Philadelphia, 1748 (Shippen Papers 7). Watson states (I. 211):

"It may illustrate the uses of street porches to say that in 1762-3 sundry gentlemen, and especially the *officers*, took the name of *Lunarians*, because of their walking the streets of moonlight evenings, and stopping to talk socially with the families sitting in their porches. I have seen a letter of July, 1763, by Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Philadelphia, to Col. James Burd, then at Juniata Fort, wherein he says: 'The Lunarians met in the evening at the corner of Walnut and Water streets, most of the officers and their wives were present. We drank your health, and experienced the want of your many Indian anecdotes.' "

In a letter to James Burd of July 1, 1755, Mr. C. writes: "Yesterday your Brothers and Sisters of the Luna Club assembled at the Terry and drank your Health, we shou'd be mighty glad to see you once more among us." Thus the Luna Club had its origin nearly ten years before the date given by Mr. Watson.

In 1756 he contributed £32 to the Pennsylvania Hospital, and in 1763 was a subscriber to the Mount Regale Fishing Company, being No. 5 on the list. He was also in 1763 a member of the Fishing Company of Fort St. Davids. These were among the social clubs of that time, comprising the *élite* of the city.

Mr. Conyngham died possessed of a large landed estate both in Ireland and Pennsylvania, entailed on his son David Hayfield, with reversion, should the law of attainder debar the latter, to his grandson David Ross, on assuming the Conyngham name. David Ross died before the grandfather. The attainder was removed through the influence of Lord Plunket, and the estate was enjoyed by D. H. Conyngham until the entail was broken by him. His will names among others the Irish estates of the Ballyboes of Scott Glencairn and Windy Hall, Auchallatty, Gortnabrade, Largyreagh, Derry Casson, Dragh, Bar of Downing, O'Hanlon's Manor, and many houses in Letterkenny.

Mr. Conyngham and five sons and seven daughters.

DAVID HAYFIELD CONYNGHAM, eldest son of Mr. Redmond Conyngham, and the author of these Reminiscences, was born, Philadelphia, March 21, 1750; baptized in Christ Church in that city by Rev. Robert Jenny, LL. D., Rector, Monday, April 23, 1751. Sponsors,⁶ Mr. Matthias Hayfield and Dr. John Kearsley, Jr. He died, Philadelphia, March 3, 1834, eighteen days before he would have completed his 84th year, and was buried in Christ Church yard, corner of 5th and Arch streets, March 5, 1834. He was married by Rev. William Smith, D. D., Whitemarsh, Pa., December 4, 1779, to Mary West, b. —; d. Philadelphia, August 27, 1820, daughter of William West,⁷ a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, and his wife Mary Hodge, daughter of William Hodge, Jr.,⁸ and his wife Eleanor Wormley.

Mr. Conyngham received his early education in the University of Pennsylvania Academy, where he was entered in the Latin School 1757, and studied until May, 1766, when he sailed with his father in the ship "Hayfield" for Ireland, where he spent two years at Trinity College, Dublin, under

6. MR. MATTHIAS HAYFIELD, probably a friend of Mr. Conyngham in Ireland, as his name cannot be found in any connexion with America. He was a sponsor by proxy. He is named in the Family Bible and Christ Church Records without residence.

DR. JOHN KEARSLEY, JR., nephew of Dr. John Kearsley, the eminent physician and the architect of Christ Church, was a loyalist, banished to Carlisle 1775, where he died. (Sabine's *Loyalists*, I. 597; Westcott, 301; Watson, II. 388; Graydon.) Mr. Conyngham records having rescued him from the mob.

7. WILLIAM WEST of Ireland had—1. Francis West, Justice of Cumberland Co., Pa., July 13, 1757, who had issue; 2. William West, *supra*; 3. Ann West, b. 1733, m. Hermanns Alricks, Justice of Cumberland Co., 1749-1770, &c. (Egle's Pa. Gens. 15.)

8. WILLIAM HODGE of Ireland, who died January 4, 1723, and Margaret, his wife, who died October 15, 1730, had three sons, who came to Philadelphia shortly after their mother's death, about 1731. 1. William, Jr., who married Mary West, *supra*; 2. Andrew, Sr.; 3. Hugh, whose widow Hannah was recognized in all the city as a "Mother in Israel," and who left his estate to Princeton College after the death of his widow.

Andrew Hodge, Sr., had, among 15 children, Captain William Hodge, Jr., one of the U. S. Agents in France, 1776-1779, in connexion with the Conynghams, and of whom see later. Captain Andrew Hodge, Jr., Pa. Line, 1776, and Dr. Hugh Hodge, Surgeon 3d Pa. Batt., 1776, the father of that eminent theologian, Charles Hodge, D.D., LL. D., of Princeton, whose sons Alexander A. Hodge, D. D., and Francis B. Hodge, D. D., were both for years pastors First Presbyterian Church Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and Vice Presidents of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society. (v. Family History and Reminiscences; Hugh L. Hodge, M. D., LL. D. 1903.)

the guardianship of his kinsman, Capt. John Conyngham, returning April, 1768, to Philadelphia to begin his apprenticeship in the shipping house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. His time expiring in 1772, he sailed for Europe, probably as a Secret Agent of the United States to visit France, Portugal and Great Britain, returning in 1774, "having," as he says in his Reminiscences, "added in his humble capacity to the character of America."

Finding then that separation from the mother country was imminent, he early decided to take the part of America, and joining the Volunteers in the company of Captain John Cadwallader, served as a soldier. This was the command organized by Captain Cadwallader in 1774, after the passage of the Boston Port Bill, and called "The Greens," the first company of militia in the State.⁹

In 1775 he became a member of the firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. The foreign business of the house in that year required his presence once more in Europe. He sailed September 10, 1775, in the brig "Charming Peggy," owned by the firm, with Jonathan Nesbitt as supercargo, and Captain Gustavus Conyngham as master; probably the vessel of that name commissioned as a Letter of Marque December 5, 1778. (Pa. Mag. XXVI. 399.) The vessel was laden with flaxseed, and was to return with powder and other needful things for the Colony. Having sold his cargo, he left the "Charming Peggy," whose capture and later escape is narrated by Captain Conyngham in his Narrative. (Pa. Mag. Hist. XXII. 486.) Mr. Conyngham then proceeded

9. "The Quakers went so far," says Mr. Graydon in his Memoirs, 123, "as to form a company of light infantry under the command of Mr. Copperthwaite, which was called 'The Quaker Blues,' and instituted in a spirit of competition with 'The Greens,' or, as they were sneeringly styled, 'The Silk Stocking Company,' commanded by Mr. John Cadwallader, and which having early associated had already acquired celebrity. The command of this company, consisting of the flower of the city, was too fine a feather in the cap of its leader to be passed by unenvied. It was therefore branded as an aristocratic assemblage. * * * * To this association I belonged. There were about 70 of us." Watson says there was a hill on Second street in the rear of the Loxley house, now (1857) Girard's houses, where the Greens used to drill. 1, 412.

to Paris and remained there until 1777, becoming an important, but secret, factor in the services of his cousin, Capt. Gustavus, whose second commission he obtained from Franklin. At an outlay of \$10,000 he assisted in fitting out the "Revenge," of which Captain Gustavus took command.¹⁰ "The French Government, receiving information of the fitting out of the "Revenge," demanded sureties, and Andrew Hodge [William Hodge, Jr.] and David H. Conyngham became responsible for the peaceable conduct of the vessel. When Conyngham entered upon his privateering voyage, Hodge was thrown in the Bastile, and D. H. Conyngham, by the mangement of his father's great friend, Dr. Franklin, was sent off with despatches, and thus escaped the Bastile." (Redmond Conyngham in Hazard's Reg., V. 402; also *infra*.)

10. CAPTAIN GUSTAVUS CONYNGHAM, U. S. N., 1744-1819. So much has already been published about this gallant Naval officer that an extended notice of him is not needed here. Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania, 1830 (V. 400, 401, 415; VI. 28, 36-38, 55-50) contains many interesting incidents and thrilling experiences in his career from his own pen and that of his cousin, Redmond Conyngham, Esq., of Lancaster, Pa. His diary, 1777-1779, appears in the Pa. Mag. Hist., XXII. 479-488. Mr. James Barnes in his work, "With the Flag in the Channel, or the Adventures of Capt. Gustavus Conyngham," 1902, and in "The Tragedy of the Lost Commission," Outlook, 1803, pp. 71-83, and Mr. Charles Henry Jones, Philadelphia, in his admirable sketch, "Captain Gustavus Conyngham," published 1903 under the auspices of the Pa. S. of R., have given much material for an extended biography, and yet the published history of the man is incomplete. Rev. Edward Everett Hale, in his "Franklin in France," I. 342. *et seq.*, and the Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution, also give more data. Some years ago Mr. Henry Phillips, Jr., Sec. Am. Philosoph. Soc., Philadelphia, wrote me requesting the consent of the family to his preparing a sketch of his Life, as he possessed his Diary. Mr. Phillips died without completing his sketch, and the Diary passed into the hands of Charles Henry Hart, Esq., who has since declined to dispose of it to the family. In view of these facts this note will be confined to points of the history of Capt. Conyngham not yet referred to in other accounts.

Captain Gustavus Conyngham was the son of Gustavus of Largyreagh, Gent., whose wife was a daughter of Gabriel Conyngham, hence the nephew of Capt. David Conyngham of Letterkenny, who was the grandfather of the author of these Reminiscences. By the will of his uncle Alexander of Largyreagh, Gustavus was possessed of the lands of Dragh and Bar of Downing, which he sold to his cousin Redmond C. of Philadelphia, who names them in his will. He was born, Ireland, 1744; died, Philadelphia, November 27, 1819, aged 75, and with his wife was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, Philadelphia. He was married, Christ Church, by Rev. Richard Peters, October 23, 1773, to Ann Hockley, born January, 1757, died February 25, 1811, aged 54 years, 2 months.

He was sent to Philadelphia in 1763 by his uncle Rev. William Conyngham of Letterkenny to the care of his nephew, Redmond Conyngham, as an apprentice.

From Paris he went to Bordeaux, purchased goods to be sent home, via Martinique, and medical stores for General Washington. In 1779 he returned home by way of the West Indies, and had his second shipwreck described in his Reminiscences.

Mr. Conyngham was elected a member of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry March, 1777. He served in the campaigns of September, 1779; at Somerset, New Jersey, June, 1780; in January, 1781, during the revolt of the Pennsylvania troops, and in the Whiskey Insurrection of Pennsylvania, 1794. In the defence of Fort Wilson he participated actively. During the revolt of the Pennsylvania troops General Wayne detached him with two others to watch the actions of the British sloop of war "Vulture," near Perth Amboy, and their troops on Staten Island. In 1794 he was promoted 3d Sergeant of the Troop, in 1796 2d Sergeant, and June 19, 1798, was made an Honorary Member. As he narrates in his Reminiscen-

"Mr. Conyngham thought that nature, or rather his natural genius, pointed out the sea as the element on which he was to live, and therefore placed him in a vessel of his own under the command of Capt. Henderson, Master." Probably the "Charming Peggy" of 50 tons, Robert Henderson, master, registered December 21, 1763, in the Antigua trade. With this ship he remained, learning the business of navigation, until Henderson's death, when he was promoted to the command of the ship "Molly." He remained in the same occupation until the Revolutionary War, when, September 10, 1775, he was sent to Ireland on the "Charming Peggy," with Jonathan Nesbitt as supercargo, and D. H. Conyngham as representing the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. The rest of his remarkable history is told in the publications referred to *supra*.

In 1783 Captain Conyngham made application to Congress for a renewal of his commission in the regular Navy, with the following result:

"On the report of a Committee consisting of Mr. Lee, Mr. Williamson and Mr. Eilery, to whom was referred a memorial from Gustavus Conyngham, praying for the renewal of a commission of captain in the navy of the United States received from the commissioners in Paris in 1777 and left by him, or to be reinstated in his former situation. Resolved, That the prayer of the said memorialist cannot be granted, such commissions being intended for temporary expeditions only, and not to give rank in the navy." (Journals of Congress, 1784, p. 181.)

After the War Captain Conyngham returned to his occupation as a Sea Captain, residing until his death at 63 Lombard street, Philadelphia.

In 1817 he was a member of the Common Council of Philadelphia, and one of three members appointed to aid in securing a loan of \$50,000 from the citizens to be used in defence of the city. (Vide note 19; also notes on William Hodge, Jr., and Jonathan Nesbitt, *infra*.)

ces, he declined the appointment of Aid-de-Camp to General Stewart, and in 1794 to General Hand.

Mr. Conyngham was elected a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1775. In 1790 he was elected a Trustee of the College of Philadelphia, and in 1791 a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, holding the office until his resignation in 1813. He was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company.

The business interests of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. had led Mr. Conyngham to make a number of visits to Great Britain and the Continent, and to the West Indies, 1775-1783. Early in the year 1807 the affairs of his cousins, the shipping firm of Francis and John West, made it necessary that he should visit Kentucky, and later his own and the landed interest of his firm drew him to Luzerne County.

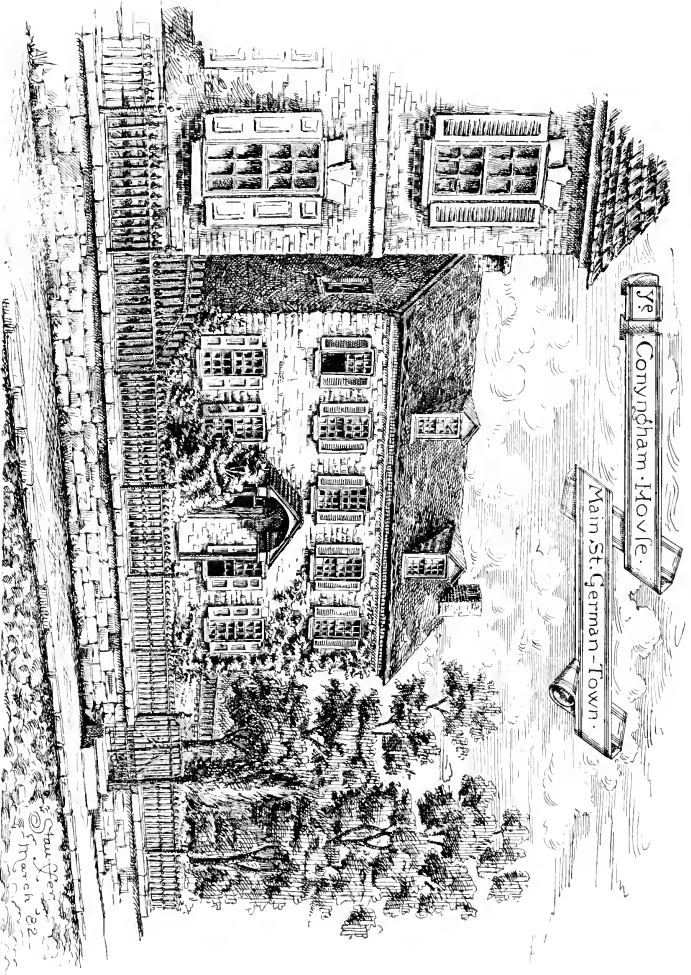
Mr. David H. Conyngham lived, until 1766, in the house occupied by his father, at No. 96 Front street, Conyngham and Nesbitt occupying No. 94 adjoining. In 1783 he lived at "Woodford," on the Ridge Road, four miles from his place of business. It was at his house at "Woodford" that Mr. and Mrs. Robert Morris took refuge in June, 1783, when Congress hastily adjourned to Princeton on account of the threatened riot of the disbanded Pennsylvania militia. (*v. Reminiscences.*) A distance of four miles from Front street would place "Woodford" in Fairmount Park. Some years later he erected the large double stone house on the "Old Germantown Road," now Germantown Avenue, or Main Street, No. 4639, opposite the old Bringham House, and named it "Clermonte," after one of his ancestral Irish places. Mr. Ward states that William Forbes was the "builder" of this dwelling. Here Mr. Conyngham lived until his death as his summer house, and here he dispensed a most generous hospitality; his shipping house, and town residence, No. 109 South Fourth street, where he lived 1826, were also friendly resorts for strangers from Ireland

and France. "In 1844 the family of the late Isaiah Hacker purchased 'Clermonte' and have occupied it ever since." Mr. Conyngham was a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1766. In his advancing years, realizing the value of his varied experiences in foreign and home travel to the members of his family, he began to prepare his very interesting Reminiscences covering a period of nearly 80 years of the early history of the United States. Much of this was doubtless written by himself, as will appear in the foot-note on the capture and execution of the two spies in 1781, which is there given as he personally wrote it to illustrate his style of narrative. But in his 83d year he brought together what he had prepared, and dictating the facts to an amanuensis, largely destroyed his original drafts. The manuscript of the amanuensis becoming much worn by use, was copied for the family, and having no further use for it as a manuscript, it was destroyed.

The Reminiscences are published now for the first time. As they were written at an advanced age and with no attempt at chronological exactness or arrangement, the editor has made but little effort to change their sequence. In the copy prepared by the amanuensis they begin with the author's visit to Kentucky, 1807, which is here placed at the end, and where it is possible the exact date of an incident has been inserted.

Mr. Conyngham had five sons and five daughters.

He was the father of Hon. Redmond Conyngham of Lancaster, Pa., and of Hon. John Nesbitt Conyngham, LL. D., the eminent President Judge of Luzerne county from 1839 to 1870, a distinguished and beloved citizen of Wilkes-Barre, Pa., and President of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, of which Society his son, Col. John Butler Conyngham, U. S. V., was one of the Founders, 1858.



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REMINISCENCES.

REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

This should be the first of my Reminiscences, although began after my entering my 83d year, and if I am able to state circumstances aright, it might be called the "Chapter of Accidents." I shall start from leaving school [Philadelphia] in the first class of the Latin School (Mr. Beveridge our mæster),¹¹ and sailing with my father and family, in the ship "Hayfield," Captain Mackey, for Londonderry,¹² Ireland, May 26, 1766, as a boy.

I was delighted and pleased with our voyage. Whales being then plenty on our coast, saw several schooners employed in killing and saving them, also a thrasher, and, as told by the sailors, a sword-fish fighting one; also a large island of ice, remembers its appearance. Arrived in the harbour of Lough Foyle on the 24th of June, when a beau-

11. JOHN BEVERIDGE, M. A., Professor of Languages and Chief Master in the Latin and Greek Schools, Philadelphia Academy, 1751-1767. (*v. notices of him in Graydon's "Memoirs,"* 1846, pp. 35-59, and Montgomery's "History of the University of Pennsylvania.")

D. H. Conyngham entered the Philada. Academy 1757, aged 7. His younger brother Alexander entered 1760, but died Nov. 2, 1763, aged 10. The "History" also gives, p. 535, as entered by Redmond Conyngham 1760, "Robert Conyngham." Who this was is not known. The only Robert in the family connexion was his son Robert, named for Robert Ellis, born April 20, 1761, died Oct. 25, 1763. Mr. Conyngham is credited in the same book with entering as students, Samuel Brown, 1758; Thomas Dunscombe, 1757; Richard Hutchinson, 1758; Francis Moore, 1754; Joseph Scull, 1765; John Tinker, 1759. Were these protégés whom he was educating?

12. "SHIP 'HAYFIELD,' Master William Mackey, of 80 tons, registered Phila. Oct. 9, 1765, where she was built, owned by Messrs. Redmond Conyngham and John Maxwell Nesbitt, Merchants of Philada." (*Pa. Mag. His. XXVII. 353, 365.*)

Francis Hopkinson, Esq., the eminent patriot, accompanied Mr. Conyngham on this voyage by invitation. The ship sailed from New Castle, Del., May 26, and reached Londonderry June 27, 1766. (*Pa. Mag. Hist.,* 11. 316; XXVII. 353, 365.)

tiful sight from bonfires¹³ kindled on every hill made the shore delightful. Landed all in safety and lodged with Mr. Gamble.¹⁴ Remembers the time with pleasure; and his leaving his father's house on returning to America with re-

13. BONFIRES.—Francis Hopkinson, Esq., who sailed with Mr. Conyngham, wrote of this to his mother, July 2, 1766:

"It was remarkable that the night we left New Castle the Town was illuminated on the joyful occasion of the Stamp Act's being repealed, and the first night we entered our Harbour in Ireland was Midsummer Night, at which time it is a never failing custom among the Irish to illuminate their whole country with large fires kindled here and there among the mountains. A few days after our arrival Mrs. Conyngham went to Letterkenny, a little village about 15 miles from Derry, where Mr. Conyngham's mother lives and where his Estate lies." (Pa. Mag. Hist., II. 317.)

Some years ago the late Mr. Townsend Ward wrote me of this custom thus: "The Balefires, as they are called, are of a most ancient origin, indeed so remote as once to have been in honour of the God Baal, or Beelzebub, as he is sometimes called. They formed, it is thought, a part of the ceremonies of the worship practised in their groves by the Druids, who had swept across Asia and Europe, and who at one time were so potential in the British Islands. The Second Book of Kings, Chap. XXI., says Manasseh 'reared up altars for Baal, and made a grove, * * * and made his son pass through the fire.' Eighteen hundred years ago Pliny, in his Natural History, says: 'Britain at this day celebrates the magic rites with so many similar ceremonies, that you might suppose them to have been given to them by the Persians.'"

"A writer in the Gentleman's Mag., February, 1795, relates that he was told, as to the ceremonies observed on the occasion of the summer solstice, "That we should see at midnight the most singular sight in Ireland, which was *the lighting of fires* in honour of the sun. Accordingly, exactly at midnight, the fires began to appear; and taking the advantage of going up to the leads of the house, which had a widely extended view, I saw on a radius of thirty miles, all around, the fires burning on every eminence which the country afforded. I had a farther satisfaction in learning, from undoubted authority, that the people *danced round the fires*, and at the close went through these fires, and made their sons and daughters, together with their cattle, pass the fire; and the whole was conducted with religious solemnity." In Philadelphia, I have seen, when a youth, such fires built in the streets by the boys, who, in turn, would jump through them, and I am told the custom still continues, thus there is preserved here a lingering trace of the practices connected with an ancient faith. The name of the God Baal is preserved wherever the prefix Bal or Bel is found, as in Bealtine, the feast of May-day, Baltimore, Belfast, Balmoral, Baltinglass, the Baltic, and many other names."

A fetter from Tentore, Balla Colla, Queens Co., Ireland, March 8, 1882, describes the custom now in vogue:

"I am told by an excellent authority that they still make bonfires on St. John's Eve, the 24th of June, and collect around them in great numbers to dance and amuse themselves. He says he never saw them pass through the fires or cause their cattle to do so, but that is not saying they would not do it if the police were not always there pretending they came for the dancing. The Northern Irish call these fires *bonefires*, and say they were first built to burn the bones of Protestant martyrs, but when I cannot find out. These same fires have been used for signals in several rebellions, and consequently have in a measure died out, but they are still very numerous."

14. MR. GAMBLE, at whose house he lodged, was doubtless Mr. Henry Gamble, the consignee of Conyngham. & Nesbitt.

gret and cause. Went up to Newry to sail for America in company with Andrew Stewart,¹⁵ also going out as an apprentice to Mr. Nesbitt;¹⁶ sailed in April, 1768, and went around Ireland, North, seeing the coast, and not getting clear of Achill Head for 10 or 12 days. A severe passage brought us out to the coast of America; and upon "land" being called out, went up to the top gallant yard with Lyons, our boatswain, who said it was five leagues off. Came down and went to dinner, and our Captain ordered Mr. Dobbins, our Mate, to sound, who called out fourteen fathoms.

A pudding being on the table, we stayed to eat it, and on going upon deck, the ship struck the bar at Egg Harbor. We got out the boats and landed on what I think was the Harbor, and Tucker's Beach.¹⁷ Resting the first night under some fishing boats hauled on shore to save us from a severe thunder gust, got up the next day to main land and hired a waggon to Philadelphia. The ship was a real loss to our house, having no insurance. She was called the "Sally,"¹⁸ Moses Rankin, master.

Served my apprenticeship for four years and went to Europe in 1772. (See travels, etc., in another sheet.) Returning as there mentioned, was driven on shore at Cape Henry, which was my second fate or shipwreck. The third was on returning from Ireland in 1812 or 13, in the ship "John Watson," Captain Sanderson, of New York, with seventy passengers on board. Had a fine run to the Gulf

15. ANDREW STEWART, born Ireland; apprentice to Mr. John M. Nesbitt 1768. What subsequently became of him the annotator cannot learn.

16. *v.* Note 3.

17. TUCKER'S BEACH, now Tuckerton, in Little Egg Harbor Bay, Burlington Co., N. J. Tucker's Beach was once a noted seashore resort for Philadelphians before Long Branch was known as such. (Watson's Annals of Philada., II. 463.) This was Mr. Conyngham's first shipwreck.

18. SHIP "SALLY," Not in Register, 1768. Moses Rankin was Capt. of the ship "Minerva," 70 tons, Registered Phila. Nov. 22, 1768. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., II. 651.)

stream, and then baffling winds and weather, and nearing New York Harbor, were all in high spirits in expectation of being on shore next day. We went to our berths, when about one o'clock, it raining and blowing fresh easterly, the watch cried out "Land and Light." Upon sounding, found $17\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, with broken shells and blue ground, which, remembering what the fishermen told me when on a trip with my boys to Long Branch, I told the Captain we were there, and that he should put about the ship. Before time could be had she struck the beach, and a dreadful scene we had, but kept sail on her, and then cut away main and mizen masts, keeping the foremast with sails to press her on. I never saw a more severe and distressing scene, but cannot enter into all the particulars. We reached shore after daylight and went up to McKnight's. Hiring a waggon, got up with my small baggage, having no goods, and found my family well at Germantown, after hearing from me by express I had sent on before me. Surely I ought to be thankful to God for his mercies while my faculties are spared me.

I recollect [1778-1779] seeing Count D'Estaing when he came out from the American coast with his fleet. Saw seven ships of the Line pass by St. Pierre, Martinique, and go on to Fort Royal, where again I saw them at anchor [about Dec. 11, 1778]. Captain Gustavus Conyngham¹⁹ being then there in the "Revenge"²⁰ Cutter was called upon and in-

19. CAPTAIN GUSTAVUS CONYNGHAM. *v.* Note 10.

20. CUTTER "REVENGE."—Some interesting facts relating to the "Revenge" and its last cruise under Conyngham, not heretofore mentioned, but presenting a view of the profit and loss of Privateering in 1779 are revealed in the Official Correspondence about this famous cutter in the Pa. Archives.

Mr. Charles Henry Jones, in his Sketch of Capt. Conyngham, p. 23, notes the fact that Conyngham left European waters in the "Revenge," sailing to Martinique, and thence to Phila., where he arrived in February, 1779. The "Revenge" was owned by the U. S. Congress, J. M. Nesbitt & Co. and Andrew Hodge, Sr., of Phila. The Marine Committee of Congress wished to send her to sea for the Continent. J. M. Nesbitt & Co. wished to use her as a Privateer, and the Executive Council was eager to buy or hire her as a Guarda Costa to act in concert with the "General Greene." The

troduced to Count D'Estaing on board the "Languedoc" of 90 guns, and went out; after looking at the English Fleet under Commodore Barrington,²¹ returned and reported

Council appointed Blair McClellanahan to ascertain her value and fitness, reporting promptly and secretly. Owing to these complications Congress, March 12, ordered her to be sold at public sale March 17, 1779. Mr. McClellanahan reported her value at £30,000 to £40,000, and Council authorized him to buy her even at £45,000. She was purchased March 17 by J. M. Nesbitt & Co. at a higher figure. On March 31 the Assembly resolved to charter the "Revenge" for a three months' cruise with the "General Greene," and application was made to her owners for terms, &c. Nesbitt & Co. replied April 2 with these propositions:

"Capt. Conyngham to retain command with his own officers, he knowing better than anyone else how to manage such a vessel, and there being no doubt of his bravery. The state to insure the cutter at the price she cost the present owners, to return her in as good condition as they receive her, or to pay all damages; and to pay her owners at the rate of £10,000 per month while in the service."

These were named at the lowest terms, as the house preferred using her on their own private account, this being the best season for cruising. The house proposed to man the cutter by giving the crew three-fourths of all commissioned vessels taken and one-half of Letters of Marque and merchantmen unarmed; advising not to give a larger share of prize money to the crew, as the State's share of such money would more than doubly repay all expenses—the officers and men to have the customary wages, each seaman \$100 in advance, each landsman \$50 or more, to be deducted from wages or prize money, &c. Council accepted these terms April 3d, with minor changes, and preparations were made to seal the contract, but, owing to some misunderstanding, Conyngham sailed away with the "Revenge" by the 15th, and the Council abandoned its purpose to charter. (Pa. Arch. VII. pp. 281, 288, 318, 319.) The "General Greene" cost the State £53,057.11.0. The "Revenge" was captured by the British frigate "Galatea," near New York, and the Captain was thrown into prison, as told in his narrative. (Pa. Mag. His., XXII. 487. *v.* also Note on Capt. William Hodge, Jr., *infra*.)

21. ADMIRAL SAMUEL BARRINGTON, 1729-1800. *v.* Dictionary of National Biog., Stephen's, III, 291, which states Barrington captured St. Lucia Dec. 13, 1778. "On the 14th he had news of D'Estaing's approach, and the enemy's fleet, with a crowd of smaller shipping, was sighted from the neighboring hills. Expecting no enemy from the sea, his ships were in no posture of defence. But during the night he succeeded in forming his little squadron in a close line across the mouth of the bay, the ends supported by a few guns on the hills above, and with transports and store-ships inside. His attitude was firm, but his force was comparatively insignificant; and M. de Suffren, captain of the "Fantesque," strongly urged D'Estaing to come boldly in and anchor close alongside, or on top of the anchor buoys, thus rendering the shore batteries useless, and crushing the English by force of numbers. D'Estaing, however, preferred standing in line of battle, keeping away along the English line, and so passing again out of the bay after a desultory interchange of firing. In the afternoon he repeated the same manœuvre, equally without result. On the 15th he landed the troops to the northward and attempted to storm a hill strongly held, but was once and again repulsed with great slaughter. Then hearing of Admiral Byron's approach with a superior force, he sailed for Martinique." This confirms D. H. Conyngham's statement about Gustavus Conyngham's advice to D'Estaing. Barrington had the "Prince of Wales," 74 guns, 2 frigates, 5 small ships of the line, and 5,000 men. D'Estaing's fleet had 12 ships of the line and 4 frigates.

their situation under St. Lucia, and advised the Admiral to run in and anchor opposite the ships as they lay, and to attack them in that way; this he did not do, and was beaten off.

Captain G. Conyngham captured the brig "Surprise," fitted out off Antigua to take him, and the Pilot boat schooner "Barrington," both of which he brought into St. Pierre [sic], 3d Company also as mounting guard in charge of Major Fell,²² Major Skeene,²³ and other British officers, who arrived from England and were made prisoners. Received afterward civilities from Major Fell when business took me to London, where I paid 8000 guineas for bills drawn by houses in Philadelphia, which drew on me the observation of Lord North, and had to get clear of him by leaving London at 7 o'clock in the morning in post chaise and finding a Packet sailing from Dover at 3 o'clock. Slept at Dessein's Hotel in Paris. Remember the Duchess of Kingston²⁴ passed same afternoon for Dover.

Remembers being one of a party or gala given by Governor Joseph Reed²⁵ at Governor's Island,²⁶ near Fort Mifflin; went down with a party of ladies and gentlemen in a gunboat commanded by Captain Nathan Boys;²⁷ landed at the wharf

22. MAJOR ROBT. EDWARD FELL of H. M. 79th Regt. Foot; was on half pay after the regt. disbanded, 1763; was made Lieut. Col. May 25, 1772. (Graydon, 1846, p. 75.)

23. MAJOR PHILIP K. SKENE, or his son. (*v.* Westcott's History of Philada., p. 300; Lossing's Field Book, l. 74, 137-9; ll. 684, &c.; Graydon, 127, 208, 228.)

24. DUTCHESS OF KINGSTON, Caroline, Countess of Kingston, wife of Robert, 2d Earl of Kingston, and daughter of James, 4th Lord Kingston.

25. GOVERNOR JOSEPH REED. (*v.* Life and Correspondence of President Reed, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1847.)

26. "GOVERNOR'S ISLAND." The place where Fort Mifflin now stands was thus called.

27. CAPTAIN NATHAN BOYS (Boyse, Boyce and sometimes written Nathaniel Boyce), born —; died, Philadelphia, January, 1803; will December 20, 1802—January 7, 1803; wife, Mary Boys, executrix. He was a brother of Elias Boys, merchant, Philadelphia, Warden of the Port 1787, and Member Hibernian Society. Captain Boys was appointed by the Navy Board 1st Lieutenant Pennsylvania Navy; assigned August 29, 1775, to the Provincial Armed Boat "General Washington," built by John Martin; served until made Captain, December 6, 1775, of the Armed Boat "Franklin," built by Man-

and marched up to the barracks with music, and then enjoyed dancing and promenades and a very handsome and agreeable refreshment, such as the times afforded, returning to the city before night; music in all the boats and much life, fun and spirit accompanying us "Republicans", although battle, distress and doubts were our attendants.

Remembers hearing from Mr. Nixon,²⁸ his falling into the narrow passage between the rocks of the Schuylkill in attempting to help a Miss Evans across a board, usually placed to go from rock to rock where now the dam is.

Remembers when in school at Dublin, in Ireland, surprising his fellow scholars and others by jumping off the Breakwater from the light-house to King's end and swimming about to the admiration of all around me. Also the riding of the Franchises,²⁹ or vulgarly called the Fringes, the Lord Mayor and Corporations parading for their char-

uel Eyre, succeeding Captain Nicholas Biddle, who, December 22, 1775, was made Captain by Congress of the ship "Andrew Doria" of 14 guns. Captain Boys served as President of the Court Martial August 5-18, 1778. He was placed in charge of the Galleys and the Forts at Mud Island and Billingsport, February 13, 1781, and was Commander in Chief of the Pennsylvania Galleys 1779-1781, then comprising the "Franklin," "Hancock," "Chatham," "Viper," and "Lion," with 130 rank and file. In August, 1778, after the British evacuated Philadelphia, all the Officers of the Pennsylvania Navy were discharged, except Captain Boys and enough men to man these boats. He was ordered, May 7, 1781, to immediately raise a company of 31 rank and file to act as a garrison to defend the Forts in the Delaware. His services in defending the Delaware appear in the Correspondence of the Navy Board, and justly entitled him to a fuller recognition than he has yet received. He took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania June 23, 1777, and to the United States April 1, 1779. When Independence was assured and the rest of the Pennsylvania Navy dismissed, he was discharged from service December 20, 1781, with this action of the Executive Council:

"Ordered that Captain Nathan Boys be discharged from the State service, that the Council are sensible of his merit as an officer, and think it proper to declare their approbation of his conduct during the time he has been in the public service, and to assure him that they discharge him because the service in which he was engaged is at an end, and for no other cause." (Col. Rec. Pa., XIII, 151.) In 1791 he was one of the "Commissioners of Philadelphia for Lighting, Watching and Paving the streets of the city." He continued to be a City Commissioner until 1798. He was one of the Commissioners "to prevent forestalling in the Philadelphia Markets." (Pa. Arch., 2d S., III, 713.) He was elected 1790 a member of the Hibernian Society.

28. COLONEL JOHN NIXON. (*v. Pa. Mag. Hist.*, I, 188. *Friendly Sons*, 128.)

29. FRANCHISES. (*v. Lord Mayor's Shows, Walford's Old and New London*, I, 317-332.)

ter rights. A similar one³⁰ in this city (Philadelphia), July 4, 1788, on adoption of the Constitution, exceeded far the one in Dublin, the writer after the Axe men under Major Pancake,³¹ and the Trumpeter³² of the 1st or "Old³³ City Troop" was in the first file, and through the whole parade until dismissed at Bush hill.³⁴

The battle of Fort Wilson, 1779,³⁵ is never correctly stated. An order was given on the day on which it occurred, October 4, 1779, that the troop of horse should parade at 3 o'clock. Hearing a drum beating, and being in his uniform dress, went up to the corner of Walnut and

30. THE GRAND FEDERAL PROCESSION, July 4, 1788, celebrating the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. (Westcott, I. 447-452.)

31. MAJOR PHILIP PANCAKE, Captain 2d Battalion, 3d Class, Philadelphia Militia, August 2, 1777. Company mustered in, Wilmington, September 3, 1777. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 161; XIV. 605, 661; XV. 675.) Major 3d Battalion Philadelphia Militia, Joseph Dean, Lieut. Colonel, 1782. (*id.* 2d S., XIV. 3.) The name is uncommon. Philip Pancake was taxed Westmoreland county, Pa., 1776-1780, and Moyamensing township, Philadelphia, 1774-1779. Captain Pancake was a grocer, Dock Ward, Philadelphia, appraised 1780 at \$13,400. In 1791 Philip Pancake, grocer, lived at 160 South Fourth street, Philadelphia. He also held lands Northumberland county, 400 acres surveyed September 2, 1786, and 400 in Luzerne county, surveyed November, 1794. For account of axemen under Captain Pancake, 1788, see Westcott, I. 448.

32-3. OLD CITY TROOP. *v.* "History First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, 1774-1874." 4to, pp. 224. Philadelphia, 1874. The names of the Trumpeters of the Troop are seldom given in this book. In 1794 there were two, Michael Waltman and George Spinnenberger. In 1780 the Troop had "Forty-five members and a Trumpeter." The Trumpeter was not a member of the Troop, hence his name is lost to history.

34. BUSH HILL, the residence of Andrew Hamilton, Esq., the eminent lawyer who fearlessly and successfully defended John Peter Zenger, in New York, 1733, thus securing "the first vindication of the liberty of the Press in America." He bought a part of Springettsburg Manor and built thereon, 1740, the elegant mansion which stood here until 1875. It was used as a hospital during the Yellow Fever epidemic 1793. (Watson, II. 479; Westcott, II. 872, 943, 1605; Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 182.)

35. FORT WILSON.—In 1779 the residence of James Wilson, Esq., a signer of the Declaration of Independence, southwest corner of Third and Walnut streets, Philadelphia, was attacked by a mob. The riot was caused by the scarcity of breadstuff, and the supposed connexion of certain prominent merchants and others with the scarcity. The engraving of Fort Wilson is here given by the courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

For accounts of this riot *v.* Hazard's Register, I. 316; Watson, I. 425, II. 286; Westcott, 401-2; Pa. Mag. Hist., II. 392, V. 475; Pa. Col. Rec., XII; Archives, VII.; Life of President Joseph Reed, II, 149, 153, 423. *v.* also Note 51.

Front streets, and remember well seeing Bill Bonum,³⁶ E. Faulkner³⁷ and Captain Gibbs,³⁸ whom he knew well at the time. They wheeled up Walnut street, and while getting his sword and pistols the firing began, and he mounted and went up to the stables³⁹ in Seventh street, the usual rendezvous or parade; finding no one there, he went round to Governor Reed's⁴⁰ house in Market street, corner of Sixth, and called upon the Governor, whom he saw and spoke with to beg he would turn out, as the lives of several of our most respectable citizens were in danger. Colonel Charles Stewart⁴¹ of the New Jerseys, and in the Commissary line, came up, and hearing of the writer, called on the Governor to appear. Timothy Matlack⁴² also came and said: "You must turn out or the lives of those in the house will be laid on you." He then called his servant to bring his pistols and to order his horses; by this time we were joined by several of our troop, and upon the Governor's mounting, galloped down Market street, passing Major Lenox,⁴³ then a member of the troop, getting on his horse without his coat; and at the old Conestoga Wagon⁴⁴ were some "Continental Horse,"⁴⁵ who called to know if they should join, and were answered, "Yes, come along." Our party in-

36. WILLIAM BONHAM, probably of Mulberry Ward, died, 1782.

37. EPHRAIM FALCONER, Captain 6th Batt. Phila. Militia; of Southwark, 1769-1783, when he died. (Pa. Arch., 3d S. V. 445, 458, 471.)

38. GILBERT GIBBS, Captain 8th Batt. Pa. Associators, Chester Co., the only officer named Gibbs in the Pa. Militia. (*id.* XIV. 75, 104.)

39. JACOB HILTZEIMER'S Livery Stables, 7th St. between Market and Chestnut Sts. (Watson, III. 227. Hiltzheimer's Diary, Pa. Mag. Hist., XVI. 93, 160, 412.)

40. REED. (*v.* Note 25.)

41. COLONEL CHARLES STEWART of N. J. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 683.)

42. TIMOTHY MATLACK. ("Simpson's Lives of Eminent Philadelphians," 685.)

43. MAJOR DAVID LENOX. *v.* Note 54.

44. "CONESTOGA WAGON," a tavern then on Market St. above 4th St., kept, 1791, by Samuel Nichols.

45. The CAVALRY of the Continental Line.

creased as we went down Third street, and arriving at the corner, firing was pretty quick, both from and to the house. Riding up to the front door in Third street, Ross,⁴⁶ a blacksmith with a wooden leg, was just raising a sledge hammer to break the door open, when the writer drew his pistol and told him if he struck another stroke he would shoot him; and then came up old Alderman Samuel Mifflin⁴⁷ and seized him by the arm and told him to join the Governor, then turning into Walnut street, but the door opening from the inside, I saw the body of Lieutenant Campbell⁴⁸ falling on the stairs, being shot through the cellar window, as told at that moment. Joining Governor Reed in Walnut street, and the firing continuing both at and from the house, a black boy was shot at the pump before Bishop White's house, 89 Walnut street. Governor Reed ordered Isaac Coxe⁴⁹ and the writer to stay by his side, and upon the coming up of the "Continental Horse" before mentioned, "asking under what orders do you act," our Lieutenant Budden⁵⁰ desired

46. ROSS.—Conyngham wrote as an eyewitness in personal conflict with Ross, whom he identified by his wooden leg. Westcott says (1, 402): "An unsuccessful attempt was made to force the door of the house, but a rioter named Huler procured a sledgehammer from a blacksmith shop on Pearl street and used it with such effect that the door gave way, and Huler, accompanied by a German who had aided in procuring the hammer, rushed in," &c. Huler's success may have followed the failure of Ross. Mr. John Jordan, Jr., wrote me that this was "Hugh Ross," Blacksmith, of Carter's Alley, 1785.

47. CAPTAIN SAMUEL MIFFLIN. (*v.* "Memoranda relating to the Mifflin Family," 1. H. Merrill, 1890, pp. 44-45. Keith's Provincial Council of Pa., 362-370.)

48. LIEUTENANT ROBERT CAMPBELL, "2d Lieutenant, 2d Battalion, Miles' Riflemen, March 19, 1776; 1st Lieutenant, 2d Canadian (Hazen's) Regiment, April 8, 1777; wounded and taken prisoner, Staten Island, August 22, 1777; rejoined regiment Aug. 5, 1778; transferred to Invalid Regiment January 1, 1778; killed October 4, 1779, where not stated." (Heitman's Register, 114.)

49. ISAAC COX, Paymaster, Colonel Samuel Miles' Pennsylvania Riflemen, September 18, 1776; resigned October 16, 1776; elected member Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; served in New Jersey Campaigns 1779, 1780, 1781; Honorary Member May 4, 1790; Member Gloucester Fox Hunting Club May 21, 1778.

50. LIEUTENANT JAMES BUDDEN, both —; died January 7, 1788; Member City Troop November 17, 1774; "made 2d Lieutenant December, 1776, in consequence of having distinguished himself in the battles of Princeton and Trenton, where a small detachment of the Troop vanquished and took prisoner a party of the enemy greatly superior

me to ask the Governor, who readily said, "Charge all armed men"; upon which they attacked and assisted to route the mob. Seeing them give way, the party in the house came out and formed at the corner of Third and Walnut streets.

Sam Morris was shot in the arm, standing on the porch or steps of Allen McClane's house, Walnut street. Robert Morris, J. Benzett, the two Nicholls, Col. Burd of Reading, McCulloch and the rest of the party⁵¹ from the house

in number." (Pa. Mag. Hist., XV. 225.) They captured eleven Light Dragoons dismounted and with muskets in hand. Budden served in every campaign in which the Troop acted from 1774 to 1783. Honorary Member City Troop May 1, 1787.

51. FORT WILSON.—No complete list of the prominent gentlemen who were present inside Fort Wilson during the attack of the mob, October 4, 1779, has been found. From these Reminiscences and all the other accounts of the riot, with the record from official documents of those who presented themselves to the Executive Council in obedience to the proclamation of President Reed, October 6, a list of thirty-two has been made, and will doubtless be found correct.

COLONEL MARK BIRD. (*v.* Berks County in the Revolution, 212.)

PAUL BECK, JR. (*v.* Simpson's Lives of Eminent Philadelphians, 37-48.)

JOHN BENEZET. Taxed, Mulberry Ward, Philadelphia, 1769-1774; Dock Ward, 1779-1780; Member American Society Promotion Useful Knowledge 1769; Member Provincial Council January 23, 1775; Member Philadelphia Committee Correspondence August 16, 1775. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., III. 676; Force's Arch., III. 145.) Did he marry, Christ's Church, October 26, 1775, Hannah Bingham? James Allen, in his Diary, July 30, 1777, says: "My late neighbor in the Country, Mr. John Benezet, is just arrived here [Northampton county;] he is now a Commissioner of Claims and a staunch Whig." He was dead 1781. Mr. Benezet was probably the one of his name who was lost at sea in the privateer "Shillelah" December, 1780, of which *see later*.

WILLIAM BELL, Merchant, 217 High street. (*v.* History Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 348.)

LIEUTENANT ROBERT CAMPBELL. (*v.* Note 48.)

GEORGE CAMPBELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons 103, Simpson 174.)

GEORGE CLYMER. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 354; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., III. 272, &c.)

DANIEL C. CLYMER. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., IX. 354.)

LIEUTENANT STEPHEN CHAMBERS. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., XI. 69-70.)

CAPTAIN SHARP DELANEY. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 108.)

MAJOR DAVID SOLEBURY FRANKS. Aid to Arnold, May, 1778—September 25, 1780. Continued as Major and Aide de Camp, Continental Army, until retired January 1, 1783. (Heitman, 182.)

COLONEL. — GRESSELL, U. S. A. There is no such name in the Army Lists.

"Colonel Gressell of the Continental Army, who was in the House of James Wilson, Esq., on the fourth of October instant at the time of the riot there, attended, and it appearing that he had used his influence to prevent Bloodshed, and has no intention of taking part on either side, He was dismissed, with a request that he will attend as an evidence, if he shall be called upon." (Record of the Supreme Exec. Council, Pa. Col. Rec., XII. 145.)

paraded through the streets, and were insulted everywhere, especially about Vine street. They stopped a piece of cannon from the Laboratory⁵² in Third street, which the

COLONEL WILLIAM GRAYSON. (*v.* Hist. Maryland Line, Seventy-Six Society, p. 99-168.)

THOMAS LAWRENCE.
JOHN LAWRENCE, JR.
STAATS LAWRENCE, minor. } (*v.* Keith's Provincial Councilors, 430-456.)

CAPTAIN ALLEN McLANE. (*v.* Day's Hist. Coll. Pa., 501; Scharff's Hist. Delaware, 208; Life and Correspondence of President Reed, II. 150-152; Watson, 321.)

MATTHEW McCONNELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 473.)

— McCULLOCH, named by D. H. Conyngham; possibly error of Amanuensis for McConnell, or Captain John McCulloch, Pa. Line.

GENERAL THOMAS MIFFLIN. (*v.* Keith, 362-379; Mifflin Family, 18-28.)

JOHN FISHBOURNE MIFFLIN. (*v.* Keith, 363; Mifflin, 56.)

ROBERT MORRIS. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 333; Simpson, 102; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 410, &c. Oberholzer's "Robert Morris," &c., 1903.)

SAMUEL MORRIS. (*v.* Hist. Phila. City Troop, 136; Simpson, 723.)

MAJOR WILLIAM NICHOLS, brother of Francis Nichols; Maj. Continental Army 1776; Member City Troop May 17, 1779; Honorary Member July 19, 1798; Clerk Orphans' Court 1786-1790; United States Marshal for District of Pennsylvania April, 1795; Marshal of Admiralty Court 1798; died 1804. He was a wine and cloth merchant, North Market street, opposite "Indian King," December, 1780. Living at 3 South Fourth street 1791; Member Hibernian Society, 1790.

MAJOR FRANCIS NICHOLS. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 127.)

MAJOR LEWIS NICHOLA. (*v.* Westcott, I. 333, 439.)

MATTHEW POTTS.

NATHANIEL POTTS. Member Berks County Bar August 1, 1781; Philadelphia Bar September, 1782.

JOHN POTTS, JR. Member Philadelphia Bar October 20, 1759.

DR. JONATHAN POTTS. (*v.* Berks County in Revolution, 263; Heitman, 334; Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 175-180.)

ANDREW ROBESON, for Andrew Robeson, Esq. Member Philadelphia Bar 1773; Register Court of Admiralty June 3, 1779; died May 28, 1781, aged 29. (Col. Rec., XII. 14, 745.)

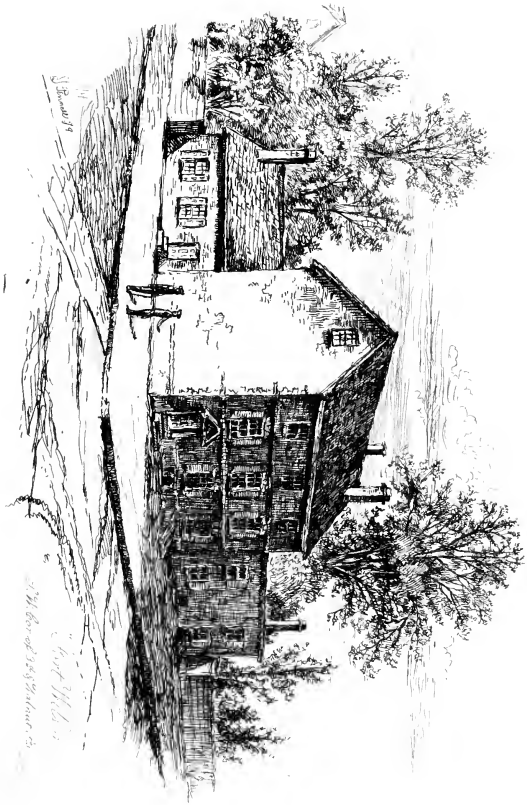
JOHN SCHAFFER, Paymaster First Battalion Philadelphia Militia. (*v.* Col. Rec. XI. 29.)

GENERAL WILLIAM THOMPSON. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 135.)

JAMES WILSON. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., XI. 270; Simpson, 964; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., I. 22.)

October 6, 1779, Governor Reed issued his proclamation commanding all who were "concerned in the Unhappy Transaction" to surrender themselves to the Sheriff of Philadelphia and be committed to jail until released on bail. Of the above named gentlemen the following only obeyed this order, appeared before the Executive Council, and gave bail for further appearance: Colonel Bird, Daniel Clymer, Stephen Chambers, Colonel Gressell, Major Franks, John F. Mifflin, John Lawrence, Jr., Staats Lawrence, Matthew McConnell, Major Nichols, Dr. Jonathan Potts, Nathaniel Potts, John Potts, Jr., James Wilson, and William Bell, trader. (Col. Rec. Pa., XII, 122-154.)

52. LABORATORY, on Third street, probably the old "Workhouse," Third and Market streets, used 1778-1779, for casting balls, &c., and fitted up by Captain Stiles for a magazine of small arms.



St. James 19

East Hill
St. James at 1897



writer well recollects was given in charge of Commodore James Nicholson⁵³ of the Navy. The names first present were :

D. Lenox,⁵⁴ John Barclay,⁵⁵ William Hall,⁵⁶ J. M. Nesbitt,⁵⁷ M. M. O'Brien,⁵⁸ D. H. Conyngham,⁵⁹ Isaac Coxe,⁶⁰

53. COMMODORE JAMES NICHOLSON. (*v.* Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 231.)

54. MAJOR DAVID LENOX, horn —; died April 19, 1828; commissioned Captain 3d Battalion Pennsylvania Militia, Colonels Shea and Cadwallader, January 5, 1776. Was in Fort Washington when it was captured, November 16, 1776. Detached with a part of his Battalion to oppose the landing of the Hessians, 42d Regiment, his command fought with great valor, killing and wounding upwards of 90 of the enemy, with small loss to his own troops. Was taken prisoner and held 18 months, exchanged April 20, 1778. He tells the rest of his military service in his letter, April, 1786, to the Executive Council. (*Pa. Arch.*, X. 754.)

"I was taken Prisoner the 16th Nov. 1776 and Exchanged the 2d April 1778, but was not released till the 15th May. I then joined the Army at Valley Forge, but found that I could not get the Rank to which I was entitled; however having every wish to continue in the Service, I joined General Wayne's Family, & continued the whole Campaign. The Committee of Congress, consisting of General Read from this State, and Colonel Bannister from Virginia, together with the Commanding Officer of each Line, met at the White Plains in August 1778, to ascertain the Rank of the Army. They wishing to do me all the Justice in their power, fixed my Rank, Vizt, a Majority from the 7th June 1777: but the situation of the Army did not admit of my getting the Command to which I was entitled—this is Certified by General Wayne, who was then the Commanding Officer of the Pennsya Line. The Comptroller General has settled with me to the 20th April 1778: but as I could not get my Command, I left the Army after the Campaign of 1778 & think it a hardship to be deprived of my Pay &c, after that time. I refer to General Wayne's Certificate for the facts set forth. D. L."

Indorsed, "1786 April 3." (*Pa. Arch.*, X. 754. See letter of like import, September 5, 1786, *Pa. Arch.*, XI. 55.)

Major Lenox entered Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; served as private in the campaign of August, 1777-9, and 1780 and 1781 in New Jersey; was First Lieutenant 1794-1796; Honorary Member October 24, 1796; appointed Marshal U. S. Admiralty Court September 26, 1793, serving until May 18, 1795. His participation in the defence of Fort Mifflin will be found in the various accounts of the riot. He was also one of the Marshals of the Grand Federal Procession July 4, 1788; Member Committee of Correspondence appointed after the Chesapeake outrage 1807; was selected by Girard, one of the Trustees of the Girard Bank, May 23, 1812, and continued until his death. He was also, 1813, one of the Committee of Superintendence for the Protection of the River Delaware and Philadelphia; President Philadelphia Bank 1813-1818; and a member of the State Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania.

55. JOHN BARCLAY. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 95.)

56. WILLIAM HALL, Member City Troop November 14, 1774; resigned June 30, 1803; Honorary Member July 29, 1803; Member Pennsylvania Assembly 1798-1800; died December 10, 1831.

57. JOHN M. NESBITT. (*v.* page 188, Note 4.)

58. M. M. O'BRIEN. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 129.)

59. D. H. CONYNGHAM. (*v.* Introduction, p. 183-200.)

60. ISAAC COXE. (*v.* Note 45.)

Thomas C. Morris,⁶¹ Thomas Leiper,⁶² John Dunlap,⁶³ Lieut. Budden,⁶⁴ Ben Davis,⁶⁵ David Duncan,⁶⁶ Alex'r Nesbitt,⁶⁷ John Lardner,⁶⁸ and the rest of the old "City" or 1st⁶⁹ troops as they appeared, and being sent through the city as patrols, put several into prison; and in riding through Race or Vine

61. THOMAS C. MORRIS, Member City Troop March, 1777; Honorary Member Feb. 22, 1783; served in Campaigns 1777-1781; died —.

62. THOMAS LEIPER. (*v.* Simpson, p. 648.)

63. JOHN DUNLAP. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 109; History First Troop, p. 143.)

64. *v.* NOTE 50.

65. BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR. History City Troop says: "Lieutenant Flying Camp, 1776; Member City Troop October, 1778; in campaigns 1777-9, 1780, 1781; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; died 1810." Heitman says: "First Lieutenant Pennsylvania Battalion October 27, 1775; Captain January 5, 1776; resigned November 21, 1777." He gives another Benjamin Davis, First Lieutenant Flying Camp July, 1776; prisoner Fort Washington November 16, 1776; released December 8, 1780. There was also a Benjamin Davis, Captain Engineers, Philadelphia Militia, September 12, 1777. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 648.) Benjamin Davis, Jr., Philadelphia, appointed Measurer of Grain and Salt, 1790. (*v.* Pa. Arch., XI. 766.)

66. DAVID DUNCAN, Member City Troop July 4, 1779; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; died —. In campaigns of 1779 and 1781. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 400.)

67. ALEXANDER NESBITT, brother of John Maxwell and Jonathan Nesbitt, came from Loughbrickland, County Down, Ireland, son of Alexander Nesbitt, born Ireland —, died Philadelphia September, 1791. He was apprenticed to Conyngham & Nesbitt. In 1774 he espoused the American cause; was elected member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1776; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; served in the campaigns of January-February, 1777; at Germantown September-October, 1777; at Princeton and Fort Wilson 1779; Somerset, N. J., 1780-1781. Took the oath of allegiance to Pennsylvania June 27, 1777. When the Supreme Executive Council requested the City Troop to attend and guard the prisoners who were deported to Virginia for refusing to take the "Test Oath," they successfully plead to be sent to the front to join Washington instead; but the Council requested that two members of the Troop should proceed to Virginia. Alexander Nesbitt and Samuel Caldwell were elected to perform that duty.

In June, 1779, Mr. Nesbitt was in partnership with Colonel Walter Stewart in the Dry Goods business. He was Godfather to Colonel Stewart's son Robert 1780. He was elected a member of Gloucester Fox Hunting Club 1775; the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1778; the Hibernian Society 1790. In 1786 he was a contributor to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

68. JOHN LARDNER. Member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1775; Honorary Member October 24, 1786; Member Pennsylvania Association 1791-1792; died February 12, 1825.

69. The above appears to be a correct list of the members of the City Troop who participated in the defence of Fort Wilson. The Biographer of James Wilson gives seven only, among whom he names Major Francis Nichols and Major William Nichols. Major Francis Nichols was not with the Troop that day, but was in Mr. Wilson's house, as he stated October 19, 1779, when he surrendered himself to the Council and gave bail. (Col. Rec., XII. 137.) Conyngham shows that, instead of seven, fifteen of the Troop rallied to the rescue during the riot of the 4th instant.

street, remembers large stones and bricks thrown down upon us—a large one went between Ben Davis and him in Vine or Race street, supposed from a house whose head had been elected to valuable State offices, while the writer cannot obtain justice as to losses and sufferings from capture and loss of property.

Remembers having passed up to above Third street in the Dock, and has often received flat and boat loads of goods just below the bridge in Second street, and has seen Dr. Phineas Bond⁷⁰ shooting woodcock or snipe from Pear to Spruce street, then a marsh with shrub, elder, woods, &c.

Remembers well the beautiful woods⁷¹ to the Schuylkill; they were cut down by the British. Has often enjoyed the same in his rides; and remembers the race of Pacolet,⁷² Childers, and Northumberland the Irish horse; the course then coming into Eighth or Ninth street. Also remembers primitive trees in Norris'⁷³ stable yard, and original or native Walnut trees at Clark's⁷⁴ ball alley, opposite the State House, now near the U. S. Bank and superb stores and shops.

Coming from Martinique in the beginning of the year 1779 sailed in the "Nautilus,"⁷⁵ Captain Kellum and 2d Captain Brown, under convoy of the French frigate "Blanche"⁷⁶ and "Senegal" corvette;⁷⁷ called at Guada-

70. DR. PHINEAS BOND. (*v.* Sabine's Loyalists, I. 235; Col. Rec. Pa., XI., XV.; Pa. Arch., VI., IX.; Westcott, 923.)

71. "THE GOVERNOR'S WOODS," or "Centre Woods," from Broad street to the Schuylkill and from High to South street. (*v.* Westcott, I. 231.)

72. THE RACE COURSE referred to, and which gave the name to Race street, was in a circular form from Arch or Race street down Spruce, and from 8th street of Delaware to the Schuylkill, two miles for a heat. (Westcott, 940; Hayden's Virginia Genealogies, 471.) The Pacolet and Childers race occurred before 1820, when the law forbid races in the city, but all efforts to learn the exact date have failed.

73. ISAAC NORRIS' House and Garden. (*v.* Watson, I. 408.)

74. CLARKE'S HALL. (*v.* Watson, I. 374; III. 190.)

75. THE "NAUTILUS," probably owned by Conyngham & Nesbitt.

76. FRIGATE "LA BLANCHE." This was one of D'Estaing's fleet, 1778-1779, a Frigate of 26 guns commanded by M. de La Gallissonniere. It was taken from the French by

loupe and Eustatia, and while landing both there and at Guadaloupe was hurried off by the fleet getting under way and was forced to go on board; got clear of the passages to leeward, Anegada,⁷⁸ Sabra,⁷⁹ etc., and in running for the coast of America parted with the convoy, passed a fleet outward bound, supposed under convey of the "Goliath," British heavy ship, and ran for the coast of America, when, on the morning of blank date, a cry was made of "land or breakers," which, as we supposed, was Hatteras, when, as the day broke, we found it was a large British fleet, and as the day increased were chased by a frigate, and had to run our brig almost under water to get clear of her; but as the wind was fair and continued fresh until ten o'clock, and we had outsailed or the frigate had rejoined her convoy, we made land and stood along shore, when the wind shifting to the westward as we neared the Cape Henry, found a large fleet of British cruisers and privateers coming out of the Chesapeake.⁸⁰ We tried to stand off, but they so manœuvred that we could not clear them, and a fast-sailing armed schooner exchanged shots with us, finding which we "about ship" and ran on shore about eight miles above Currituck,⁸¹ and next day, having cut away our masts and having land-

Admiral Rowley in the West Indies, November, 1779. Grasse and la Motte-Piquet were sent by d'Estaing with ten vessels to the Antilles. They were all dispersed in a tempest, "et les frégates *la Blanche*, *l'Alemene* et *la Fortunee* tomberent aux mains des Anglais." Noailles "Marins et Soldats Français en Amérique," 1903, pp. 104-105, 375; Pa. Mag., Hist., XXVII., p. 201.

77. CORVETTE "LE SENEGAL," a British vessel of 16 guns, commanded by Captain J. Ingliss, taken from them by D'Estaing in 1778 (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., XXVII. 200), and while in the French fleet commanded by the Count de Gambis, she was recaptured 1780 on the River Gambia, E. I., by her former commander. (*id.* 202.) D'Estaing sent her, January 7, 1779, to France, at which time she, with the frigate *La Blanche*, conveyed the *Nautilus* on its way to the coast of America. Noailles "Marin et Soldat Française en Amérique," 1903, p. 62.

78. ANEGARDA, one of the Virgin Islands. •

79. SABA, one of the Dutch West Indies.

80. SIR GEORGE COLLIER'S FLEET, which attacked Fort Nelson and Norfolk Navy Yard, Va., May, 1779, entered Hampton Roads May 9. (*v.* Lossing, II. 332.)

81. CURRITUCK ISLAND, enclosing Currituck Sound.

ed our guns and got some powder and shot, and being joined by the Militia of Princess Anne, Virginia, we beat them off in the attacks of the schooners and a brig of 12 or 14 guns whose peaktye was shot off by the gun under my command and was near bringing her on shore. Our salt was lost, but saved eight bales of blankets belonging to the United States and a quantity of hardware for Mr. Cabarris⁸² of North Carolina. I stayed several days with the wreck and then went up to Kemp's⁸³ landing, where I found stores for the cargo, and went to Norfolk,⁸⁴ then in ruins from the burning by the British; purchased a horse and sulky from Paul Siemer;⁸⁵ travelled through Virginia in company with Colonel Walter Stewart,⁸⁶ Colonel Ball⁸⁷ of the American Army, then on furlough, and with Nicholas Low⁸⁸ of New York and Captain Samuel Smith⁸⁹ of Baltimore. Remembers well the peach trees in blossom in Princess Anne; and as we came on had a fall of snow that killed all the fruit that season.

Passed some days in Baltimore, and was forwarded on by

82. HON. STEPHEN CABARRIS, born France 1754; died Pembroke, North Carolina, 1808; Member North Carolina Legislature from Edenton 1784-1787, and Chowan county 1788-1805; Speaker House of Commons 1800-1805; lived, died and buried at Pembroke. Cabarris county was named for him. (*v.* Wheeler's North Carolina, II. 94.)

83. KEMP'S LANDING, Princess Anne County, Va., ten miles from Norfolk. In 1783 the Assembly set off "60 acres lying at the place commonly known as Kemp's Landing to establish the town of Kempsville," at the head of tidewater on Elizabeth River, named for Mr. George Kemp. (Hening's Statutes of Va., XI. 270.) Princess Anne County is the southeast corner of Virginia.

84. NORFOLK, VA., burned by Lord Dunmore January 1, 1776.

85. PAUL SIEMER of Norfolk.

86. COLONEL WALTER STEWART came to Philadelphia as apprentice to the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt. (*v.* Friendly Sons, p. 134.)

87. COLONEL BURGESS BALL of "Traveller's Rest," Spotsylvania County, and "Springwood," Loudoun County, Va., a near relative and volunteer Aide to General Washington; Lieutenant Colonel First Virginia Regiment, Continental Army, 1777. (*v.* sketch of him, Hayden's "Virginia Genealogies, 111-116.)

88. NICHOLAS LOW, merchant, New York City. (*v.* Barrett's Merchants of New York; Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 38.)

89. CAPTAIN SAMUEL SMITH. Captain 6th Company, Smallwood's Regiment, Maryland Line, 1776; Major General Militia, War of 1812. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 587; Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog., I. 73.)

my Cousin David Plunkett,⁹⁰ who lent me a horse and servant to reach Philadelphia, where I quartered with J. M. Nesbitt in Front street. Was generally introduced into all

90. CAPT. DAVID PLUNKET was the second son of Rev. Thomas Plunket of Dublin, Ireland, and his wife Mary Conyngham, sister of Redmond Conyngham, Esq., thus younger brother of William Conyngham Plunket, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Baron Plunket, Peerage of Great Britain. He was born Dublin about 1750, came to Philadelphia 1766 as an apprentice to his uncle in the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. to learn the shipping business. After the expiration of his time he located, 1771, in Baltimore, Md., and in 1779, with his cousin David Stewart, another nephew of Redmond Conyngham, began the commercial life of the firm of Stewart & Plunket. When the War of the Revolution opened he warmly espoused the American cause and entered the Regiment of Colonel Smallwood as 2d Lieutenant, Captain Peter Adams' Company, elected by the Convention of Maryland January 2, 1776, serving to December, 1776. He was with his company in the battle of Long Island, August 22-23, 1776, where his command was surrounded by the British in overwhelming numbers. When it was determined not to surrender, but to cut their way through the enemy's lines, Lieutenant Plunket acted with distinguished bravery. McSherry says (201-202): "Major Gist with 400 Maryland troops charged on Cornwallis' lines five times, each time being repulsed, but the sixth charge resulted in victory, but with a loss to the Marylanders of 259 officers and men." Of the charge a writer who was in the battle says: "The Major, Captain Ramsey and Lieutenant Plunket were foremost and within 100 yards of the enemy's muzzles when they was fired on by the enemy, who were chiefly under cover of an orchard." The lines of the enemy were penetrated, but Plunket was untouched. (Moore's Diary, I. 297.) The company of Captain Adams numbered 60 at the battle of Long Island. In September following only three were returned as "present fit for duty," so fearful was the fatality of that action. Lieutenant Plunket was commissioned Captain 4th Continental Dragoons January 10, 1777; was captured by the British October 20, 1777, and exchanged in 1778, but resigned March 1, 1779. It was Plunket's desire at the first to enter the Navy rather than the Army, as a letter from General Richard Henry Lee to the Maryland Committee of Safety indicates. The Committee had in 1776 recommended him to be a Captain of Marines, but the place sought had long before been filled. He was, however, appointed 3d Lieutenant U. S. Navy July 20, 1781, and served until the war ended. He received from the State of Maryland £343.9.10 compensation for depreciated pay. In 1776 he was the officer sent by the Committee of Safety, "as one in whose prudence and industry we can rely," to wait on Congress to receive from that body instructions relative to the seizure of the person of Governor Eden of Maryland. In 1777 he was an enthusiastic member of the Baltimore Whig Club, every one of which was "pledged to save our invaded country," and as such was prominent in the unsuccessful attempt of the Club, under Commodore Nicholson, to banish from the State the Tory editor of the Maryland Journal, William Goddard, for his treasonable articles. (Schaff's History of Baltimore.)

In 1793 he was a captain of a company of mounted volunteers formed in view of war with France then threatened. He was also a member of the committee of citizens appointed to provide for the French Refugees of Hispaniola.

At the close of the war he resumed his connection with the commercial house of Stewart & Plunket, and subsequently realized quite a fortune. Baker, in his "Itinerary of Washington," notes his dining with Washington in Philadelphia September, 1791. (Pa. Mag. Hist., XX. 199.) He died at sea in 1793, en route for Ireland from the West Indies, leaving £40,000 to be divided between the lady to whom he was engaged and his brother, Lord Plunket. (v. Life, Letters and Speeches of Lord Plunket, 2 vols., London, 1867, p. 28, *et seq.*)

societies, and saw the traitor Arnold, then married to the beautiful Miss Shippen,⁹¹ but at this day declare I never liked or was sociable with him. If I am not much deceived or nought in my conjecture, I think if King William would allow his being in Philadelphia for one evening, I, in company with Major Mercer⁹² of Virginia, visiting at Dr. Redman's⁹³ in Second street, we were shut out and refused entrance. After some days it was told by some of the young ladies that a Tory of important character was drinking tea with them. G. Evans, at the Tavern,⁹⁴ now the "Merchants' Coffee House," told me in confidence that an officer whom I saw on the stairs was Prince Edward, who, with a party from Canada, was travelling "incognito," it shows the conduct of parties at this day, and to whom ought to be held up the rewards of officers, when, alack, it is all the reverse.

In the year 1779 or 80, before Robert Morris was in public life, he usually had a party to dine with him on Saturday, or perhaps it was before and during the stoppage of the Port. The party were generally Mr. J. M. Nesbitt, Poor, Beach, and if a stranger were in town for whom he wished a compliment; the fact attending this I well remember, but cannot so well fix the time or date. Dinner being on the table on a Saturday, Mrs. Morris was much embarrassed by Mr. Morris keeping the company waiting, and when he came he said he was detained by dispatching Captain Wilson in their schooner "Lyon" for the Havanna. It so happened in about three or four weeks the usual party

91. MARGARET SHIPPEN. (*v.* Keith's *Prov. Councillors Pa.*, p. 64; *Pa. Mag. Hist.*, Vols. XXIV., XXV., XXVI.)

92. MAJOR JOHN FRANCIS MERCER, 1st Lieutenant, 3d Virginia Regiment, February 26, 1776; wounded Brandywine September 11, 1777; Captain June 27, 1777; Major and Aide de Camp to General Henry Lee June 8, 1778; resigned October —, 1779; Lieutenant Colonel Virginia Militia October, 1780—November, 1781; died August 30, 1821. (*App. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, III. 301; Heitman, 291.)

93. JOHN REDMAN. (*v.* Note 128.)

94. MERCHANTS' COFFEE HOUSE, called, 1774, "The New Tavern," in Second street above Walnut. (*Marshall's Diary*, 10.)

were met, and just after dinner the servant introduced Captain Wilson, and Mr. Morris broke out in a great rage and surprise, abusing Captain Wilson; but on the Captain handing him his letters and papers was surprised at finding he had been to Havanna, and through a mistake had not only made a great but a quick voyage, for on looking to his orders 300 boxes of sugar were put on board in place of 300 boxes of segars, as ordered by Mr. Morris, and proved a good and fortunate voyage.

In 1781, when Robert Morris was Financier and Gouverneur Morris Assistant,⁹⁵ the Continental money was so depreciated that the Treasury was at a low state, when Mr. Morris placed John Swanwick⁹⁶ in a room at Jacob Barge's⁹⁷ house in Market street, with power to issue notes, redeemable with specie or bank notes; and remember that I have, upon application from Mr. Morris, sent up from our chest, on different days, 5,000, 6,000 and 7,000 dollars, which being, when sent up, spread out on the counter and offered to such as had orders, on seeing the specie, would take the notes signed J. Swanwick, and gave a renewed credit to the measures of Mr. Morris as Financier.

95. ROBERT MORRIS was appointed Superintendent of Finance, and Gouverneur Morris his Assistant, February 20, 1780. (*v.* Life of Gouverneur Morris.)

96. JOHN SWANWICK. Of him Ritter, in "Philadelphia and her Merchants," says (p. 48): "A shipping merchant, held a prominent position at No. 20 Penn steet [Directory of 1791 says No. 19], for in addition to his mercantile pursuits, and his general association with ships and cargoes of sugar, teas, coffee, etc., he was a politician of 1796-1798, a Democrat of some importance, and as such was elected and sent to Congress about 1795-1796, where he was also an opponent of Jay's treaty; these extraneous matters being adverse to merchandizing, drew heavily upon his prosperity which suppressed a successful issue to his labors." His Congressional term was from 1795 to 1799, but he resigned before his second term had expired, in 1798. At the death in 1783 of Mr. Inglis of the firm of "Willing, Morris & Inglis," he was taken into partnership and the firm became "Willing, Morris & Swanwick." Sumner, in his "Financier and Finances of the American Revolution," II. 157, refers to the incident as told by Conyngham, as does Oboetholtzer's "Robert Morris," 1903, 155, 156, 214, but with no mention as to who supplied the coin.

97. JACOB BARGE, Gentleman, 191 High street, in 1791. Hiltzheimer's Diary, Pa. Mag. Hist., XVI., makes frequent mention of Mr. Barge.

Remembers [June, 1783] Mr. Boudinot⁹⁸ frightened out of Congress Hall by the clamour of the Invalids, and leaving his post; and when I went home, found Mr. and Mrs. Morris at my house at "Woodford" on the Ridge Road four miles,⁹⁹ where they stayed until the alarm was over, which they were sorry they had dreaded, or had been alarmed about.

In his reminiscences has to record a fact fatal to him connectively in point of loss. Just before the Peace took place in 1783, Jonathan Nesbitt,¹⁰⁰ who had been settled in L'Orient in France under the protection of Robert Morris and

98. ELIAS BOUDINOT. (*v. Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, II, 274.) He was elected President of the Continental Congress November 4, 1782, and was presiding over the session of June, 1783, when the less than one hundred disbanded soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line marched from Lancaster to Philadelphia to ask Congress for the pay due them.

"The mutinous soldiers, under charge of certain sergeants, presented themselves drawn up in the street before the State House where Congress was assembled. They made no attempt to enter the building or to insult any member of Congress. * * * Although no attempt was made to compel Congress by force to grant the demands of the soldiers, yet its members became very much alarmed and adjourned to meet at Princeton." (*v. Life of John Dickenson*, Stillé I. 244.)

This was the occasion of Mr. Boudinot being frightened out of Congress and Morris' flight to "Woodford." Oberholzer's Robert Morris, p. 182, mentions the flight of Morris "to the house of a friend."

99. "WOODFORD," four miles from Philadelphia, 1783, was located in what is now Fairmount Park on the Ridge Road, not far from the Macpherson mansion occupied by General Arnold.

Drinker's Journal records that, "July 5, 1797, this morning the elegant seat of Hayfield Conyngham, Esq., in the neighbourhood of this city, was burned down." The Mount Pleasant estate, on which the Macpherson house stood, was on the east bank of the Schuylkill. (*v. Westcott*, 389; *Watson*, III, 494.)

100. JONATHAN NESBITT, brother of John Maxwell Nesbitt, born County Down, Ireland, was apprenticed to his brother. When his time had expired he sailed, 1775, in the "Charming Peggy," Captain Gustavus Conyngham, as supercargo, with a load of flaxseed for Europe. Arriving at Dunkirk, France, he went to Holland to buy powder and other munitions of war for Pennsylvania to be shipped on the "Peggy." These articles he shipped in Dutch vessels, which transferred them to Conyngham's ship, but they were lost in her subsequent capture. He then located at L'Orient, in the south of France, made a port of entry 1770. Here he established a mercantile house as a source of supply for Pennsylvania, and interested himself with great energy in aiding the Colony. Mr. Conyngham here tells of his misfortunes and death. He was in Philadelphia 1785 and attended the meeting, as a guest, of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick December 17, 1785. Also in 1792, when he had 1600 acres of land surveyed for him in Huntingdon county, or else his brother had it done for him. In 1773, 1774 he had 1500 acres in Northumberland county and 1200 in Westmoreland county. (*v. Letter from Nesbitt about Capt. Gustavus Conyngham, Hale's "Franklin in France,"* I. 344.)

Mr. Nesbitt was never a member of the firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co.

the house of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., hearing rumours of or about peace, went up to Paris, and in confidence asked Dr. Franklin whether he ought or should go on in heavy shipments to America, having then the three ships, "Congress," 28 guns, "Intrepid," 30 guns, and a ship fitted out for 20 guns, when Dr. Franklin told him to go on, and he carried on his equipment, and they sailed under an agreement to assist and fight together. Coming on the coast, the "Intrepid," Moses Brown, Captain,¹⁰¹ and the "Congress," Captain Geddes,¹⁰² ran from poor Captain Thomas Bell in the "Renette,"¹⁰³ who, falling in with an English brig, called the "Morson," captured her and weakened his crew, and in a day after was attacked by a British sloop of war, which he fought until a shot carried off his hand, and he was forced to surrender, thus losing the concerned a great value; and the two others that got in safely had not been in but a few

101. The "INTREPID," Captain Moses Brown of New Hampshire, a vessel of 120 guns and 160 men, which in 1779 took four vessels from the enemy. (*v.* McClay's *Am. Privateers*, 134.)

102. The "CONGRESS," Captain George Geddes of Philadelphia, was a Pennsylvania ship of 24 guns and 200 men commissioned by the Naval Board 1781. Captain Geddes commanded the brig "Holker," 10 guns and 35 men, 1779. In June, 1779, he captured the British ship "Diana," having on board 80 cannons, 60 swivels, 10 cohorns, &c. In August, 1779, he captured three brigs with cargoes of rum and sugar, one of which was wrecked on Cape May; also a sloop of 6 guns with cargo of dry goods. He captured, 1779, the scow "Friendship," but unfortunately liberated the captain and crew, for which action he was required by the Supreme Executive Council to give bond. (*Col. Rec.*, XII. 49; *Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., I. 370.) In command of the "Congress," September 6, 1781, he had his memorable engagement off Charleston with the British sloop of war "Savage," commanded by Captain C. Stirling, with 20 guns and 150 men. The British reports credits her with 16 guns. (*Pa. Mag. Hist.* XXVII. 200.) After a severe action of two hours the "Savage" surrendered, having lost her captain, and 55 killed and wounded. (*McClay, American Privateers*, 211-123.) Captain Geddes lived, 1791, at 67 Vine street, Philadelphia.

103. The "RENETTE," Captain Thomas Bell of Pennsylvania, 20 guns. Of this vessel nothing more than Mr. Conyngham states can be learned. She was fitted out in France under Jonathau Nesbitt, and apparently was not registered in Philadelphia. The action between the "Renette" and the British sloop of war was probably the last naval engagement of the Revolution. The action is not recorded in the list of losses published *Pa. Mag.* XXVII. 176-205. Captain Bell was commissioned November 13, 1776, by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, commander of the privateer "Speedwell," owned by J. M. Nesbitt & Co., a ship of 10 guns and 25 men. In 1780 she had been purchased by the State, and Captain Bell then became master of the "Renette." In 1781 he lived in Philadelphia at 182 South Second street.

days, when the news of Peace arrived, and after sales made in a year or two after, a loss attended of more than one-half cost. So much for patriotism of that day or this, and this under General Jackson, from whom could not or cannot obtain justice for losses, let alone a place or appointment. Value of shipments per "Renette," "Congress" and "Intrepid" equal to 50,000 pounds sterling. Loss ultimate almost total, for which under the Laws of France, for final settlement of his affairs, Jonathan Nesbitt went to France and died in distress.

It had been proposed that R. Morris, J. M. Nesbitt & Co., and Colonel Bounter, and Mr. Holker¹⁰⁴ were to be partners, but failing of the parties to complete their engagements, the final loss fell on Jonathan Nesbitt.

In continuing my reminiscences I recollected that a common place book, to be found in my desk, not only saves the writing, but must contain, much more distinctly, the incidents of my voyage to and from Europe, and for the former refer thereto which will save many sheets of paper in this form, observing that since then Oliver Macausland¹⁰⁵ has

104. "THE HON. JOHN HOLKER, Esq.," Agent General of the Royal Marine of France, at Philadelphia, 1778-1783, and also Consul General of France, to New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, September, 1781-1783. Lived in the "Richard Penn House," built by the widow Masters, south side Market, between Fifth and Sixth streets, one of the finest mansions in Philadelphia, occupied by General Howe, 1777-1778; Arnold, 1778-1779; Holker, 1779-1780, when it was destroyed by fire. (Pa. Mag. XXII. 88, 89). Holker was so energetic in supplying the French fleets and sailing vessels with flour, masts, &c., as to subject himself to the serious charges of clandestine and private trading, from which charges the Executive Council acquitted him. (Westcott I. 398). The State paid his account in full, £857, 10s., March 26, 1782, and April 15, 1785, gave him a certificate that "Mr. Holker of this city, late Consul General, &c., was recognized as such by the Council." From this it appears that he was still in Philadelphia, 1785, but not as Consul General. His name is not in the Directory of 1791. (Pa. Mag. Hist. XVII. 350-1. Chastellux Travels in No. Am. (1828), 148-149; Financier and Finances of the American Revolution, Sumner, I. 229-231, 304, II. 163-165.)

105. Rev. Oliver Macausland of Strabane, born November 6, 1757, died September, 1840, son of Oliver Macausland, Esq., Member Parliament for Strabane, County Londonderry. He was Rector of Finlagan, County Derry, and was Chief of the Clan of Macauslanes of Glenduglas in Dumbartonshire. His sister married William Conyngnam Plunket, Baron Plunket. He was sixth from Baron McAuslan of Glenduglas, who came to Ireland 1600. (v. Burke's Landed Gentry). He married, 1785, Hannah Con-

been removed from Garvagh to a more lucrative and superb Parish residence called Finlagan, near Newton Leinnavady, and that my cousin William Conyngham Plunket¹⁰⁶ has been made Chief Justice of Ireland, and also raised to the Peerage as Baron Lord Plunket.

In the year 1781 a revolt or disturbance arose in the Pennsylvania Line of the United States Army,¹⁰⁷ and the officers were put in terror, and their authority taken away by the soldiers who formed a "Board of Sergeants," etc., and moved in a body towards Trenton. The officers, General Wayne,¹⁰⁸ Lord Sterling,¹⁰⁹ etc., came on to Trenton, and calling on the State for help, under orders from Governor Reed our Troop was ordered to march, and on the fifth day of January we marched out sixty-three strong, as my memory serves. We went out to Bristol, next day to Trenton. Had some difficulty in getting stabling and quarters, from the apprehension and dread that prevailed. Obtained a bed from an old school-fellow, but slept little. Recollects that the stables were much crowded; and in the evening, when our officer went to see our horses fed and cleaned, that John Redman,¹¹⁰ observing Billy Lawrence¹¹¹ cleaning and rubbing down

yngham, fourth daughter of Redmond Conyngham, and had John, Captain Royal Navy, died at sea in command of H. M. S. Cruiser, 1835, Rev. Redmond and others. (v. Burke's Landed Gentry, 1852, 790; 1871, 838. Burke's History of the Commoners, 1836, II. 56-60.)

106. WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKET, Baron Plunket. (v. page 186; also Burke's Peerage, article "Plunket"; Foster's Peerage, ditto; Lodge's Peerage, ditto.)

107. REVOLT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA LINE. For a full account of this event v. Penn'a Arch. 2d S. XI. 631-674.

108. WAYNE. (v. Major General Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental Army. Stillé, 1893, pp. 239-262.)

109. LORD STERLING. (v. Life of William Alexander, Earl of Sterling, etc., Duer., 1857, vol. 2, New Jersey Historical Society publications.)

110. JOHN REDMAN. The History of the Schuylkill Fishing Company, 1889, p. 264, makes this John Redman, M. D., the well known Physician of Philadelphia, born February 22, 1722; died March 19, 1808; graduated M. D., Leyden, July, 1748; member Schuylkill Fishing Company 1754; member First City Troop July 4, 1779; served in the campaigns of 1779-1781; 4th Sergeant 1794; Honorary Member 1787. It is possible that Dr. Redman at sixty years of age served as private in the City Troop, but it may be that the person of the name recorded in the History of First City Troop was John Redman, grocer, 53 Mulberry street, 1791. (For a very interesting account of John Redman, the Physician, v. Brown's American Register, Philadelphia, 1808, III. 549-554; Westcott, 1591.)

111. WILLIAM LAWRENCE. Member Philadelphia City Troop March, 1777; Honorary Member February 22, 1782; served in the campaign of 1781 only, as stated *supra*, but his name does not occur in the list of members on duty in 1781, as given in History First City Troop, 29-30. (v. Keith, 450.)

his horse, found that he had neglected cleaning some part, but that, as he had done so well, he would excuse him, as he had attended to the horse of John Redman instead of his own, which created much sport among our Troop. Marched next day to Princeton; were sent to different quarters, as all houses were full, being placed at a Mr. Schenk's, near Princeton. Next morning at roll call was drafted to march, with three of our Troop, Thomas Irvin,¹¹² Isaac Coxe¹¹³ and D. H. Conyngham, and received directions to go down as Videttes to Amboy. Soon after marching were stopped by a file of soldiers, being a Picket Guard for the "Board of Sergeants," who detained us until they found we were under orders from the Army Officers and Governor Reed. They had at that moment two spies, namely, Sergeant Mason and James Ogden, that had been stopped by them, and of whom more hereafter. We went on to Long Bridge and to Toms River and slept at an Inn at some cross-roads, meeting there Mr. Rattoon,¹¹⁴ who proposed going down with us, and whose house was the large tavern opposite Amboy. He not only gave us every advice and direction, but told us of the critical situation we were in from the conduct of the Tories about us, led us down to his house, told us to feed our horses and bridle them, while he was preparing breakfast for us; and his observation will be proved correct by what I shall now relate. We went up with him to the top of his house and thence saw the British troops at or about Amboy, with arms piled or grounded, and had not been five minutes there until a cannon fired from the "Vulture"¹¹⁵ sloop of war served as a rallying; the drums beat to arms, and we took only time to see the troops

112. THOMAS IRVIN. Member Philadelphia City Troop, March, 1777; Honorary Member September 10, 1787; served in the campaigns of 1778-1781.

113. ISAAC COXE. *v.* Note 45.

114. THOMAS RATTOON of Perth Amboy, probably. He married, June 18, 1766, Catherine Magonnagil.

115. The "VULTURE," the British vessel which aided the escape of Arnold after the arrest of André, 1780. (*v.* Lossing, I. 717, 720, 748.)

formed, and Mr. Rattoon told us to gallop off, as the boats from the "Vulture" could land men near where we had to pass. We went off accordingly, and heard shot fall in the woods near which we passed; came up the country, and finding Major Taylor¹¹⁶ at Toms River bridge, left our orders with him and obtained quarters in a farm house, comfortable and quiet; but we took turns to mount guard, and soon after heard that Simcoe¹¹⁷ with a party of British "Horse" had passed near us. Coming up to Princeton, we found the line marching into Trenton, and followed it in the rear in saving, by the interest made by us, James Caldwell¹¹⁸ from a severe treatment for some hasty expressions he had used. Repairing to Bloomsbury house, near Trenton, delivered our report to Governor Reed, Lord Sterling, General Wayne, etc. Were told we must try for quarters where we could, and knowing that Randall Mitchell¹¹⁹ lived near, I went and asked lodgings, which were, I remember, rather unwillingly granted to an old friend. While at supper, one of our Troop came to the door with orders that all troopers there should mount and go down to the ferry and cross the river and go up to Somerset, the house of Thomas Barclay,¹²⁰ which to me was and would have been agreeable, but when I came there found we had the two Spies sent over to be tried, committed to our Lieutenant Budden,¹²¹ and on crossing the river I was alone with the ferryman, and the ice was making, and a severer moment I have sel-

116. MAJOR JAMES TAYLOR of Lancaster County, Captain 4th Pennsylvania Battalion January 5, 1776; Judge Advocate Northern Army December 26, 1776; Major 5th Regiment Pennsylvania Line 1777. (*v.* Stillé's "Wayne," 375; Heitman, 393.)

117. JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE, 1752-1806. Lieutenant Colonel of the "Queen's Rangers" 1781, afterwards Governor of Canada. (*v.* Simcoe's "Journal of the War in America," also Dictionary Nat. Biog., London, LII. 253.)

118. JAMES CALDWELL. Member Philadelphia City Troop October, 1775; died September 6, 1783; served in the campaigns of 1776-1779.

119. Cannot identify him.

120. THOMAS BARCLAY. "In a grove of pines crowning a ridge overlooking the Delaware, opposite Trenton, there stood, upon the 8th of December, 1776, a mansion belonging to Thomas Barclay of Philadelphia," &c. (*v.* "New Jersey as a Colony and as a State," Lee, 1902, II. 141.) He was a member of the Committee of Correspondence for Philadelphia, 1774-1775, &c., and a member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. *q. v.*, p. 95.

121. LIBUT. JAMES BUDDEN. (*v.* Note 50).

dom passed, but got over and up to the house at Somerset. The trial was short and quick, and the Sergeant Mason and James Ogden were condemned by Lord Sterling to be hung the next morning by 9 o'clock, and Major Fishbourne¹²² and the officers and our Troop to see it executed. You may suppose how I could pass such a night, and well recollect my obtaining a Bible, which, with prayers, was received by Sergeant Mason, but Ogden was so frightened that he could only repeat certain expressions and the name of our Saviour. I got leave for an hour to sleep at Lord Stirling's feet before the fire, and at daylight we were turned out and went down to the road near Morrisville, when a large tree was fixed on by Major Fishbourne and Nichols, and others

¹²² MAJOR BENJAMIN FISHBOURNE, born Philadelphia January 4, 1759; died Georgia —; erroneously given as "William Fishburn" in Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., II, 464; son of William and Mary (Tallman) Fishbourne, and brother-in-law of Thomas Wharton, first President of the Supreme Executive Council of the State. (Life of Joseph Reed, I, 112.) Thomas Wharton married, 2d, Elizabeth Fishbourne. (Keith, 25.) Her sister Sarah married John Mifflin. (*id.* 363.)

Benjamin Fishbourne appears in public life, first as an applicant, September 24, 1776, to the Secretary of War for the appointment of Paymaster in Colonel Joseph Wood's Battalion Pennsylvania Troops, late commanded by Colonel St. Clair, but located at Ticonderoga in 1776. (Force's Archives, II, 490.) The Executive Council recommended him for the position September 28, 1776. (Pa. Col. Rec., X, 735.) He was commissioned by Congress Captain and Paymaster October 1, 1776. (Force, II, 1384.) A letter from Colonel Woods at Ticonderoga, December 4, 1776, shows that he was at his post on that date, a bearer of a letter from President Wharton stating that the Pennsylvania troops had not been paid. (*id.* III, 1358.)

He was made Captain of a company in the Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment, Continental Line, January 3, 1777. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., X, 496.) Appointed February 17, 1779, Aide de Camp to General Anthony Wayne, with whom he served with rank of Major until 1783. In the re-arrangement of the Fourth, January 17, 1781, he is again reported as Captain, continuing thus until January 1, 1783, when he was transferred to the First Pennsylvania. In 1781 he was a member of the Court Martial that tried the two spies, Washington names him in his letter to Wayne, January 3, 1781, as "Major Fishbourn," also General Stirling in appointing Fishbourne on the Court Martial, January 10, 1781. (Stillé's Life of Wayne, 252; Pa. Arch., 2d S., X, 665.) Wayne appeared much attached to him, and when wounded at Stony Point, "turning to his aides de camp Captains Fishbourne and Archer, he begged them to carry him to the interior of the Fort, where he wished to die should his wound prove mortal." (Wayne, 195.) In his official Report of this brilliant action, Wayne says: "I should be wanting in gratitude was I to omit mentioning Capt. Fishbourn & Mr Archer my two Aids De Camp, who on every Occasion shewed the greatest Intrepidity & Supported me into the works after I had received my wound in passing the last Abbatis." (*id.* 210.)

Major Fishbourne served with Wayne until 1783, when he permanently located in Savannah, Ga., where in 1787 he became a Member of the Georgia State Society of the Cincinnati. (Habersham Historical Coll., i, 39, ii, 634.) It was probably he to whom the Governor of Georgia referred in 1789 during the Indian difficulties, thus: "I have directed Lieutenant Colonel Fishbourne to aid your arrangements for the defence of your valuable town, which I sincerely hope will not be exposed to any danger." (Stevens' Georgia, II, 444; also Dawson's Stony Point, 51-57, 74-79, 120.)

Benjamin Fishbourne married, December 10, 1783, Annie Wiant, or Ware, of Georgia, who died, Savannah, 1798. He died, Mount Hope, Georgia, November 8, 1790. "He had three children who died young"; but Hon. W. B. Reed, in the note referred to *supra*, says he had a daughter who married Joshua Clibborne. (Life of Joseph Reed, 112.) One of the Orderly Books of Wayne, in the handwriting of Fishbourne, from January to May, 1782, dated at Headquarters, Ebenezer, Ga., is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and is partly published in the Pennsylvania Magazine of History.

of our Troop brought in a wagon and a black boy belonging to Paddy's Ferry, as then called, and no rope could be had, when a servant sent to me came up with a stout halter on his horse, and Lieutenant Budden made the knot. The Sergeant died like a brave man, begging it should be so mentioned, "a true and faithful subject of George the 3d." Ogden was in a dreadful state, but we left him hanging and came on to Bristol and thence home. Sergeant Mason was a native of St. Johns, near Londonderry, Ireland, was married, and had promise of promotion in Colonel Delancey's "Horse." Ogden was a Jerseyman, connected with the family of Drake, then an Innkeeper at New Brunswick, New Jersey.¹²³

123. The following account of this tragic incident from the first manuscript of Mr. Conyngham is repeated here as published *verbatim* in the "History of the First Troop of Philadelphia City Cavalry," p. 28. It differs slightly from the amanuensis copy of the Reminiscences and illustrates more accurately Mr. Conyngham's style. It is given also as from the "Diary of an Unknown Officer" in Pa. Arch., 2d S., XI. 670.

"Upon our leaving our quarters at Mr. Schenck's house, we came upon a Picquet Guard of the Board of Sergeants, & were stopped, & taken before Sergeant Lyons & after a short detention, & explaining our orders, we were allowed to depart, the two spies, Mason & Ogden, were then in charge of this Guard. We proceeded on the Route to Amboy, & on a Post near South or Toms River, we fell in with Major Taylor with a party of Jersey Militia & having been instructed so to do, we told him to take up the Planks and even destroy the Bridge, if the British should march that way, and that we would return on the gallop if we met them; we rode on until Night, and lodged in a farm-house off the Road. In the morning proceeded with Mr. Ratoon to his house at Perth Amboy, & were conducted privately by him into his House, where we had our Breakfasts and fed our Horses, after which, he took us to the roof of his house, whence we saw the British Army, their men indulged in playing foot Ball. At last, from a Signal from the Ship, they beat to Arms, & we had to run fast, mount our Horses & ride off; the Ship firing Guns into the Wood that we passed along, & sent their Boats on Shore, but we were soon out of their Way, & returned to Princeton, & joined the Army in the March to Trenton, we being kept in the rear by order of the Sergeants. After reaching Trenton & relating to Gen. Wayne, at Bloomsbury, what we had seen & Done, we were sent to seek quarters; & after I had just secured lodgings, I received an Order to cross the river & join the Guard at Somerset, the house of Mr. Tho' Barclay, where the Spies were sent, and Lord Sterling and Gen'l Wayne and Major Fishborn were quartered. After great trouble & difficulty from the Ice in the Delaware, I reached it, & soon after we received Orders to bring up the Prisoners. Matters were soon settled by the Court Martial, & they were condemned to be hung next morning before 9 o'Clock, & the execution of the Order was given to Major Fishborn. Ogden was much agitated & overcome upon hearing his Sentence, but still expected it would not be effected. Mason seemed to feel his situation, but declared to the Writer that if they hung him, he was in fault, but that he would die a true and loyal Subject of George the 3d. During the Night, while on Guard, they seriously asked me if they had any hopes;

Well remember serving as Grand Jury Man in 1799, Judge James Iredell¹²⁴ presiding in the U. S. Court when Fries¹²⁵ and the other Insurgents were brought to trial, but as I leave among my papers notes I made or took during the trial, to them refer as they perhaps way be at a future day of some importance.

& I went & spoke with Gen' Wayne, who decidedly told me nothing could save them unless we let them escape, which would involve us in Trouble. I then procured a Bible from Mr. Barclay, and past the Night in Reading to them; Mason was devout, but Ogden was in terror & distress. I got them something to eat, & in the Morning Mason slept a little while. After getting the best Breakfast we could obtain, and Our Troop having crossed the River and joined us, we were ordered to bring out the Spies, & their sentence being again read to them, and their hands secured by a rope, they were led to a Tree nearly back of Calvin's ferry-house, & his Waggon and a Negro pressed to hang them; upon their being brought in the waggon to the Tree, a difficulty occurred for a Rope, when Lieut. Budden saw a New Rope Collar upon the horse my Servant was on, who had just arrived with cloaths, &c., for me from Philad.; with this, the business was soon finished, and before nine, having Orders to return home, we galloped off and left them hanging, & we reached home that evening, after a severe Week in Cold Weather."

The following account of the affair is given by the translator of the Travels in America of the Marquis de Chastellux. In a note on page 51 of the New York edition of 1827, in speaking of the high sense of honour in the American Army, he says; "We all remember, when their intolerable distresses drove part of them to revolt in 1780, when Clinton sent emissaries among them, with the most advantageous offers, and made a movement of his army to favour their desertion, that they disdainfully refused his offers, appealing to their honour, and delivered up with indignation the British emissaries, who were executed at Trenton. Mr. Hugh Shield and Mr. John Maxwell Nesbitt, two Irish gentlemen settled at Philadelphia, who were entrusted with the care of them, informed the translator that one of them was an officer of some note in the British Army." This person, the translator goes on to say, made an adroit effort to escape, which failed. The narrative is then continued. "'I see, sir,' addressing Mr. Shield, 'that you are faithful to the trust reposed in you, and that my die is cast; but as you are a gentleman, I hope you will not fail to let General Clinton know that my fidelity is unshaken, that I die a faithful subject to George the Third, and that I hope he will not forget my family.' He then made a hearty breakfast of cold beef, and was executed with his companion on a tree near the river Delaware, full of courage, and making the same declarations. To account for the subordinate situation in which the Messrs. Nesbitt and Shield appear to have acted on this occasion, it is necessary to observe that on all emergencies the merchants of Philadelphia flew to arms and acted as common soldiers."

The above statement differs from the account in the Penna. Archives, 2d S., XI. 660, where it appears from the letter of Col. Matthias Slough that the care of the two spies was "committed to Messrs. *Blair McClennahan* and *Alexander Nesbitt*, who were sent by the Philadelphia Troop for the purpose."

124. JUDGE JAMES IREDELL. (*v.* "Life and Correspondence of," by G. J. McRees, 1857.)

125. JOHN FRIES. (*v.* "The Fries Rebellion," by Gen. W. H. H. Davis, 1899. Mr. Conyngham's notes on this trial are not extant.)

Was early acquainted with the late Richard Peters,¹²⁶ Judge of the District Court, knew him when in his father's office before our Revolution. His talents, fun and humorous actions made him an acceptable and desirable companion to and in all parties; his services in our war want no record from my poor pen, but can safely say that few deserved it more, than what will appear for him. General Washington always esteemed him and his family; and I, from a connection in our families, lived in close intimacy with him until his lamented death. Numerous anecdotes, could my memory serve, would show his agreeable ones, but can only occasionally bring them to mind.

There is one of Dan Clymer,¹²⁷ Judge Peters and George Campbell¹²⁸ as lawyers, in one of their circuits at Reading, I believe, but how it ended I cannot recollect. Remember a Mr. Roach from New Bedford entertained by Mr. Nesbitt and a number of friends with the late Clement Biddle¹²⁹ enjoying his (Mr. Nesbitt's) good wine and company. Mr. R. challenged any one to sing the greatest number of verses to the tune of Yankee Doodle, when the Judge took him up, and although Mr. R. had in memory a great number, yet the Judge, making the verses as they went along, kept it up until upwards of forty verses each were sung, and the company called out to stop the singing. Bon mots, puns, etc., can be added by many of his surviving friends and connexions. When Secretary of the Board of War he gave a large dinner to a number of the Generals—Washington, etc.—during which one of the guests who had asked for roast beef or some dish near the Secretary, applied for a second cut, which was sent him at application, being asked "rare,"

126. HON. RICHARD PETERS. (*v.* Appleton Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 743; Penna. Mag. Hist., XXIII. 205-209; Judge Peters' letter giving his family history, XXV. 366; Keith, 135; Hazard's Register, II. 126, 251-256.)

127. DANIEL C. CLYMER. (*v.* Penna. Mag. Hist., IX. 354; II. 126-251.)

128. GEORGE CAMPBELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 103.)

129. CLEMENT BIDDLE. (*v.* "Autobiography of Charles Biddle, 1745-1821," 441.)

he said, "You will soon make it rare enough." A third and perhaps a fourth cut was called for, to which the Secretary made an outcry, "You shall cut, but — you will never come again."

When practicing as a lawyer in 1769 Judge Peters was retained by Col. Eliphalet Dyer¹³⁰ on the side of the Yankees or Connecticut Claimants¹³¹ versus the Pennamites, and a large number having been taken by the Sheriff¹³² of old Northampton and brought down to Easton, the Gaol then being built of logs, could only hold from 20 to 30 persons, and the Judges and Lawyers not knowing what to do with so many demanding daily of the Sheriff bread and quarters, he told me he went among them and advised them to go home, and meeting Colonel E. Dyer, asked him to walk out with him to talk over the business they had in hand, and returning went to the prison, when the Sheriff told them that the whole party of Yankees had gone off. The Court, I understood from him, was well pleased, as the expense was great, and the issue or rate of punishment was uncertain. Colonel Dyer was alarmed, and dreaded his being security for the deserters.

The Judge being one day in a great hurry, and called upon to ask a party to dinner, upon going home and being told that he must go to market and send home a leg of mutton, he went and in a short time sent home five legs of mutton; but the writer has heard him accused of sending home fourteen legs of mutton, or having bought as many. He was never asked to market again.

130. COLONEL ELIPHALET DYER. (*v.* National Cyc. Am. Biog., XI. 172.)

131. This was in 1769, the first Pennamite War, of which Miner gives an account in his *History of Wyoming*, Chapter IX. 103-113, *q. v.*; also *Colonial Rec. Pa.* IX. 588, 602, 626.

132. JOHN JENNINGS, Sheriff of Northampton County, October 5, 1767-1769—November 5, 1777-1778; Justice, November 19, 1764, March 15, 1766, March 9, 1774. (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., III. 756, IX. 792-795.) His Deposition respecting Wyoming will be found in *Penna. Arch.*, IV. 342-344.

John Riddle¹³³ was a tailor in Arch, near Third street, and worked for the Judge and others of that standing. How he and the Judge differed I know not, but the Judge has told me that he was determined to have some fun with or satisfaction of Riddle; and being in the habit of hoisting his shoulders, and could readily do this same trick, upon calling upon Riddle to measure him for a coat, he went in and hoisted his right shoulder, and told Riddle to remember to make great allowance for the shape; but when he went to try on the coat he hoisted the left shoulder, and showed Riddle how he was mistaken. Never was a man more astonished; but he declared he was ruined if such a mistake was known, or attributed to him or his inaccuracy, when the Judge let him off by his altering the coat, the shoulders being brought out right. I had this from himself more than once.

In reading in Watson's "Philadelphia" I find several statements that I could put right, one of which is about Judge Peters. Watson says that the Rev. Richard Peters¹³¹ was his father, which is a mistake. I knew his Reverence well as a boy. He was Rector of "Christ Church," and was never married or had any family. The father of the Judge, William Peters,¹³⁴ came from Knutsford, in Lancashire, England; was there an Attorney, and the Judge has told me was the first one who gave a brief to Lord Mansfield. He was Register and Recorder in my day, and the Judge acted as Clerk in his office. He went to England and died there,

133. JOHN RIDDLE. "Taylor, 34 Mulberry street," Philadelphia Directory, 1791.

134. RALPH PETERS, of Liverpool, Lancashire, Gent, was a Barrister, Town Clerk of Liverpool, and Sheriff of Lancashire. He had—

- i. *William*, admitted to practice Law in London; in practice Philadelphia 1739. (Martin's "Bench and Bar," 301.) He died, England, before 1782. He had Judge Richard Peters, Jr., LL. D. Note 126. Judge Peters was the father of Ralph Peters, whose daughter was the first wife of Edward Rodman Mayer, M. D., the beloved physician of Wilkes-Barré.
- ii. *Rev. Richard*, Wadham College, Oxford University, England: matriculated 8th April, 1731, aged 20; D. D. by Diploma 2 May, 1770, then rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia. (Alumni Oxiensis, Vol. IV. 1102.)



Richard Peters.

but I think he was never Collector here in this Port. His widow I knew; she died and was buried in this city after the Judge had been married and had several children.

We'll remember Judge Peters dining with me before the election of Jackson and Adams, and our talking over old times, and making our decision against Jackson and determining to vote for Adams. We then fairly put it down, as two old Washington men, that Jackson would eventually treat the Nation in such a way as either to be turned out, or perhaps brought to trial for waste of public money, or a war, or about the U. S. Bank, or some matter into which he would be run by advisers from the Western Country, or be impeached for misconduct.

The fitting out of the "Hyder Alley,"¹³⁵ that captured the "General Monk"¹³⁶ in our Bay, arose thus: John Wright Stanley¹³⁷ of North Carolina had loaded the "Hyder Alley" with tobacco, and she had either called in here for a crew, or to arrange the consignment intended for Jonathan Nesbitt of L'Orient, when she was so closely watched by the "Monk," or other British Cruiziers in our Bay that Mr. Stanley could not obtain insurance, nor could he get her manned and sailed, which occurring as laid before the persons underwriting in Donaldson & Crawford's Insurance Office,¹³⁸ it was suggested and agreed to, that an engagement should be entered into and signed, not only to pay the expense and

135. "HYDER ALLEY." (*v.* Watson, II. 224; Colonial Records Pa., XIII.; Penna. Archives, IX. 531, 532, 621, &c.)

136. "GENERAL MONK." (*v.* Penna. Archives, IX. 532.)

137. JOHN WRIGHT STANLEY, merchant, New Berne, Craven County, North Carolina. His ships were used during the Revolutionary War to bring supplies from the West Indies to the Continental Army. He was son of John Stanley of New Berne, 1774-1834, who was Member House of Commons 1798-1826; Member U. S. Congress 1783-1787; 1801-1803; 1809-1811. Killed Governor Richard Dobbs Spaight of North Carolina in a duel 1802. His grandson, Richard Stanley, was Speaker of the House of Commons, Member U. S. Congress 1837-1853, and Military Governor of North Carolina 1862.

138. DONALDSON AND CRAWFORD. John Donaldson and James Crawford were partners in the Insurance business 1778. (*Friendly Sons*, 107, 108.)

abide the loss, but that the "Hyder Alley" should be armed, equipped and fitted to drive off all small Cruiziers, and to capture and destroy such as could be taken. The alteration, landing cargo and equipment was given to Mr. Stanley and John Wilcocks,¹³⁹ and our subscription was paid too, and on capture of the "Monk" we received it back except for the 4-lb. shot, which I well recollect the delivery of from our stores. The "Monk" was captured April 8, 1782.

Captain Joshua Barney¹⁴⁰ was appointed Commander, and so secretly was the business managed that but few knew that the "Hyder Alley" had sailed until the news of the capture of the "General Monk" came to town. I saw the ships at Willing's wharf, and the blood was running from the scuppers of the English ship, whose capture was a glorious one for our merchants, and cleared our Bay from large and small British Cruiziers. I have heard it said that besides the resolution and bravery of the "Bold Barney," as he was called, he gained an advantage by agreeing and directing his officers and crew to receive the word of command given by him with his trumpet, "Boarders and Boarders, prepare," and again, "Boarders, do your duty," which was meant to "fire and keep close," and which, as they neared the "Monk," the officers of that ship prepared to repel boarding, when the shot from the "Hyder Alley," then close up, killed and wounded so many that the blood ran from the scuppers, and she was forced to strike to Bold Barney and his gallant crew. The "Monk" was purchased by the United States, and the command given to Captain Barney, as a Packet and Cruzier on voyages to France, and the "Hyder Alley" again was loaded and went to Europe safely.

Also well recollects the fitting out of the ship "Shille-

139. JOHN WILCOCKS, probably John Wilcocks, merchant, 30 North 3d St., 1791.

140. CAPT. JOSHUA BARNEY. (*v. Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, IV. 167.)

lah,"¹⁴¹ Captain Holmes,¹⁴² thinks she was the handsomest ship he ever saw; was built by Thomas Penrose,¹⁴³ pierced for 24 guns, which were on board when she lay off Market street, but, as one of the owners, I understood they were to be put in flats above New Castle, but the Captain, and John Donaldson and James Crawford refused, supposing they would make prizes on their voyage to l'Orient, but she never arrived nor was heard of. Our loss was heavy.

Passengers: 2d Officer Lieutenant Barber,¹⁴⁴ J. Benezett,¹⁴⁵ William Erskin,¹⁴⁶ William Lardner,¹⁴⁷ Colonel Palfrey,¹⁴⁸

141. Ship "SHILLELAH" sailed from the Delaware December, 1780. No other mention of her has been found except that in a Sketch of Colonel William Palfrey, of which see Note No. 148.

142. CAPTAIN HOLMES. In 1780 Captain Holmes was commander of the ship "Charmington Polly," 18 guns, and the brig "Telegraph," 18 guns.

143. THOMAS PENROSE, "Ship Carpenter, 108 South Wharves, 27 and 36 Swanson St., 85 Penn St.," Philadelphia, 1791. Was employed by the Executive Council July, 1776, with Arthur Donaldson, to fix the piers near Fort Island, &c. (Col. Rec., X. 648.)

144. LIEUTENANT BARBER, unknown.

145. J. BENEZET. John or James Benezet, Philadelphia; alive 1780; dead 1781, as per Philadelphia Tax Lists. Penna. Archives, 3d S. (v. Note 51, p. 211.)

146. WILLIAM ERSKINE, merchant of Philadelphia; native of Ireland; Member Friendly Sons of St. Patrick 1780. (v. Hist. Friendly Sons, 110.) "He died about the end of the year 1781. He was lost at sea." No mention is made in the brief sketch, of the vessel in which he was lost. Will probated January 5, 1782. Names William West, John Donaldson and J. M. Nesbitt executors. Names also his mother, Mary Erskine, of Muif, near Derry, Ireland, brother John, sisters Mary, Sarah, Elizabeth, and aunt Jane Reed.

147. WILLIAM LARDNER was a taxable, Mulberry Ward, Philadelphia, 1779-1781, but dead 1781; probably he was the one who was lost at sea.

148. COLONEL WILLIAM PALFREY, born Boston February 24, 1741; died December, 1780; an enthusiastic patriot; Major and Aide de Camp to General Charles Lee July 16, 1775; Lieutenant Colonel and Aide de Camp to General Washington March 6, 1776; Lieutenant Colonel and Paymaster General April 27, 1776; U. S. Consul General to France November 4, 1780. No sketch appears of him except in Sparks' Am. Biog., 1848, 2d S., pp. 335-448, which states that "on the 20th of December, 1780, he went down to Chester, Pa., to embark on board the Shillalah, an armed ship of sixteen guns. On the 23d he put on shore, at Wilmington, a few lines of farewell to his family. This was the last of William Palfrey. The Shillalah was never heard of after she left the Capes. Barlow has some lines in the "Columbiad" (Bk. I. line 627) referring to the supposed manner of his loss, beginning

"Say, Palfrey, brave, good man, was this thy doom," &c.

and I believe his son,¹⁴⁹ and William Gorman, servant to Mr. Benezett. The Shillalah sailed December, 1780.

Went from Cork to Bordeaux in the brig "Bacchus," Captain Sullivan, in 1784, and was received by Mr. Delap¹⁵⁰ and lodged in his house on the Chartron; passed, by advice of Mr. Delap, the summer at Clairac, a town situated at the meeting of the Lotte with the Garonne, about 15 leagues above Bordeaux, abounding in Hugenots, and fruits, say peaches, grapes, plums, prepared there in abundance, in ovens, for prunes, as exported. In November went to Paris, and as usual with strangers, saw the curiosities of that great city; among others, or first, King Louis, the 15th; Louis 16th, then Dauphin; Louis 18th, or Monsieur; Charles 10th, then Count D'Artoix. Went over to England by Havre de Grâce, Dieppe and Calais, and stopped at the Devill Tavern in London, and being called off thence by accounts and letters from Dublin that his father was ill there, went off by post chaise and crossed at Hollyhead, when he found that his father had recovered. Remembers when in England he saw George, the King, and Queen Charlotte, George, Prince of Wales, 4th King.

Went to Portugal from Falmouth in the Packet, passing in his way by Plymouth, Exeter, and the route from London. Saw the King and Queen of Portugal,¹⁵¹ also Pedro and his Infanta, after King and Queen, being uncle and niece, being married by a Bull from the Pope.

Saw in England the King of Denmark¹⁵² on a visit, also Pascal Paoli of Corsica.¹⁵³ Joseph, the 2d Emperor of Aus-

149. This must be an error. The sketch of Colonel Palfrey in Sparks' American Biography was written by the son of Colonel Palfrey, who makes no mention of any other member of his family having been lost in the Shillalah.

150. DELAP, one of the firm of Samuel and J. Hans Delap, merchants, Bordeaux.

151. JOSEPH EMMANUEL, and Dom Pedro III. and his wife Maria I., daughter of Joseph and niece of Pedro.

152. CHRISTIERN VII., 1749-1808.

153. PASCAL PAOLI, 1726-1807, the Corsican hero, a pensioner of England after 1770.

tria, travelled incognito, as Count of Lichtenstein; saw him in Bordeaux. In the year 1775, being on business in Holland, saw the "Stadholder"¹⁵⁴ and the present King of Holland,¹⁵⁵ as Prince of Orange. Was personally acquainted with Louis Philippe, present King of France, as Duke of Orleans, who stayed four days in my house on his arrival here.¹⁵⁶ Thinks he once saw King William of England, as an officer in the British Navy.

He was also acquainted with, or could say that he had shaken hands with most, if not all, of the members of Congress who signed the Declaration of Independence. He has shaken hands with six generations in two respectable families in this city.

Was in habits of intimacy and social intercourse with General Washington and family during their residence in Philadelphia, and received his thanks in Jersey, at Somerset Court House, by General Moylan,¹⁵⁷ as a member of the 1st City Troop of Horse, and particularly and personally the same from him at Carlisle, Penna., when he left his station and gave them to me as having marched under his call and orders on the Western Expedition.

Was told on the street that a person passing by was Joseph Bonaparte, King of Spain. Saw Jerome Bonaparte when in this country—several times the King of Westphalia.

Well remember and was at the Ball given by the Chevalier de Luzerne¹⁵⁸ [July 15, 1782] on the birth of the Dauphin, son of Louis 16th. Knew the Marquis Fayette¹⁵⁹ well,

154. WILLIAM, V.

155. LEOPOLD, King of Belgium, made King of Holland 1831.

156. LOUIS PHILIPPE. (*v.* Note 201.)

157. GENERAL STEPHEN MOYLAN of Pennsylvania, Aide de Camp to General Washington 1776. (*v.* Heitman, 303; *Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog.*, I. 56.)

158. CHEVALIER DE LA LUZERNE. (*v.* Sketch by Hon. E. L. Dana, the fullest ever published, *Proceedings Wyoming Hist.-Geolog. Soc.*, VI. 69-96; *Watson*, I. 104, 377; *Westcott*, 855, 922; *Stone's "Our French Allies,"* 1884, 505-508, speaks of the Ball at length.)

159. LA FAYETTE (*v.* "Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution," *Towers*, 1895.)

and at his desire I gave a party to the officers of the French Army during their stay on their route to Yorktown. Count Rochambeau¹⁶⁰ refused to attend, but Count Chastellux¹⁶¹ alludes to it in his "Book of Travels." Was well acquainted with the Duke of Lauzun,¹⁶² the Counts Dillon¹⁶³ (old and young), the Duke de Enghien,¹⁶⁴ then known by "Prince Gimini," and, as before, Chastellux and others, and, in fact, with all or most all of the French officers.

Was at a Ball given by Captain Latouche,¹⁶⁵ on board the frigate "Hermione," off the Drawbridge Wharf;¹⁶⁷ went off in boats and flats, and had a most agreeable and pleasant dance and entertainment.

Was intimate and in confidence with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane when in Paris, having visited that city with Captain Gustavus Conyngham,¹⁶⁸ and obtained jointly with William Hodge¹⁶⁹ the commission for him to sail as commander of the cutter "Revenge," for which Mr. William Hodge was put in the Bastile, and I escaped under the pass of Count de Vergennes¹⁷⁰ to carry despatches to Nancy for schooner "Jeniser,"¹⁷¹ Captain Hammond, that was lost and never heard of after she sailed.

160. COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU. (*v.* "The French in America," Balch, 213; "Our French Allies," Stone, 521; "Marins et Soldat Francaise en Amérique," &c., de Noailles, 1903, 141-251.)

161. CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX. (*v.* Balch, 77-79; Chastellux "Travels in North America," 1780-1782, New York, 1828, 9-10.)

162. DUKE DE LAUZUN. (*v.* Balch, 160-163.)

163. COUNTS DE DILLON. (*v.* Balch, 102-104.)

164. DUKE DE ENGHEN, 1772-1804. (*v.* Larousse Biog. Dic., VII. 572.)

165. LA TOUCHE-TREVILLE, 1745-1804, commanded the Frigate "Hermione," in which, 1780, he brought back to America, Lafayette and other officers. He attained the rank of Vice Admiral 1801. The "Hermione" under him engaged in several brilliant actions. She accompanied the Viscount de Rochambeau to France October, 1780. (*v.* Balch, 239-240; "Marins et Soldat Francais en Amerique," 1903, 173, &c.)

167. DRAWBRIDGE WHARF. (*v.* Ritter, 40; Watson, I. 336.)

168. (*v.* Note 10, p. 197.)

169. CAPTAIN WILLIAM HODGE, JR. (*v.* Note 232.)

170. CHARLES GRAVIER VERGENNES, Count de, 1717-1787.

171. SCHOONER JENISER, unknown.

The first Flag or Stripes¹⁷² had been hoisted up the British Channel by Captain G. Conyngham when he captured the "Harwich" Packet.

The death of Stephen Girard¹⁷³ has occasioned a great agitation in our city, and not without great reason. I believe I am the only old or first acquaintance he had here. I remember his arriving in a sloop or schooner from Charleston in 1779 or 1780; he had letters to Ramsey and Coxe,¹⁷⁴ our next door neighbours, and from them or from Lawrence & Morris,¹⁷⁵ was applied to assist Stephen Girard to sail for Charleston from the want of provisions, and having some beef and pork in the cellar on same account as the supply mentioned by me as given to General Washington, spared him some barrels, for which I can say we are not paid to this day.

His funeral was uncommonly large; and his success being greater than could generally attend merchants, I add to his character my belief that he was worthy thereof in every respect.

Remembers, December 4, 1779, being married at White-marsh on Saturday. The month being cold and wind N. E. Friday was dark and heavy and cold. Sunday, the 5th, snow began and continued falling until Monday, after which he went out and passed over fences and ravines (the places that are now turnpikes and frequently travelled), back and forward to the city, and until March 13th never saw earth or ground, the snow and ice being firm.¹⁷⁶

Thinks he can well recollect the rejoicing for the success

172. FLAG OF STRIPES. (*v.* Jones' "Captain Gustavus Conyngham," who thinks this was the rattlesnake flag.) As one of the executors of Captain Conyngham, D. H. Conyngham presented this flag to the State of Pennsylvania. It once hung over the Speaker's chair in the Hall of the Pennsylvania Assembly. Dr. Egle sought for it in vain.

173. STEPHEN GIRARD died December 26, 1831, aged 84. (*v.* Appleton's *Cyc. Am. Biog.*; National *Cyc. Am. Biog.*, VII. 11; Ritter, 71, 143.)

174. RAMSEY & COXE, 92 or 98 Front St.; not in Ritter.

175. LAWRENCE & MORRIS, not in Ritter.

176. WATSON gives no account of this fourteen weeks of snow, II. 347-369.

or capture of Cape Breton¹⁷⁷ (or peace of 1763) from the circumstances of a stage off Market street wharf, having stuffed apparent bodies of men, being blown up into the water with gunpowder, which we as boys rejoiced and shouted at.

Although very young, remembers the troops returning after Braddock's defeat; Colonel Dunbar,¹⁷⁸ Colonel Leslie,¹⁷⁹ and particularly Captain John Conyngham,¹⁸⁰ being wounded in his arm, lodged with my father, and I have often talked with him, when under his care at school at Mr. Brady's, William street, Dublin (he my Guardian).

A horse that had been saved and used to the drum had nearly hurt my mother when driving him in a chaise, by

177. CAPE BRETON was re-ceded to England by France, 1763.

178. COLONEL THOMAS DUNBAR. (*v.* History Braddock's Expedition, Sargent, 267.)

179. CAPTAIN MATTHEW LESLIE. (*v.* *idem*, 243.)

180. CAPTAIN JOHN CONYNGHAM of Cranford, grandson of Adam Conyngham of Cranford, who died 1749, who was brother of Captain David Conyngham of Letterkenny. He was a cousin to David H. Conyngham, Captain of H. M. 63d Regiment, serving with Braddock, probably on leave of absence. He was severely wounded in the action of July 9, 1755. His name does not appear in the List of Officers published in Sargent's History of Braddock's Expedition. But the author especially notes his presence (p. 243) thus, after describing the rescue of Captain Treby of the 44th by Mr. Farrell of his company:

"And equally magnanimous was the enthusiastic bravery of the men of Captain John Conyngham's Company. At the first fire his horse was shot down and he he himself severely wounded. Falling beneath the animal's body, all his efforts to extricate himself would have been in vain had not his soldiers, 'for the love they bore him,' rushed to his relief; and while many of their number were shot dead in the attempt, succeeded finally in bearing him in triumph from the spot." Mr. Sargent derives his knowledge of this incident from a letter written by Captain Matthew Leslie of the 44th, which is given below. He adds: "In 1763 there was no one of this name in either the 44th or the 48th regiment; but in 1765 a John Conyngham appears as Lieutenant Colonel 29th Foot, date of commission February 13, 1762, and a John Conyngham as Captain in the 7th Foot, October 15, 1759." As there were two of the name, father and son, it is difficult to determine which one was with Braddock. Captain John of Cranford of H. M. 63d Regiment is referred to by his uncle, Rev. William Conyngham, in a letter to his nephew, Lord Plunket, in 1778, and his son, Captain John of H. M. 43d Regiment, was A. D. C. to General Sir Charles Grey at the taking of the West India Islands 1762, where he distinguished himself and received the special thanks of his Commander-in-Chief.

The following letter from Captain Matthew Leslie to a responsible merchant of Philadelphia, supposed to be Redmond Conyngham, is from Hazard's Register, V. 191:

Captain Matthew Leslie to ——. "July 30, 1755. Dear Sir: You have heard the disastrous termination of our expedition, with the loss of our General and most of

attempting to join the drummer and his party in Market street. Horse was presented to my father or lent on the occasion for a ride.

Remembers well the approach and threats in 1764 of the Paxtang Boys¹⁸¹ to murder the Indians who were lodged in the wings or rooms of the State House (now public offices); has often been up there and seen them in their natural habits. Companies were formed and paraded to resist the attempt, and Captain Bradford's¹⁸² Company, Lieutenant Joseph Wharton,¹⁸³ was admitted by the friends into the Quaker meeting, then at the corner of Second and Market streets, for shelter, it raining very hard, and upon an alarm being giving that they were coming into town,

the army. What could bravery accomplish against such an attack, as sudden as it was unexpected? The yell of the Indians is fresh on my ear, and the terrific sound will haunt me until the time of my dissolution. I cannot describe the horrors of the scene; no pen could do it, and no painter could delineate it so as to convey to you with any accuracy our unhappy situation. Our friend, Captain John Conyngham, is severely wounded; his horse fell on the first fire, and before he could be disengaged from the animal, which had fallen on him, received a wound on his arm; and his life was saved by the enthusiasm of his men, who, seeing his danger, rushed between the savages and him and carried him in triumph from the spot. I need not tell you that the Captain is indebted for his life to the love his men had for him. Many had sacrificed their lives before he could be extricated from the horse. If you have an opportunity please to communicate the sad intelligence to our friends in Ireland. Tell them I live, but that my feelings have been dreadfully wounded. To tell you what I did I cannot; suffice it I acted as all brave men placed like me in a similar situation would act. We have lost gallant officers and generous friends, not in battle, for that we could bear, but by murder, by savage butchery. The French dared not openly meet us; ours is the loss, theirs the disgrace. When we meet I will give you the particulars. Captain Conyngham is doing well. I hope we shall soon be under your hospitable roof in Philadelphia.

"With great regard, your distressed friend, LESLIE."

Captain Leslie, "Matthew Lesley, Gent, Assistant Qm. G." (Gentlemen's Mag.), was probably a relative of Mr. Conyngham. The Rt. Rev. John Leslie, the Bishop of Raphoe, married Katherine, fourth daughter of Alexander Conyngham, Dean of Raphoe, and the descendants intermarried, and it was probably to Mr. Conyngham's home he went on his return to Philadelphia.

Captain Conyngham returned to Dublin, where in 1767 and 1768 he was the Guardian of David H. Conyngham during the latter's attendance on his studies in connexion with the University of Dublin.

181. PAXTANG BOYS. (*v.* Egle's Hist. Dauphin Co., Pa., pp. 59-78; Col. Rec. Pa., vol. IX; Watson, II. 167; Graydon, 46-50; Westcott, 240-1.)

182. CAPT. WILLIAM BRADFORD, 1719-1791. (*v.* N. Y. Bio.-Gen. Rec., IV. 185-186; Pa. Arch., 2d S., 179.)

183. LIEUT. JOSEPH WHARTON. (*v.* Pa. Mag. Hist., I. 457.)

Captain Ben. Loxley¹⁸⁴ of the Artillery had his fusee lighted and was ready to fire, but it proved to be Captain Hoffman's¹⁸⁵ Company or Troop of Horse.

Mounted guard at the old Battery, now Navy Yard, 1772, when it was supposed that the "Gaspee"¹⁸⁶ British schooner, or King's schooner, was coming up, and seeing a vessel come round the point, turned out the guard, having stood sentinel two hours at the Schuylkill gun,¹⁸⁷ being a soldier in Captain John Cadwalader's Company of green light Infantry or Silk Stockings.¹⁸⁸

Bringing down my reminiscences, or rather occurrences, to January, 1832, have to observe that the winter set in with uncommon severity and earlier than usual; snow, sleet and severe cold prevailed, and our river was filled with ice and the country covered with snow. It, however, had begun to give way, and a partial opening for navigation has taken place, January 24th.

News has come from Wilkes-Barre of an uncommon ice fresh,¹⁸⁹ such as has not happened for 50 years; great damage is known to be done to bridges, etc., and much dread still of further accounts. Shall suspend my writing until more and fuller intelligence reaches us. Well recollect the fresh on the Schuylkill,¹⁹⁰ when the colt was taken out of the house of Mr. Ogden, southeast corner of the permanent bridge; the damage was great, but much fear the present ones will be greater in the Susquehanna.

184. CAPT. BENJAMIN LOXLEY. (*v.* Watson, III. 266; Graydon (1846), 47.)

185. CAPT. — HOFFMAN, unknown.

186. "GASPEE." (*v.* Lossing, I. 628-630.)

187. SCHUYLKILL GUN. (*v.* "History of the Schuylkill Fishing Co., &c., 1732-1888," pp. 300-321.)

188. SILK STOCKING CO. (*v.* Note 9, p. 196.)

189. WILKES-BARRE ICE FLOOD, 1832. There is no record of this flood. Pearce mentions the flood of January, 1831, and May, 1833. Ice floods have been common on the Susquehanna. The great floods that have done most damage occurred in 1784, 1786, 1807, 1865 and 1902. These were historic in their severity; that of 1865 was the highest, and that of 1902 did the most damage.

190. SCHUYLKILL FLOOD. (*v.* Watson, II. 366-368.)

My reminiscences occurring daily can only place them as they occur. The present Duchess of Sussex¹⁹¹ was at an Assembly then held in Lodge Alley,¹⁹² now by the Bank of Pennsylvania; danced in a contre dance with them. Mr. John Ingliss¹⁹³ was usher. She was the daughter of Lord Dunmore. Lady Dunmore was with her.

Remember the Ball given to General Washington at Oellier's Hotel,¹⁹⁴ or Swanwick's Tavern,¹⁹⁵ one of the most excellent in very respect.

Remembers skating to and from Gloucester Point several times as a boy, and an attempt made to go up to Burlington, but could not succeed, owing to the breaks at different places; but was told that General Cadwalader had left Burlington and brought a loaf of bread warm from thence to Philadelphia, he being on skates. He (General Cadwalader), Governor Mifflin and Samuel Massey were the best skaters in my boyhood.¹⁹⁶

Went several times in 1779-80 on the ice at the Drawbridge, and in sleighs to Gloucester Point. Remembers that at least two oxen¹⁹⁷ or more were roasted on the ice, and ruts were made of several inches deep, carrying wood and marketing across from Jersey.

191. JOHN MURRAY, 4th Earl of Dunmore, 1732-1809, Governor of Virginia 1772-1777, married, February 21, 1759, Charlotte Stewart, daughter of Alexander, Sixth Earl of Galloway. Their second daughter, Augusta de Ameland, married, Rome, Italy, April 4, 1793, Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, and was re-married to the same December 5, 1793, at St. George's Church, Hanover Square. By an Act of Parliament the marriage was so far invalid as to cut off its issue from a right of succession to the throne.

192. LODGE ALLEY, on the west side of Second street, between Chestnut and Walnut streets.

193. JOHN INGLISS, one of the firm of Willing, Inglis and Morris, 1778-1783. He died September 15, 1783. In March, 1759, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to settle the accounts of the Expedition against Fort Duquesne. (Col. Rec. Pa., VIII. 323.)

194. OELLERS' HOTEL, the "King of Poland Hotel," kept by Philip Oellers, Vine street, between Fifth and Sixth. (Watson, III. 345.)

195. SWANWICK'S TAVERN, not in Watson or Wescott.

196. SKATING. Graydon says, p. 60: "The two reputed best skaters of my day were General [John] Cadwalader and Massey, the biscuit baker."

197. OX ROAST. (*v.* Graydon, foot note, p. 60.)

Well remembers when Negro slaves were brought from Africa, and Captain Badger (and others not recollected) had them over at Cooper's ferry in Jersey, where houses on the shore were built to keep them in daytime, when the schooner or vessels lay off; a railing or pens were run into the water to keep those allowed to swim from running off, and knew and remembers several bought from those cruel merchants.

Remembers the Negro Burial Ground,¹⁹⁸ now improved into Washington Square; a spring then in it used to give us minnows or small fish to go out to the Schuylkill to fish with as boys. A piece of wood marked one grave as follows:

" Here lies Dinah, Sambo Wife
 Sambo lub him like he Life
 Dinah died 3 weeks agoe
 Sambo Massa tell he so."

Some others and even memorials of strangers were there, but the writer cannot remember them.

In continuing my reminiscences, how a connexion with Walter Stewart,¹⁹⁹ afterwards General in the American Army, came about, and will perhaps furnish the best historial facts relative to him with exception of those in field of battle. My father Redmond Conyngham, then of Letterkenny, Ireland, knowing my apprenticeship would end in 1772, agreed with the mother and friends of Mr. Stewart that he should come out as apprentice to the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co., which actually took place during my voyage to Europe before designated. His character, handsome appearance, etc., not only secured him friends, but on the breaking out of the troubles with England were enhanced by his taking a decided part in favour of America, and he was one of

198. NEGRO BURIAL GROUND, then a part of "Potter's Field," now "Washington Square." (*v.* Westcott, 2356.)

199. COLONEL WALTER STEWART. (*v.* Note 86).

the first in Captain Cadwalader's Company,²⁰⁰ and proved an uniform and steady one, opposed to British Tyranny. His active conduct procured him a commission in the Army, and on the calling out a Battalion, he got the command of a Regiment, I think the 2d Pennsylvania, serving with honour, beloved by all the Army, and particularly by General Washington. I shall now refer to my meeting him on furlough at Norfolk, when I was driven on shore by the enemy. He always quartered with us at Mr. Nesbitt's house, and many pleasant and alarming days we have spent together.

Leaving the campaign, etc., of the Army, I shall come round to the time that General Stewart was married to Mr. McClenachan's²⁰¹ daughter. Mr. McClenachan was supposed to be a rich and successful speculator in Privateers, etc., from whom I believe we did receive large supplies, not only for support, but at the peace of 1783 to enable him to enter a mercantile engagement with Alexander Nesbitt,²⁰² a brother of John M. Nesbitt, by which connexion our houses were led into many engagements.

My feelings for and trust in the honour and real friendship of Walter Stewart was shown him through life, and I had his hand in mine when he died, and took his wife out of the room; old Mr. Stamper²⁰³ being then present.

Having mentioned the fact of Louis Philippe²⁰⁴ being one of my acquaintances, will state the cause and means that led thereto.

200. CAPTAIN CADWALADER'S COMPANY. (*v.* Note 9, p. 96.)

201. BLAIR MCCLENACHAN. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 126; Simpson, 736.)

202. ALEXANDER NESBITT. (*v.* Note 67.)

203. STAMPER, probably Henry Stamper, mariner, 39 Catherine street, 1791.

204. LOUIS PHILIPPE, 1730-1850. King of France 1830-1848; fled to America under a Danish passport as L. P. B. Orleans and arrived in Philadelphia October 21, 1796. He paid 35 guineas for his passage. (*v.* Westcott, 485; Watson, I, 555; Abbott's History of Louis Philippe, 1899, and Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX Siecle, Larousse, 2, 438.)

Our ship "America,"²⁰⁵ Captain Ewing, being expected from Hamburg, October, 1796, the writer with some friend, was in the usual habit of walking down to where the Navy Yard now is, and seeing a ship come round the point, it grew near dark, but followed her up, and along the wharf was told it was Captain Ewing, who anchored his ship off Walnut street, and upon coming up there some one told him that I was there; when Captain Ewing heard it he ran up to me, and took me to one side, telling me he had the Duke of Orleans as a passenger, saying he did not know where to take him to lodge, as he, the Duke, objected to going to any public tavern, or lodging house, upon which I asked him to introduce us to one another. Upon my speaking to him in French he seemed quite delighted and seemed to ask my protection. Assuring him that he had nothing to fear, but that, if he would accept a room and bed in my house, I offered it to him willingly, and fixing that his servant should also be accommodated. I was walking off with him when he, in a feeling manner, told me had promised not to part with a young Frenchman whose name I forgot; but again told him I would have him accommodated for the night, and walked up with him to our house in Front street, where my family received him, and his stay with us was some days. After sending him in the morning to the French Minister, Mr. Fauchet,²⁰⁶ and on his return from the visit in my carriage, he told me he was pleased and secure as he thought from any insult. I remember his stay here, his visiting in my family, and when his brothers arrived they dined with me, and were always social and intimate. The youngest of

205. SHIP "AMERICA," Captain Ewing, owned by Conyngham & Nesbitt, commanded probably by James Ewing. The only account book of Conyngham & Nesbitt extant is a Journal, beautifully kept, from June, 1790, to March, 1797. It shows the "America" in commission 1795; names James Ewing, but unfortunately does not reach late enough to cover Louis Philippe's arrival.

206. FAUCHET, Jean Antoine Joseph. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., II. 421.)

them, Beaujolais,²⁰⁷ has told me anecdotes of Madame Genlis,²⁰⁸ under whose care they were educated as boys, but memory will not serve to repeat them.

Count Montjolie²⁰⁹ came out passenger in another voyage, and can nowhere find that he paid his passage (30 guineas), returned to us unpaid by Captain Ewing. Talon²¹⁰ went passenger in the "America" to Hamburg; remembers seeing him on board that ship, and the Captain and crew were much pleased with him. Remembers Tallyrand²¹¹ when here. Dined with him at John Mifflin's.²¹² Mr. Madison,²¹³ Mr. Giles²¹⁴ and some other members of Congress in company, which, I well recollect, passed off rather sombre. Having made an acquaintance with him there, I was applied

207. BEAUJOLAIS (Louis Charles D'Orleans, comte De). Larousse says, under Louis Philippe, 10, 718: "Il se fixa a Philadelphie, ou ses freres, les ducs de Montpensier et de Beaujolais viurent le rejoindre." (*v.* Larousse under Montpensier and Beaujolais; also Watson's Annals, II. 132-135.)

208. GENLIS (Stephanie-Félicité-Ducrest-de Saint Aubin comtesse De) "femme de lettres, institutrice du roi Louis Philippe." (*v.* Larousse, 8, 1162-1163.)

209. MARQUIS DE MONTJOYE, or Montjoie, not Montjolie. In a letter from General James Wilkinson to Captain Guion, at Natchez, Miss., dated Pittsburg, Pa., January 2, 1798, and published in Claiborne's "Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State," 1880, I. 194, I find this reference to this gentleman:

"I send this letter by the Marquis de Moutjoye, an exiled noble of France of high rank. He has been a professional soldier and has greatly interested me with the details of his military life. He attended the Duke of Orleans and his brother, who are bound, I understand, to New Orleans to seek a passage to the Havana, from whence they expect to go under convoy to Spain to join their mother, who has escaped to that Kingdom."

210. TALON, Antoine Omer, born Paris January 20, 1760; died in France. He was one of the founders of Asylum, Bradford county, Pennsylvania. Very interesting accounts of him will be found in Proceedings of the Wyoming Hist.-Geolog. Society, Vols. V. 75-110, and VIII. 47-86; also in "The Story of Some French Refugees and their 'Azilum,' 1793-1800," by Mrs. L. W. Murray, Athens, Pa., 1903, pp. 14-50.

211. TALLYRAND (Prince De Bénévent), statesman and diplomat. (*v.* Larousse, 14, 1419-1422.) He arrived in America February, 1794, with La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and returned to France September 4, 1785.

212. JOHN MIFFLIN. (*v.* Note 57, probably John F. Mifflin.)

213. JAMES MADISON. (*v.* Appleton's Cyc. Am. Biog., IV. 165.)

214. WILLIAM BRANCH GILES, seventh Governor of Virginia. (*v.* National Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 447.)

to shortly after by a Mr. Vail,²¹⁵ a Frenchman from Hispaniola, who was going to Hamburg in a brig consigned to Ross and Simpson, the "Two Friends" or "Two Brothers," but the Bill of Lading in our book will show it. His request was how to send securely his own and Talleyrand's papers to Europe in safety, and we recommended him to let us ship for him five hogsheads of tobacco suitable for the Hamburg market, and being shipped by us to order, on our endorsement or order they would be his on arrival. This being agreed to, we had the tobacco put in our cellar, and then he, Talleyrand, Vail and some others had their papers put in tin cases and we had them put into the middle of one the hogsheads of tobacco, a square place in the middle of them being cut out by our coopers, and they arrived safely at Hamburg, so that Mr. Talleyrand, as well as Louis Philippe, owes me for favours which he said in talking of an estate in Champagne, he would send me for the claret he drank while staying with me.

Still continuing my reminiscences, that the Privateer "Hero"²¹⁶ was built in a very short time, commanded by

215. AARON VAIL, United States Consul at L'Orient, France, 1790-1813. He was associated with John Fitch in the latter's steamboat enterprise. In an agreement between the two dated March 16, 1791, he called himself "Aaron Vail of the Kingdom of France, but at present in the City of Philadelphia, in the United States of America, Merchant." (Life of John Fitch, 320; Watson, III. 445.) Fitch in his will, June 25, 1798, makes "Eliza Vale, Daughter of Aaron Vale, Consul of the United States at L'Orient," one of his legatees.

Vail died at L'Orient, France, 1813. His widow made application to the 18th Congress for money expended by him in the discharge of his Consular duties, with adverse result. This claim was pressed by his heirs to six successive Congresses, with final favorable report April 13, 1842, passed and approved May 10, 1842. The Report of the House, 26th Congress, states that "The claimants' ancestor was consul of United States at L'Orient, France, until he died there in 1813. While in office he drew upon officers of United States for money from time to time to defray charges of destitute seamen, and he now stands charged with \$6,305.69 balance of such moneys unaccounted for by him."

Justice prevailed, however, and in 1842 his claim was recognized and settled. Aaron Vail, Jr., doubtless his son, was in 1842 Chief Clerk of the War Department of the United States. Aaron Vail was also Secretary of Legation, Great Britain, 1831 and 1836, and Chargé d'Affaires 1832. (*v. Lanman's Dictionary of Congress*; *Poore's Catalogue*, and U. S. Public Documents, 655, 744.)

216. PRIVATEER "HERO." Letter of Marque, commissioned August, 1762. (*v. Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., ii. 630.)

Captain Appower,²¹⁷ owned by Willing and Morris,²¹⁸ made a short cruize in 1762-1763; had some success, but the peace took place, and she was sent to Amsterdam for passengers, and brought some in here; also Captain McPherson²¹⁹ in the "Britannia,"²²⁰ who was very successful, and heard of several of his prizes, falling in with a number of Bermudean "Flags of truce," as they were called, he brought them in and made them pay for a trade they carried on with Hispaniola. This was the French War ended in 1763.

Remembers two vessels built by David Franks,²²¹ a merchant of this city, of logs, planks, etc. One of them broke up at sea, but one, I think, arrived safely in England; but I think heavy loss attended the experiment. They were built and fitted at Kensington.

Recollects a boat built by a Mr. Fitch²²² that went round Petty's Island and back, propelled by paddles or oars forced by a machine on board. This was earlier than ever was attempted by steam in my remembrance.

217. CAPTAIN SAMUEL APPOWER, or Appowen, commissioned August, 1762. (*id.* 630.)

218. WILLING AND MORRIS. Thomas Willing and Robert Morris. (*Of Willing v. Simpson*, sketch by Thomas Balch, Esq., 960; also *Penna. Mag. Hist.*, V. 452-455, and *Griswold's Republican Court*, 17; *Watson*, III. 448.)

219. CAPTAIN JOHN MACPHERSON of Mount Pleasant, opposite Belmont. (*v. Westcott*, 253, 302-303, &c.)

220. SHIP "BRITANNIA." Letter of Marque commissioned October 30, 1762 (*v. Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., ii. 630), twenty guns. Westcott says, p. 253: "She met with no success" in 1757, but in 1758, "after a long and fruitless cruise, came up with a well-manned French frigate of thirty-six guns, and a desperate battle ensued, in which the 'Britannia' was worsted, losing all her officers and seventy of her crew, her cannon, masts and ammunition, and left to drift a helpless and shattered hulk to Jamaica."

221. DAVID FRANKS. (*v. Sabine's Loyalists*, I. 444; *Keith*, 136.)

222. JOHN FITCH, the inventor of the steamboat. (*v. "Life of John Fitch,"* by Westcott, 1857.) This incident was the first trial by Fitch of his invention on the Delaware River, May, 1787, and is the first statement of the extent of the trial. The "Life of Fitch" states, p. 192: "The boat was tried near the place where it was built. * * It went but slowly, however." No intimation is given as to "where it went." Conyngham states that it "went round Petty's Island," that is it started at Kensington, where it was built, steamed around Petty's Island, opposite Kensington, and near the New Jersey shore, and returned to its starting place. Fitch's second trial with his boat was made July 26, 1788, when it steamed as far as Burlington, N. J., and dropped backed with the tide to Kensington. (*id.* p. 250.)

Dr. Kearsley²²³ was carted by the mob in September, 1775, and saw him afterwards severely hurt and forced to keep his bed. Jabez Fisher²²⁴ and the Doctor were both helped out of their difficulties and terrible situation by me and the friends I made to get them relieved. The former thanked me afterwards when I met him in London; the latter, persevering in his Tory principles, suffered, and being sent back to Carlisle, died and was buried there. Saw a Mrs. Taggart throw a pillow out of the window of the house northwest corner of Strawberry Alley to throw upon a prior Tory in a cart, covered over with tar, but cannot recollect what was his committance nor fate. After his parade up Market street, terrible times and violence.

This being written on the 22d of February, 1832, the Centennial Anniversary Birthday of General George Washington,²²⁵ a day usually celebrated by me when in health, must refer to the papers and persons employed to report the proceedings in general, and can only say the little I did see was well and regularly conducted, and having made one in the general federal procession, think there was improvement in the general appearance, dress and behaviour of the trades or professions that came in my view, but which being partial, cannot venture to go further. The conduct of such as were before me was correct, and free of dispute, and shall continue my remarks when the day is over.

Society has so greatly changed and the mixture of the people so great, that a difference must be observed from that day when we were as one American family, having mostly been educated and brought up together. I had served in the field or other stations, whereas the present offers a mixture of strangers who cannot feel as we did, as a band

223. DR. JOHN KEARSLEY, JR. (*v.* Note 6, p. 195.)

224. JABEZ MAUD FISHER. (*v.* Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I. 424.)

225. CENTENNIAL of Washington's birth. (*v.* Westcott, 633-634.)

of brothers joined, we could and did health and safety find. God grant, I beseech Him, a continuance.

In my walk this day, 23d February, I am confirmed in my general observations made yesterday, in every way that of temperance, with a few exceptions, and those carried to strangers, especially foreigners, both male and female, and some quarrels that were placed to local jarrings and ended without any serious consequence. I have heard the illumination spoken of various ways; that at the Bank of the United States praised by some and thought of differently by others, who thought the hotels opposite had a better effect. The State House was spoken of by a friend as an affair without anything to please. Not being able to go out and not seeing it, I must leave it to others to decide. The streets were quiet early, but a friend informing me that a balloon was seen on fire by him in the air, shows that in future such juvenile efforts should be stopped by authority of the Mayor, etc. The Federal Procession was on Friday, 4th July, 1787 or 8, all which I saw and part of which I was.²²⁶

Observations continued and lead to confirm my general opinion of the great change in the inhabitants of our great and growing city as far back as 1826, when I lived at No. 109 South Fourth street. On the 4th of July of that and every year since, it being a holiday, or a day of parties in all directions, I think the number of intoxicated persons I had seen or known in the time of our Revolution was but five or six, and since then on the last 4th of July in Spruce street I think I saw but two or three, and yet the streets were apparently full.

March 20th, 1832. Have to refer for several freshes in our great rivers, but the accounts daily received from every part of the Western rivers exceed almost credibility; from the great rise in the waters and the loss of property which cannot yet be more than partially ascertained, nothing can

226. (v. Note 30.)

exceed the damage, loss and derangements to some public works. To general record must refer for more particulars. It is worthy of observation that the Delaware has done less apparent damage than the Western rivers, at least in comparison. Accounts daily coming in bring sad marks of the damage done in all the waters. Particulars would be too tedious, but as the papers state from Albany and the Mohawk river, reference to them can give the best statement.

March 21, 1832. A fire last night was attended with a very distressing accident to several persons. Lives were lost, but great credit is due to our Fire Association²²⁷ for saving the neighbouring houses and property on Chestnut street and Exchange alley.

Having made some remarks on the effects of the freshets and stops to canals, shall now remark that our Assembly has stopped the supply of funds to carry on the canals already granted; but can it surprise any one when a person in my situation and standing in society declares he knows but one of our representatives in the Assembly, Judge Joseph Hemphill, and the two Senators. Surely this proves the alteration in the inhabitants before alluded to, and foretells the change and Democratic measures prevailing will ruin the country and upset the highest prospects for which we Federalists fought and argued. I must leave my objections to the shameful bill²²⁸ passed by the Assembly, granting "license to sell liquors" to the oyster cellars, as habits become second nature, and seeing the persons who use them, am convinced that they will ruin thousands.

Remembers when in Lisbon a grand obsequies for to pray for Louis 15th of France, then just dead. The ceremony was grand and imposing; the King, Queen and Royal Family were present; her diamonds in and on her dress were

227. FIRE ASSOCIATION. (*v.* Westcott, 636.)

228. LICENSE TO SELL LIQUOR. (*v.* Laws of Penna., Session of 1831-1832. No. 51. "A supplement to an act entitled 'An act to regulate inns and taverns,' passed April 7, 1830," making it lawful for Courts in Philadelphia to license oyster cellar keepers, p. 7.)

supposed to be valued at £10,000 by a person who was acquainted with their value.

Could my mind and memory recur to the many proofs of hospitality, kindness and friendship received on a tour through Ireland from Sligo to Derry, thence to Belfast and Dublin, enjoying the beauties of Wicklow Mountains, the Dargle, etc., and thence to Waterford and Cork, and after some days to Killarney by the route of Baltimore, and enjoying the view of the lake, with the echoes of Paddy Blake: "How are you, Paddy Blake?" "Very well, I thank you," says Paddy Blake. A laughable story. Enjoyed dancing and dinner on Innisfallen of fresh salmon, just caught, and having nine with us, can reckon it a treat seldom met with by travellers, says David Hayfield Conyngham, Oliver Birch, a merchant of Antigua, and Thomas Ewing, merchant of Baltimore, Maryland, where we parted, indeed, for life. Memory cannot serve me for anecdotes, fun, etc., but one I will put down. Dining at Alderman Hogg's in Londonderry, Mrs. Hogg says: "Mr. Hogg, help Miss Bacon (an agreeable young lady at the table) to a piece of pig."

When I went into Luzerne county the roads were so bad, or not opened, that on going to Nescopeck Valley I had to give a man half a dollar to show me by Indian path the corner tree of one of the surveys in right of J. M. Nesbitt, Isaac Coxe²²⁹ and Boyle & Glen,²³⁰ and where now stands the town of Conyngham²³¹ the titles to the latter's share came to me

229. (*v.* Note 49, p. 210.)

230. BOYLE & GLEN. This was a firm organized in 1771-1772 by John Boyle, an original member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and Robert Glen. Boyle died 1783 and Glen 1792-1793. (*v.* Friendly Sons, Boyle, p. 100; Glen, p. 113.)

231. CONYNGHAM, Sugar Loaf Township, Luzerne County, a town of 14.0 inhabitants, was named in memory of Captain Gustavus Conyngham. (*v.* Note 10, page 197.) It is located on land granted by patent, July 4, 1787, to John Maxwell Nesbitt (*v.* Note 4, p. 188), and willed by him, January 25, 1802, to David Hayfield Conyngham, his partner. It was surveyed 1806 and passed through the possession of Benjamin Rush to Redmond Conyngham, eldest son of David H. Conyngham, who was in his day one of the most prominent men in the township. He had the village site surveyed and named it Conyngham. It 1832 it contained about 50 houses.

by the house of Boyle & Glen, being in debt to us to the value and more.

Remember the time when I was pushed for quarters at Lehigh Town,²³² and had for several years to send forward a man to prevent "stops" in the Narrows that led to Mauch Chunk,²³³ now a flourishing place of resort and curiosity, and to the settlement of which I contributed by advice to Josiah White.²³⁴

Perhaps my children, as well as strangers, may say, "Why were you not appointed or placed in some situation merited by you?" In answer I must state that my very respected partner, head of the house of Conyngham & Nesbitt, after my father's leaving this country in 1776, John Maxwell Nesbitt,²³⁵ whom I shall always uphold and support with respect and grateful feelings, having early taken a decided part in American affairs, leading to our independence, was one of the first officers appointed with Mr. Nixon²³⁶ and Mr. Fuller,²³⁷ as "Committee of Claims and Naval Affairs," Paymaster to the latter, Alderman of the City, one of the first Directors of the U. S. Bank, at first establishment under firm of "Bank of North America," first President and Director of the "North American Insurance Company," and to which in course of mercantile business the house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. have paid 100,000 dollars per annum in its extensive business, premising these to show that the writer could not have been brought forward without in-

232. LEHIGHTON, Carbon County. In 1832 it had 13 houses, a store and two taverns. Fort Allen was erected near this place, 1756.

233. MAUCH CHUNK, Carbon County. Even those best acquainted with this picturesque locality will be interested in reading in Gordon's *Gazeteer of Pennsylvania*, 1832, pp. 274-287, an account of the opening of the coal trade at Mauch Chunk as it was at the time of Mr. Conyngham's visit. The village then had 1316 inhabitants.

234. JOSIAH WHITE, who, with Erskine Hazard, developed the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company at Mauch Chunk.

235. J. M. NESBITT. (*v.* Note 4, p. 188.)

236. COLONEL JOHN NIXON. (*v.* Note 28.)

237. BENJAMIN FULLER. (*v.* *Friendly Sons*, 112.)

terfering with the claims of Mr. Nesbitt; but can state that Governor Mifflin offered him the place of "Aid de Camp" to General Walter Stewart, and that Col. Francis Gurney²³⁸ proposed to him to take Mr. Nesbitt's place as Alderman, who, from gout and sickness, would have resigned. General Hand,²³⁹ on the Western Expedition, also offered him the place of "Aid de Camp," and he only served as a Sergeant in the Troop.

Being a Director in the North American Insurance Company when a dividend, much cavilled at since, was made, justifies his vote therefor, for what he saw and knew, and which if it could now be examined into, would stamp with approbation instead of the reverse given by unknown persons. His aversion to place or popularity has continued to the present time at his advanced age of 82 years in declaring against all pretended patriots to whom, in comparison with those of the present day (4th January, 1832) and those of 1776 and some following years, he can say that places, power and speculation, to which add peculation, form a present patriot, with but few real patriots in his opinion, knowledge or observation.

"MEMORIAL,"²⁴⁰ etc., of David H. Conyngham. To the Hble, etc., showeth that the said David H. Conyngham was a native of America, born in the year 1750, educated partly

238. COLONEL FRANCIS GURNEY. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., X. 744; Simpson, 458-462; Ritter's "Philadelphia and her Merchants," 188-190.)

239. GENERAL EDWARD HAND. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 113-115; Heitman, 208.)

240. MEMORIAL of David H. Conyngham. The above is probably a copy of the petition from him, as surviving partner of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co., presented to the First session of the Thirty-third Congress, 1833. The petition was laid on the table. (*v.* U. S. Pub. Doc. No. 774, p. 173.) The heirs of Mr. Conyngham and others presented the same or similar petitions to the Twenty-sixth and the Thirty-first Congress for "Indemnity for French Spoiliations prior to 1800." Both petitions were referred to the Committee of the Whole House. (Pub. Docs. 371, and 584 and 653, Vol. I., p. 385.) These claims are still pending in Congress, 1904. Some have been adjudicated, but Congress has not appropriated the funds. The incidents recounted in this Memorial will be found in the previous pages.

in this country and partly in Dublin, Ireland, where he went with his father and family; returned in 1768 and served four years apprentice to J. M. Nesbitt as a merchant; went to Europe and visited France, England, Portugal, etc., and returned in 1774 to America, having added in his humble capacity to the character of America. Finding the events approaching of the separation as Colonists, he early decided on the part of America, and joined the Volunteers in the Company of Captain John Cadwalader, afterwards General, served as a soldier; and the house having large shipments of flaxseed and several vessels going to Europe, it was agreed and thought advisable that he should go to Ireland in the brig "Charming Polly," of which Gustavus Conyngham was Master, Sept. 10th, 1775. Under his orders and control arrived in Londonderry safely, and sold the flaxseed, and received and sold several other cargoes in different ports, still keeping his views as an American. Underwent many trying situations, such as the observations of Lord North, and arranging as well as he could under the apparent unsettled state of affairs. Went from London and over to Calais, and at Dunkirk joined Gustavus Conyngham and William Hodge,²⁴¹ the former having returned from the capture of the "Harwich" Packet, and agreeing with them and Jonathan Nesbitt, supercargo of brig "Charming Sally," was captured in Newport by the British Consul.

"Proceeded to Paris and obtained from Silas Deane and Dr. Franklin the Commission for Gustavus Conyngham to command and fit out the cutter "Revenge," which sailed under his agreement, and proved one of the most distressing cruizers under the American Flag, and to which I contributed and paid about £2500 for outfit. Went from Bordeaux after furnishing funds and settling for a large assortment of Russian goods to be sent to him to the Island of Martinique.

241. CAPTAIN WILLIAM HODGE, JR. (*v.* Sketch of Captain Hodge on page 259, Appendix A.)

"Went out there and fixed and transacted business in a variety of shipments, of great relief and benefit to the war office, such as Jesuit's bark, admitted as such; when the army was sick at Valley Forge four cases of my supply was found to be useful; also on the army under General Washington moving on towards Yorktown the Russian duck sheeting, etc., sold by us to John Mitchell,²⁴² Commissary General, and paid for in Continental paper, the real amount under the scale of depreciation not amounting to the first cost.

"In the Expedition to Penobscot²⁴³ of July, 1779, our house, under the firm of J. M. Nesbitt & Co., changed by reason of my father being in Ireland and still interested by me, was very active.

"The said house, besides the personal services of J. M. Nesbitt and myself, having always vessels at sea as Privateers, the "Nesbitt"²⁴⁴ brig of 14 guns, and "Letters of Marque" from 4 to 30 guns, by which heavy losses fell on them, and when peace came round they continued under the renewed firm of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. to push the business with credit and success until the unfortunate occurrences of 1793 began. Taken through losses by capture, by the illegal or piratical French Spoliations,²⁴⁵ they were much injured. But they sustained their standing as merchants, not only when uncommon losses by sea, added to the

242. JOHN MITCHELL. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 122.)

243. THE PENOBSCOT EXPEDITION, 1779. For an account of this ill-fated Expedition with Bibliography of the same, conf. Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," VI. 582, 603-604.

244. SCHOONER "NESBITT," a privateer owned by Congyngham & Nesbitt, armed with 14 guns, and 30 men, commanded by Captain N. Martin and Commissioned by Pennsylvania in 1781. (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., I. 372.)

245. FRENCH SPOILIATIONS. The claims of citizens of the United States against France arising out of great losses caused by France in despoiling American commerce by war vessels and privateers from 1794 to 1798. The United States tried to obtain redress from France 1798-1800, but failed, when the citizens of the United States presented their claims to the U. S. Congress for payment. The list of losses covers over 1002 vessels, owned in whole or in part by 2270 persons, whose heirs are still pressing their claims, amounting to near \$10,000,000. The claims of D. H. Conyngham are still unpaid, although many have been adjudicated. (*v.* U. S. Pub. Docs., Vol. 2168.)

French and Spanish Spoliations, rendered it necessary for them to retire from business; and but also under many afflicting, cruel, unfriendly and wicked acts to the prejudice of their surviving partnership which have brought us down to the present day, when hopes are entertained that justice and honour will at least restore the subscriber to comfort and means of support in his advanced age and for a numerous family of children and grandchildren.

“Let it be also remembered that on application from General Washington for immediate supplies, without which he could not keep his army together at Trenton, a large and immediate subscription was raised by Mr. Robert Morris, and a long list of subscribers for hundreds of thousands, from which list the names of J. M. Nesbitt & Co. are always omitted for the reason that a supply of salt, beef and pork from the cellar of the former house²⁴⁶ and from the latter house of Bunner, Murray & Co.²⁴⁷ by a supply of Irish beef and pork from a prize they had brought in, supplied the Army and saved them from destruction, and your Memorialist is even denied the merit attached to their pretended part in the demand.

“Such are some of the services under which the Memorialist has laboured with loss of a valuable landed estate in Pennsylvania for want of means to meet payment in judgments obtained in the State Court, and through the means of careless agents.”

²⁴⁶ “J. M. NESBITT & Co. subscribed £5,000 for the supply of the Army of the United States with provisions. So great was the distress of the American army in 1780 that General Washington was apprehensive that they would not be able to keep the field. The army was saved, however, by a combination of providential circumstances. Washington having written to Richard Peters, Esq., giving him full information of the state of the army, that gentleman immediately called in J. M. Nesbitt and explained to him the distress of the army and the wishes of the General. Mr. Nesbitt replied ‘that a Mr. Howe of Trenton had offered to put up pork for him if he could be paid in hard money. He contracted with Howe to put up all the pork and beef he could possibly obtain, for which he would be paid in gold.’ Mr. Howe performed his engagement, and J. M. Nesbitt & Co. paid him accordingly. Mr. Nesbitt told Mr. Peters that he might have this beef and pork; and in addition a valuable prize, just arrived to Bunner, Murray & Co., laden with provisions. The provisions were sent in time and the army was saved.” (*v. Simpson*, 742.)

²⁴⁷ BUNNER, MURRAY & Co., dry goods merchants of Philadelphia, who in 1780 subscribed £6,000 to supply the American Army with provisions. (*v. Friendly Sons*, 125.)

NOTE 241—APPENDIX A.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM HODGE, JR., was the second son of Andrew Hodge, Sr. (*v.* Note 8), a prominent and an upright merchant of Philadelphia, 1746–1790, whose place of business was at No. 85 North Water street, and who came to America from Ireland about 1731.

Captain Hodge, so called because he commanded a privateer 1779, was born Philadelphia January 20, 1750, and died September 1, 1780. He probably served his apprenticeship in his father's counting room, as was the custom. At 26 years of age he became somewhat prominent as a factor in our Naval history. The little that is known of him, however, has led to many misrepresentations of his character and career which this sketch will correct. He is sometimes called "Andrew Hodge," probably from his brother being known as "Captain Andrew Hodge" of the Pennsylvania Line. Barnes, in his "Sketch of Captain Gustavus Conyngham," describes him as "a strong-featured, red-faced man of a traditional John Bull appearance," while this American of pure Irish blood and birth, Captain Hodge, was called by all those who knew him in Europe, "*the handsome American.*"

He was a trusted Secret Agent of the United States when only 26 years old, and was eminently faithful to his trust. He was an active and a zealous patriot of such integrity and good judgment for his years that early in 1776 he was sent by his father to procure in Europe supplies for the home market.

The Secret Committee of Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia, and composed of Hon. John Jay, Thomas G. Johnson, Esq., Robert Morris, Esq., Gen. Richard Henry Lee, William Hooper, Esq., and Rev. John Witherspoon, D. D., to all of whom he was personally known, learning of his proposed voyage, appointed him, May 30, 1776, their Secret Agent, and twice entrusted him with an important mission in France. Historians have generally robbed him of this honor, giving it to one who was not entitled to it. Three letters to Captain Hodge from the Secret Committee—No. 1 dated May 30, 1776, Nos. 2 and 3 dated October 3, 1776—will be found in Force's Archives, and are reproduced here in Appendix B at end of Reminiscences.

In No. 1, dated May 30, 1776, the Secret Committee empowered him to go to France and purchase large consignments of munitions of war, also to buy two Cutters, well armed, manned, and commanded by men of intelligence and true to America, to operate on the Atlantic coast from New York to Virginia. Detailed instructions were given in this letter for his guidance without any reference to Silas Deane, then in Paris, investing Hodge with absolute authority to purchase, and specifying two and one-half per cent. of his invoice as his commission. (Force, 4th S., VI. 618.)

By what vessel Hodge sailed does not appear, but she was captured, June, 1776, by the British man of war "Orpheus" and he taken prisoner, having pre-

viously destroyed all his credentials and despatches. He soon regained his liberty and returned to Philadelphia.

Congress on October 3, 1776, "Resolved that the Secret Committee be empowered to take such measures as they shall judge necessary for purchasing, arming and equipping a Frigate and two Cutters in Europe, and to give proper orders to the said Frigate making a cruise in the British Channel against our enemies; and that the said Cutters be employed in transporting to these States such articles as the said Committee has been ordered to import. (Force, 5 S., ii. 1387.)

The Secret Committee promptly acted on this Resolution. In October Hodge was again sent to France with similar powers, and additional instructions, but with directions to act in conjunction with Deane, then the United States Commercial Agent at Paris. On October 3d, 1776, the Secret Committee wrote him two letters, No. 1 and No. 2, of instruction and authority. In No. 1, referring to his capture in June, and advising him that in consequence they had taken other measures to procure the munitions of war, they enlarged their plan for purchasing two Cutters for the American Coast, and in obedience to the Resolution of Congress directed him thus :

"We propose that you should consult with Mr. Deane and Mr. [Thomas] Morris on the subject, and if you will find it to be in your power to procure seamen, and obtain permission to arm and fit out vessels in France, Spain or Holland, that you should, if possible, buy a Frigate of 20 to 40 guns, have her completely fitted, armed and manned, putting in a gentleman of unexceptionable good character, being also an able seaman, to command her, for which purpose we give you herewith a *blank Commission* to be filled up with his and the *Ship's name*, which may be the *Surprise*. The Captain and you may appoint the officers necessary for the ship, giving to each a certificate showing his station.

"When this ship is completed, you must give orders to the Captain, signed by Mr. Deane, to cruise in the Channel against the enemies of the United States of America, making prizes of all British property as he can meet with. He may send his prizes into such port in France as may be most convenient, and you will there demand protection for them, * * * and also liberty to make sale of such goods as Mr. Deane, Mr. Morris and you yourself may think best to sell there."

He was also to sell all prizes in France, use the proceeds to pay the contracts made in this business, to buy, fit, arm and dispatch the two Cutters. "We deliver you Commissions for these vessels also." * * * "The Ship must make but a short cruise in the Channel, and a short one will do the business. * * We shall desire Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris to join you in the necessary assurance to those you deal with of being faithfully reimbursed." * * "It is absolutely necessary that you assume the utmost secrecy in all this business,

and make use of every cloak or cover you can think of to hide the real design." (Force, 5th S., ii. 852.)

It thus appears that this admirable plan of aggressive action against Great Britain which was worked out so successfully by Gustavus Conyngham in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," was conceived, arranged and laid out in such minute details by the Secret Committee alone, even to the name of the "*Surprise*," not even a suggestion of such venture being any where found in the letters of Silas Deane.

The Select Committee also wrote to Deane, October 2, 1776: "We have committed important dispatches to the care of Mr. William Hodge, Jr., who we hope will in due time have the pleasure to deliver them in person. He knows nothing of their contents other than that they are important, and in case of capture his orders are to sink them in the sea. This young gentleman's character, family, and alertness in the public service all entitle him to your notice. He is also charged with some business for the Secret Committee wherein your countenance and assistance may be useful. You will no doubt extend it to him, also engage Mr. Morris' exertions therein." (Dip. Corr. Rev., Wharton, 2, 162-3.)

With these words of confidence the Committee did not subordinate Hodge to Deane, but asked his favorable aid. Hodge left Philadelphia in the sloop "Independence" for Martinique, thence he sailed in a French vessel for France, where he met Deane in Paris, presented his credentials, and consulted with him about his course. Then he set about to execute his orders.

His "Account" published in the "Papers in Relation to the case of Silas Deane" (Seventy-Six Society, p. 103), show that he proceeded to Dover and through a Captain Cruize bought a Lugger, which, in obedience to the orders of the Committee, he named the "Surprise." He paid for it, with "provisions and outfits," 25,122 livres. Doubtless aided by D. H. Conyngham, he secured the services of Gustavus Conyngham, to whom he gave the command of the vessel, and to whom he delivered his first Commission supplied him for the purpose by the Secret Committee. This was the Commission lost by Conyngham, dated March 1, 1777, and lately purchased in Paris.

"The 'Surprise' departed on its cruize with the result so well known, the capture of the Harwick packet, and other prizes, which were taken into Dunkirk, the release of the prizes by France, and Conyngham's imprisonment. From this 'durance vile' he was soon released through Deane and Franklin. He was then again employed by Hodge, who, taking with him Mr. Carmichael, as representing the American Commissioners, purchased, as per orders of the Secret Committee, through a Captain Cook, at Dunkirk, April, 1777, the Cutter 'Greyhound'; went to Amsterdam and through Cook secured seamen, the expense of the Cutter manned being 37,500 livres. Of this amount D. H. Conyngham supplied, for his house of Conyngham & Nesbitt, \$10,000, and Captain Hodge, for his father, Andrew Hodge, Sr., probably fully as much. As

Captain Conyngham states in his Diary (Pa. Mag., XXII. 480), this required (1) "the Agents and a house to advance the money; (2) the person to buy the vessel; (3) a person with a Priest to execute the purchase; (4) a bond not to commence hostilities on the British." Captain Hodge and D. H. Conyngham gave the bond; Carmichael supplied the Commission which D. H. Conyngham and Hodge had secured from Franklin. Deane stated in his "Narrative" that "Conyngham sailed with the resolution of following his orders, but had not been long at sea before his people mutinied and obliged him to make prizes." Captain Conyngham records in his Diary, with no reason for misstatement, that Carmichael gave him "a Letter not to attack, but if attacked, at Liberty retaliate in every manner in our power—Burn—Sink and destroy the Enemy. 5th 16th July, 1777, the 'Revenge' left Dunkirk, next day attacked, fired on, chased by several Frigates, sloops of War and Cutters. A vessell in disguise in dunkirk peers to give Signals on our going out & Was executed & answered in the offing by their ships of War." The "Greyhound" was named the "Revenge."

At once, without inquiring into the circumstances attending the hostilities commenced, the French Government sought the sureties. D. H. Conyngham was spirited away by Franklin under the pass of Count de Vergennes, but Hodge was cast into the Bastille, from which, six weeks later, he was released through the influence of Franklin.

Dr. E. E. Hale, in his "Franklin in France," 1887, I. 135, makes the statement that "Early in March, 1777, a merchant from Philadelphia, William Hodge by name, came to France and entered into relations with the Commissioners, and Silas Deane especially. It was always one of Deane's favorite projects to fit out privateers in the ports of France which should annoy the British shipping." He adds that "it was not so probable that Franklin, Deane and Lee conceived the idea of fitting out the 'Surprise' in Dunkirk which should capture the Harwick packet. How much Franklin had to do with it is doubtful. Deane is the only one of the three who appears in the documents, and it was evidently he who saw to carrying out the details."

Even Dr. Hale had failed to discover the letters from the Secret Committee to Hodge. However, Carmichael testified, October 5, 1778, in his Examination before Congress, "that he did not know whether the Commissioners had received orders relative to the fitting out of these two vessels," so well did Hodge conceal his orders. (Deane, 149.) But Dr. Hale goes further:

In a note (I. 139) referring to Conyngham's cruises in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," he says: "It was hinted later that his cruises were conceived by Deane and Hodge as private ventures to be paid out of the public funds, where profits were to accrue wholly or in part to private purses. There are not enough data to prove or disprove them, there is, however, the suspicion of them."

Dr. Hale doubtless based his statements on a letter from Franklin to Gustavus Conyngham, 1778, in his "Franklin in France," I. 348, which Franklin

could not have written had he knowledge of Hodge's private instructions of October 3, 1776. Franklin tells Conyngham that "Hodge and Ross had no right to direct him," which, as to Hodge, is in the face of Hodge's secret orders; also that "Deane had no right to dispose of his prizes," which is also in the face of Hodge's orders. Deane, Morris and Hodge were to dispose of all prizes. Morris at the time of action had been eliminated from the matter by removal. Deane doubtless sold the prizes with the sanction of Hodge. But the letters of October 3, 1776, remove all cause for Franklin's decision in the matter. As to the private interests in the "Surprise" and the "Revenge," this was sanctioned by the Committee, and was in the hands of patriots who were the peers of Franklin or any man in Congress. Hodge undoubtedly invested his father's money in the "Revenge," and D. H. Conyngham frankly states that he put \$10,000 in her, so that she belonged jointly to the Government, to Conyngham & Nesbitt, and to Andrew Hodge. This private interest doubtless was one of the "cloaks or covers to hide the real designs" which his orders bid him use. When the "Revenge" was brought to Philadelphia, April, 1779, it was "To Mr. Andrew Hodge, one of the owners of the 'Revenge' Cutter," that President Reed wrote for the privilege of using the vessel, and his letter shows that he had read "the Draught of the Charter Party of the 'Revenge' Cutter." (Pa. Arch., VII. 319.) The Secret Committee and Congress both apparently recognized these facts as correct, hence Congress ordered the vessel sold at public sale, and she was bought in by Conyngham & Nesbitt, a firm as full of devotion to the American cause as any firm in Philadelphia, and whose name, like that of Andrew Hodge, placed every action above suspicion.

In December, 1778, or early in 1779, Captain Hodge returned in his own sloop "Eclipse" to America, and reaching Beaufort, North Carolina, the first port at which his vessel touched, he landed there, where he found an old school-mate and friend, Chaptain Charles Biddle. Referring to his experience in France, Biddle says: "He told me he was fencing with a master who was teaching him, when two well-dressed men came into the room, inquired if his name was not Hodge, and when he informed that it was, they told him he was their prisoner, and desiring him to step into the carriage, they also came in and carried him immediately to the Bastile. He was confined there in a room by himself for six weeks, and probably would have died there but for the favorable turn in our affairs. During his imprisonment he never spoke a word to any person whatever. Mr. Carmichael, who lived with Dr. Franklin, frequently wrote to him, but he never received but one of his notes, and that he found in the plaits of one of his shirts. It fell out as he was putting the shirt on. He was very much rejoiced at getting it, as it informed him that he would soon be released. Mr. Hodge left the sloop in my charge and went to Philadelphia to consult with his friends what he should do with her. He soon returned and fitted her out to cruise. He wanted me to command her, but I disapproved

of being concerned in a privateer, and he made one Simpson, son of Captain Simpson of Philadelphia, her commander."

Captain Biddle adds much more relative to the "Eclipse," which had sent in a prize to Newbern, N. C., of which he took charge and acted as agent for Hodge in the trial between Hodge and some Charleston merchants who claimed it. In July, 1779, Hodge loaded the "Eclipse" with tobacco for the West Indies, and Captain Biddle accepted the command. His escape from a heavy privateer and his later experience he tells in his "Autobiography," pp. 117-127. He sailed for St. Thomas August 10, 1779, on which day Hodge returned to Philadelphia. When both had returned to Newberne in the Fall, Hodge sent the "Eclipse" as a flag of truce to New Providence, Bahama Islands, loaded with British prisoners. Biddle is silent as to his later movements. Doubtless he returned to Philadelphia that winter, and died there 1780, in his 30th year.

WHISKEY INSURRECTION.

The "Whiskey Insurrection" of 1794 in the Western part of Pennsylvania was an uprising of the people against the unjust U. S. Excise laws on the distillation of whiskey.

That very fertile section was a vast granary; the only market for the grain was in the East; the cost of transportation was enormous; the freight on a barrel of flour equalled the price it brought in Philadelphia, and wheat was ground up for cattle feed. The only remedy for the poverty thus caused was distillation of the grain into whiskey easily sold in the West. The tax on whiskey was a burden too heavy to be borne—hence the Insurrection. (*v. Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., Vol. IV.; "Papers relating to what is known as the Whiskey Insurrection in Western Penna. 1794;" also Breckenridge's *History of the Whiskey Insurrection*, &c., 1795 and 1859.)

The late Townsend Ward, Esq., of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, prepared for me the following admirable note of the "Whiskey Insurrection" for these Reminiscences:

"In the official report of the troubles made to the President by the Secretary of the Treasury, August 10, 1794, the involved presentation of facts not in their regular order led subsequent writers, such as Chief Justice Marshall, Wharton in his *State Trials*, and Hildreth, to accept the statement without examination. This seems now to be conceded, and so I may now be pardoned a brief statement wherein it may be shown that Pennsylvania is innocent of the insurrection charged against her.

"By an Act of Congress of March 3d, 1791, a tax was laid on distilled spirits. The bill as originally introduced provided that suits for violations of its provisions might be brought before justices of the peace or State Courts. This was stricken out, and consequently prosecutions were before the Federal Courts. Now practically the nearest one was at Philadelphia, and to bring a defendant here was simply to ruin him, for costs and fees to counsel were to be paid in money, an article almost unknown in the western counties. A journey of many weeks and a neglected business involved the sale or mortgage of what property the defendant might possess. In the early days of our government a tax in the shape of excise was deemed improper. The first Congress, in its address to the inhabitants of Canada, in October, 1774, told that people, 'you are subjected * * * to the Impositions of Excise, the horror of all free States; thus wresting your property from you by the most odious of Taxes, and laying open to insolent Tax-gatherers, Houses, the scenes of domestic Peace and Comfort, and called the Castles of *English* subjects in the Books of their Law.' The Legislature of Pennsylvania, in 1791, instructed its Federal Senators to oppose the passage of that 'excise established on principles subversive of peace, liberty, and the rights of the citizens.' For a century or more before that time the subject had been agitating our ancestors in England, where it was aptly said that an 'Excise hath an army in its belly.'

“The reminiscences of Mr. Conyngham are interesting and as to the apparently arbitrary seizure of a large number of citizens entirely novel; for with a diligent search I never before have met with a statement by an actor in the scene of November 13, 1794, which the people of Western Pennsylvania for many years afterwards called ‘The dreadful night.’ In some degree it recalls the ‘Night of Sorrow,’ the poor Mexicans experienced from their Spanish masters. It is idle to say that everything was legally done by the authorities who wielded the power of the law. This is a baseless claim, for it is a melancholy fact that the greatest atrocities history has known have been perpetrated under color of the law. Never was a witch or a heretic burnt at the stake but under the law; whole communities, terrorized, have applauded acts their hearts, in secret, condemned, and have experienced a sense of relief when the odor of roasted flesh no longer incensed an offended Heaven.

“To avoid what might prove a tedious narrative, I may state that in 1858 I wrote a paper on the Insurrection, which is printed on pages 117 to 182 of the 6th volume of the Memoirs of the Society, bearing the title of ‘Contributions to American History.’ In it I said: ‘It would appear that at length Congress took into consideration the ‘hardship in being summoned to answer for penalties in the courts of the United States at a distance from the vicinage;’ ‘one of the principal complaints’ of the Western people, as by an Act of June 5th, 1794, was that there was given to the State Courts a concurrent cognizance of all infringements of the excise law. This Act also made further alterations in the system. There has, however, been gathered around the action of the government, not in pursuance of, and in accordance with, this law, but in proceedings initiated prior to its enactment, and executed subsequent to its approval, an amount of obscurity and error rarely to be met with in our annals.’ My effort was to prove that the statement of the matter by the Secretary of the Treasury in his report to the President, that by Chief Justice Marshall in his Life of Washington, by Mr. Francis Wharton in his State Trials, and by Hildreth in his History of the United States, was incorrect. The long and labored statement of the first, extending through four paragraphs, was reduced by Marshall to two paragraphs, by Wharton to half a paragraph, and finally by Hildreth to this single sentence: ‘Very shortly after the adjournment of Congress steps were taken under the *new* Act on that subject, for the collection of Excise duty in the Western counties of Pennsylvania.’ It is conceded to be now clearly proved that, very shortly before the adjournment of Congress, steps were taken under the *old* Act to enforce the collection.

“At the time of the appearance of the article on the Western Insurrection, the Hon. James Veech, then of Uniontown, Fayette county, but later of Emsworth, Allegheny county, was printing a most interesting and valuable volume entitled ‘Monongahela of Old.’ When two hundred and forty pages, a copy of which is in the library of the Historical Society, were printed, he stopped the work and, to the surprise of his friends, never resumed it. Chapter VIII. is

not concluded. Chapter XI. was to be on the Insurrection, according to a note (page 175) on Albert Gallatin. The printed remarks as to some incidents of the troubles, show that the unprinted part of the book as the Judge had prepared it, had ceased to be considered by him as correct, for just at that time he was led to examine the subject, with the light I had thrown on it.*

“In 1876 a most creditable volume appeared in Pittsburgh under the title of a ‘Centenary Memorial of the planting and growth of Presbyterianism in Western Pennsylvania and parts adjacent.’ The 7th part of this volume is ‘The Secular History in its connection with the Early Presbyterian Church History of South Western Pennsylvania, by James Veech, LL. D.’ On page 360, in speaking of the Western Insurrection, Judge Veech says: ‘A credulous reading of current histories, and of more or less ephemeral publications based upon them, had led me to believe that, in this most extraordinary social convulsion, the people were wholly wrong and the government wholly right.’ In a note on the same page he adds: ‘Important disclosures from records, and many right deductions from them, have been made by Townsend Ward.’ After narrating the events of the troubled time he says, on page 384: ‘There are important facts which nearly all the historians of this convulsion have overlooked. Those who have noticed them have either blunted their application by a confusion of dates, or were misled to say that the Act could not apply to offences before its passage, which every lawyer knows is a mistake. The credit of their orderly disclosure is due to Mr. Ward of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in his paper hereinbefore noted. He brought them out by collating the Court Records with the Journals of Congress. If not an intentional, it was certainly, in its results, a most disastrous evasion of a very salutary enactment, as we will presently see.’

“About the time of the appearance of Judge Veech’s ‘Secular History’ I had but little use of my eyes, a misfortune that continued for several years. It was not till 1878 that I read his work, on which I wrote to him, and on the 20th of June of that year I received a reply. In this he says: ‘I was gratified to know that you think well of my sketch of the ‘Whiskey Insurrection,’ in which I was very much aided by the published results of your researches. Indeed, your collation of the facts concerning the bringing of the suits and the passage of the act of June 5, 1794, served most materially to clear up many of the obscurities and much of the confusion which were apparent in all the previous accounts of the *emeute* which I had seen. You shed a new and clear light on the entire subject, and more than any one else enabled me, as I think, to remove the odium which had so long rested on the people of the ‘four Western Counties’ by reason of their resistance to the Excise Laws.’

“It is to be regretted, and by none more than by myself, that Judge Veech did not live to recast the remainder of his volume on ‘the Monongahela of Old.’”

*“It is imperfect and incomplete and has some errors, on account of which I suppressed its publication.” Judge Veech to Mr. Hayden, 1878.

I shall now endeavour to state the Western or Whiskey Expedition, being called out by General Washington to quell an Insurrection in the Western part of Pennsylvania, and which was raised under instigation of a man²⁴⁸ whom I could never believe just, honest or true, or whom, if I had come up with him and he had attempted to run, I would have shot.

We marched, I think, the 13th of September, 1794; camped over the Swedes ford²⁴⁹ on Schuylkill—a heavy gust or thunder storm; marched to Elliott's tavern,²⁵⁰ next to Downingtown,²⁵¹ thence to Ferree's²⁵² tavern, and thence to Lancaster,²⁵³ all pleasant and well; after to Chickey's

248. DAVID BRADFORD. It is fair to presume that David Bradford, Esq., is meant here. Bradford was born in Maryland. When he emigrated to Washington county, Pa., is not known. He was admitted to the Bar in Washington, Pa., April, 1782, and became very successful and prominent in his profession. He built the first stone house in the town, a two-story dwelling, on Main street, a few doors north of the property of Adam C. Morrow, corner Main and Maiden streets. Creigh says he had been a member of the Legislature of Virginia, when parts of Washington and Fayette were considered as belonging to Virginia. He was a man of great popularity throughout the county. In 1783 he was appointed Deputy Attorney General. He was one of the three representatives from Washington county meeting at Pittsburgh September 7, 1791, to take into consideration an Act of Congress laying duties upon spirits, etc. In October, 1792, he was elected to the House of Representatives under the Constitution of 1790. In 1792-3 he was one of the Commissioners appointed to lay out and sell the lots at Fort McIntosh, now Beaver, Pa. He entered with zeal into the Insurrection of 1794, and was one of the Committee to call the people to meet at Braddock's Field, August 1, 1794, where, by his eloquent and enthusiastic speeches, he procured himself to be elected unanimously to command the Insurgent forces, as Major General. So active was he in this fiasco that he was excepted from amnesty by Washington's proclamation. Refused pardon, he fled to Louisiana, then under Spanish domination, and there at Bayou Sara he died.

249. SWEDES FORD, at what is now Bridgeport, Montgomery county, so named as early as 1723. (Col. Rec. Pa., III. 225; Bean's Hist. Montgomery Co., 709-711.)

250. ELLIOT'S TAVERN, unknown.

251. "DOWNING'S TOWN," Chester county, on East branch of Brandywine River, thirty-three miles from Philadelphia, then a village of about forty families, now "Downingtown."

252. FERREE'S TAVERN, unknown. Evans mentions it in his History of Lancaster Co., but does not locate it.

253. LANCASTER, laid out 1728. Seat of Government of Pennsylvania 1807-1812, with a population of 5,000.

Creek;²⁵⁴ thence to Carlisle,²⁵⁵ where we remained several days, and were reviewed by General Washington and other military officers being put off duty there. He (General Washington), on his ride of observation, called at our tent and told me not to be alarmed at an attack I had from Limestone water, of which both I and J. B. McKean²⁵⁶ suffered much; but we marched with the troops, and on wheeling from Carlisle to the Rock Road, he (General Washington)²⁵⁷ came from his station for viewing us and said: "Mr. Conyngham, I thank you for your turning out," which, as an example, has procured me any army of friends. Marching to Berlin²⁵⁸ and on to where the Youghiogheni²⁵⁹ crosses the mountain to McGhee's²⁶⁰ Ferry. The weather had become wet and stormy, but as yet no appearance of an enemy.

254. **CHICKEY'S CREEK.** Chiques Creek, originally Chickisalunga or Chichiswalungo, the place of the crawfish. There are two creeks of the name, Great and Little Chiques, both flowing southwest from the Conewago hill through Lancaster county to the Susquehanna, uniting two miles above that river.

255. **CARLISLE.** Founded 1751. In 1753 a town of five log houses. Egle says: "In October, 1794, General Washington rendezvoused some days here with 12,000 men." (*v.* Egle's Hist. Pa., 620. *v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., IV. 428, for account of Washington's review of his army at Carlisle.)

256. **JOSEPH BORDEN MCKEAN,** son of Chief Justice Thomas McKean. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 480; Westcott, 1539.)

257. **WASHINGTON.** Conyngham mentions (as quoted from a manuscript not among these) as an incident of this campaign, "General Washington, Commander in Chief and President of the United States, riding along side of me, expressed warmly his respects for the First Troop; that he could scarcely convey how much he had always felt himself indebted to the Troop, for their services during the Revolutionary War, and also their services on the present expedition; that such gentlemen turning out was the means of inducing the other troops to march more cheerfully." (*Hist. First Troop*, p. 34.)

258. **BERLIN,** or the Brothers' Valley settlement, settled 1769 by a few German families, in Somerset county, at head spring of Stony Creek, known as Pious Spring. (*v.* Pa. Arch., 2d S., IV. 433.)

259. **YOUGHIOGHENY,** pronounced Yok-he-o-ga-ny, accent on "Yok" and "ga," usually called "the Yok," name corrupted from "Iuh-wiah-hanne," a stream flowing in a contrary direction, or a circuitous route; flows into the Monongahela River.

260. **MCKEE'S FERRY,** now McKeesport, at the mouth of the "Yok River," twelve miles above Pittsburgh, on the Monongahela River, laid out 1794 by John McKee,

Mr. Clymer²⁶¹ of our Troop, whom, on a wet night before, I had begged to go to his tent, which he refused, here was taken ill and died soon after, having had every attention paid him. From that encampment was named to command a Sergeant's Guard of 12 men to accompany General John Gibson²⁶² and — Roberts,²⁶³ who had the money to pay the Troops, to be delivered at Pittsburgh.²⁶⁴

Proceeded on and had to nearly swim our horses at Big Sewickly,²⁶⁵ when by my horse I kept Roberts from being carried down the stream, and reached Quarters wet and hungry, and remembers a good breakfast. Proceeded with our party, accompanied by General Gibson and John Woods,²⁶⁶ to Judge Wallace,²⁶⁷ at Braddock's Field; had

261. **MERRDITH CLYMER**, son of George Clymer, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and his wife, Elizabeth Meredith; Member Philadelphia City Troop September 12, 1794; Honorary Member November 18, 1794; died November 18, 1794. (*v. Pa. Mag. Hist.*, IX. 354.)

262. **GENERAL JOHN GIBSON**, an early settler, and a prominent merchant in Western Pennsylvania, a brother of Colonel George Gibson, killed at St. Clair's defeat, and who was the father of Chief Justice John B. Gibson by his wife, Ann West, daughter of Francis and niece of William West, p. 195, Note 7. (*v. Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., IV. 68. See also Harvey's History of Lodge No. 61, F. and A. M., Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 1897, pp. 272-312.)

263. **ROBERTS**, unknown. This may be Acting or Deputy Paymaster John Brown, of whom Clement Biddle wrote to Governor Mifflin, September 29, 1794: "I send this by two Gentlemen of the City Troop, who remained to escort Mr. Brown, D. P. M. Gen'l, but he has not yet arrived here but is expected to-night, and has a sufficient escort with him." (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., IV. 383.) I find no reference to Mr. Roberts.

264. **PITTSBURGH**. This great city of 322,000 souls in 1900, laid out 1760, 1765 and 1784, had 1,395 inhabitants in 1796.

265. **BIG SEWICKLY CREEK**, Westmoreland county, empties into the Youghiogheny River near West Newton, a few miles beyond its junction with Little Sewickly Creek. There is also a Big Sewickly Creek and a Little Sewickly Creek, Allegheny county, emptying into the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers.

266. **JOHN WOODS**, an eminent lawyer of Pittsburgh. Admitted to the Allegheny county bar December 16, 1788. He became one of the leaders of the bar in Pittsburgh, and is so referred to by Judge White in "The Judiciary of Allegheny County." (*v. Pa. Hist. Mag.*, VII. 155, 179.)

267. **JUDGE GEORGE WALLACE**, son-in-law of Col. John Gibson, and the owner of Braddock's Field. (Colonel Gibson died in the house on the field.) He was one of the Committee of three appointed at the Pittsburgh meeting, July 31, 1794, "to take into consideration the present situation of affairs and declare their sentiment on this delicate crisis." (*Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., IV. 78-80.) This Committee of three were George Wallace, H. H. Brackenridge and John Wilkins, Jr. Judge Wallace was not a lawyer, but had

a good dinner,²⁶⁸ and picked out balls from the trees at Braddock's Field, and went into Pittsburgh. Being under the orders of General Gibson, on entering the town he told me to draw up our men in a street we entered, and he would see where we were best to quarter, and this proved opposite the house of Judge Brackenridge;²⁶⁹ and a guilty conscience needs no accuser, for he and his wife and family were completely frightened, supposing we came to make him prisoner, from which he was soon relieved, by General Gibson showing us where we could quarter, and to see Roberts deposit the money at Major Denny's.²⁷⁰

We passed a day in quiet at Pittsburgh before the Army came up, and from thence forded the river at the Junction²⁷¹ in our march to Healey's Mills²⁷² in Washington Co., from thence, before daylight, in several detachments, our Troop

been a Justice of the Peace since 1784; was a man of good education and in comfortable circumstances. He was commissioned one of the four Judges of Allegheny county October 9, 1788, when the county was organized. On the reorganization of the Courts under the Constitution of 1790, when Alexander Addison was appointed President Judge of the Fifth District August 17, 1791, George Wallace was commissioned one of the four Associates. He served on the bench from 1788 to 1814. Judge White, speaking of the four Lay Judges of Allegheny county from 1788 to 1838, including Judge Wallace, says "these were all men of mark and distinction." (*v. Pa. Mag. Hist.*, VII. 155, 171.)

268. BRADDOCK'S FIELD, now Braddock P. O., Allegheny county, a town of nearly 20,000 souls, covering the beautiful and historic locality, a faithful picture of which is published in Sargent's "History of Braddock's Expedition," Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1856.

269. HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE. (*v. Pa. Arch.*, 2d S., IV. 140; Day's Historical Collections of Penna. 87-89, &c.)

270. MAJOR EBENEZER DENNY. This is an error. Captain Denny, did not receive his appointment of Major until December 24, 1794, when he was at Franklin. (*v. Military Journal of Ebenezer Denny, Memoirs Historical Society Penna.*, Vol. VII., 409.) He was absent from Pittsburgh during the entire outbreak, as his Journal shows, pp. 401-409. Some years after this he built a house, still standing, on the northwest corner of Market and Third streets, out of brick taken from Fort Pitt. (*id.* 232.) It is probable that the money was left at Denny's house with his uncle, John McClure, Conyngham when in Pittsburg, 1807, probably knew Denny as an officer of the Branch Bank of Pennsylvania. (*v. Egle's Penna. Genealogies*, §81, for Denny Genealogy.)

271. JUNCTION of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers with the Ohio at Pittsburgh.

272. HEALEY'S MILLS—cannot find this place.

was marched off. Under Lieutenant Hall²⁷³ we went down to Muddy Run²⁷⁴ and had a person as guide, but getting near the place we wanted, he could not make out the road, but said he was sure we were in hearing distance of the house we were looking for, upon which, recollecting what Dr. Cochran²⁷⁵ of the American Army had told me he had often benefited by, I imitated the cock's crowing, and in a minute was answered by not only the one we were looking for, but by others near at hand, and our guide said he knew where we were, and at a gallop we went down a meadow lane and surrounded Colonel Crawford,²⁷⁶ and Madelian²⁷⁷ and his son, Saucy Jack, prisoners, and witnessed a curious scene, for they had a husking party, and as they turned out almost naked, men and women, exhibited a strange appearance; the men wanting to resist, but our pistols kept them from their rifles, and they submitted and marched. As some

273. LIEUT. WILLIAM HALL. (*v.* Note 36.) Born January 20, 1752; died December 10, 1831; buried in Christ Church-yard, Philadelphia; married Jane Trenchard.

Member Philadelphia City Troop November 17, 1774; appointed Second Sergeant; promoted to Cornet 1794; Second Lieutenant October 10, 1794; First Lieutenant 1796-1803; resigned June 30, 1803; made Honorary Member July 29, 1803; was elected member Schuylkill Fishing Co. July 23, 1782; was member Pennsylvania Assembly 1798-1800. He served in all the campaigns of the Troop from 1776 to 1794.

274. MUDDY RUN. This was Muddy Creek, rising in Cumberland township, Washington county, placed in Greene county 1796, emptying into the Monongahela River at Davidson's Ferry near Carmichael. It was on Muddy Creek that so many Indian murders were committed.

275. DR. JOHN COCHRAN of Pennsylvania, Physician and Surgeon General, Middle Department, April 11, 1777; Chief Physician and Surgeon of the Army October 6, 1780; Director General of Military Hospitals January 17, 1781 to the close of the War; died April 6, 1807. (*v.* Sketch, Friendly Sons, 104-105.)

276. WILLIAM CRAWFORD of Cumberland township, *supra*. Was styled "Colonel" by Brackenridge, Findley and Porter in their accounts of the Insurrection. The only Colonel William Crawford ever known in this section was Colonel William Crawford of Sandusky fame, killed by the Indians 1782. He lived at Stewart's Crossings, now New Haven, Fayette county. In 1782 William Crawford of Cumberland township was taxed for one slave named Cook, aged 30. Of the warrantees of land in Washington county 1784-1892, among eleven Crawfords there was only one William; he received 162 acres November 7, 1790. Findley says they took "William Crawford and son." William Crawford of Washington county was an aged man, who, in 1822, was tried, convicted and executed for the murder of his own son. (Creigh's Hist. Washington County, Pa., 368.)

277. MADELIAN and SAUCY JACK, unknown.

more of our Troop joined us, we went on to Parson Corbley's,²⁷⁸ whom we made prisoner. His daughters had been scalped by the Indians but a year or two before [1782]. Showed us the place and church they were just going to. Went on to Sheriff Hamilton's,²⁷⁹ and with our prisoners rendezvoused at Cannonsburg,²⁸⁰ where we had to mount guard, and with difficulty had anything to eat, from opposition to us; from thence to Pittsburg, and put our prisoners in the gaol or to officers appointed to receive them. We were then told to seek quarters, and although we had been several nights on duty when we reached the distillery²⁸¹ appointed as quarters for our detachment we found neither ourselves nor horses to stand dry, and galloped off to the town, where Mr. McClure,²⁸² I think, received us for old acquaintance sake, and where I was several days, being received by the families of John Woods,²⁸³ Mrs. Tannehill²⁸⁴ and others; and being appointed to the command of a Sergeant's Guard to escort General Hamilton²⁸⁵ across the mountains, we left

278. REV. JOHN CORBLEY, born Ireland February 25, 1733; came to Berkeley county, Virginia; was licensed to preach as a Baptist minister and aided the founding of many Baptist churches in Washington, Fayette and Greene counties, Pennsylvania, 1776-1780. He was an active patriot in the American Revolution, lived on Muddy Creek. In 1782 the Indians attacked his house, killed and scalped his infant child, shot and scalped his wife, tomahawked his six years old son, killed and scalped one daughter, and scalped the other two daughters who survived and grew to maturity. (*v. Creigh's History Washington Co., Pa., 2d Ed., Appendix 59.*)

279. SHERIFF JOHN HAMILTON commanded "the Bloody Battalion," so called because many of his men were in the Moravian Massacre in the Williamson Expedition of 1782. He was Sheriff October 22, 1793—November 2, 1795; Associate Judge May 31, 1802 (*v. Sketch in Crumrine's Washington Co., Pa., 694; also Brackenridge's "Western Insurrection," 1859, p. 297-289.*)

280. CANNONSBURG, Washington county, Pa., a village 1794; made a borough 1802. Seat of Jefferson College.

281. DISTILLERY erected by Craig & Bayard at the Point in Pittsburg.

282. JOHN MCCLURE, uncle of Major Ebenezer Denny. (*v. Denny's Journal, 295.*) Major Denny's grandmother was Margaret McClure, and John McClure was doubtless her brother. (*v. Egle's Penna. Genealogies, 579.*)

283. *v. Note 265.*

284. MRS. TANNEHILL. There were two of the name in Pittsburg, Lieutenant Josiah Tannehill, an officer of the Virginia Line, and Captain Adamson Tannehill of the Maryland Line. Josiah kept the "Green Tree" on Water St.

285. GENERAL ALEXANDER HAMILTON, then Secretary of the United States Treasury. (*v. Lodge's "Hamilton," American Statesmen Series.*)

Pittsburgh and travelled by McConnellsburch²⁸⁶ to York, and thence by Lancaster to Philadelphia, meeting nothing but cold and wet weather; received the General's thanks, and thus ended the Military Campaign. Had to leave my tent companion very sick at Washington, but he met good friends, and Robert Smith²⁸⁷ recovered, and is now alive and in good health for his age.

Our Troop was commanded by John Dunlap,²⁸⁸ Captain, made Major while out; William Hall,²⁸⁹ First Lieutenant, lately deceased, 1832; David Lenox,²⁹⁰ Second Lieutenant, deceased; John Lardner,²⁹¹ Third Lieutenant, in place of Thomas Leiper,²⁹² who was disabled at Downington by a fall from his horse; Samuel Howell, Jr.,²⁹³ First Sergeant and

286. MCCONNELLSBURG, Porter township, Huntingdon county, Pa.

287. ROBERT SMITH, born Ireland; Captain Copperthwait's Battalion Pennsylvania Militia September 11, 1777; Bradford's Battalion 1779; Member Philadelphia City Troop May, 1781; Honorary Member July 28, 1803; died 1838. (Pa. Arch., 2d S., XIII. 622; XIV. 14.) Member Hibernian Society 1790; Merchant at 26 South Front street 1791. Ritter says: "At No. 58 Front street he pursued a popular and profitable trade in dry goods for many years, was well, widely and popularly known even in 1795, and more than 25 years after." p. 173. Westcott remembers Robert Smith as a member Mechanics' Committee appointed to confer with the Merchants' Committee in protest against the Boston Port Bill June, 1774.

288. JOHN DUNLAP. (v. Note 63.) Findley says: "Captain Dunlap of Philadelphia and his company were sent to Muddy Creek in the upper end of Washington county; they took Colonel Crawford and son, Mr. Sedgwick, a justice of the peace, Mr. Corbly, a clergyman of the Baptist persuasion, and others. They were taken early in the morning, and had no opportunity of making resistance. Captain Dunlap and his party, while they behaved with the greatest dexterity in taking the prisoners, treating them with as much politeness and attention as their situation would admit of, and engaging their gratitude by accompanying unavoidable severity with humanity. Captain Dunlap had a discrimination made in his orders between witnesses and supposed criminals, but treated them all with humanity, and had them comfortably lodged, and provided them with victuals and drink previous to his taking refreshments himself."

289. WILLIAM HALL. (v. Note 56.)

290. DAVID LENOX. (v. Note 54.)

291. JOHN LARDNER. (v. Note 68.)

292. THOMAS LEIPER. (v. Simpson, p. 48.)

293. SAMUEL HOWELL, JR., merchant. Member Philadelphia City Troop, November 17, 1774; First Corporal, First Sergeant and Orderly, and Treasurer, 1794; Member Committee of Safety October 20, 1775-July 22, 1776; appointed by President Washington Commissioner U. S. Bank March 19, 1791; Honorary Member City Troop June 19, 1798; died November 6, 1806.

Orderly; D. H. Conyngham,²⁹⁴ Second Sergeant; Robert Smith,²⁹⁵ Third Sergeant; J. B. McKean,²⁹⁶ Fourth Sergeant; Jonathan Williams,²⁹⁷ Corporal, deceased; Robert Hiltzheimer,²⁹⁸ Corporal, deceased, 1832; John Mease,²⁹⁹ Corporal, deceased; John Donaldson,³⁰⁰ Quarter Master, died January, 1832; Jonathan Robeson,³⁰¹ Quarter Master, deceased; Dr. James L. Ewing,³⁰² Physician and Surgeon, deceased.

No doubt many anecdotes of our proceedings and round our camp fires at night might be told, but my age and want of memory prevent my detailing them. We never slept on a bed until we persuaded General Hamilton to take one at Yorktown, and the rest of us never got to one until we reached Lancaster, where the escort was dismissed, and we came home in separate parties.

The pay and rations that were due me and others on this and former campaigns were settled by John Donaldson and others, and now form the Orphans' supply in the Pennsylvania Hospital³⁰³ for women in necessity, or Lying in Hospital. There are but few of us now remaining.

294. (*v.* Note 59.)

295. ROBERT SMITH. (*v.* Note 287.)

296. JOSEPH B. MCKEAN. (*v.* Note 256.)

297. JONATHAN WILLIAMS. Member Philadelphia City Troop, September 12, 1794; Honorary Member, June 19, 1798; Judge Court of Common Pleas, 1776; General and Chief of Engineers, U. S. A.; First Superintendent West Point Military Academy; died May 18, 1815. (*v.* Sketch, Nat. Cyc. Am. Biog. III. 239-240.)

298. ROBERT HILTZHEIMER. Member City Troop, May 4, 1786; Second Corporal, 1796.

299. JOHN MEASE. (*v.* Friendly Sons, 122.)

300. JOHN DONALDSON. (*v.* Note 138.)

301. JONATHAN ROBESON. Member Philadelphia City Troop, 1792; Honorary Member June 19, 1798; Lieutenant, Volunteer Light Dragoons, Provisional Army, U. S. A., July 17, 1798; died September 5, 1799.

302. DR. JAMES L. EWING. Member Philadelphia City Troop September 10, 1794; Surgeon of Troop, 1794-1803; Honorary Member July 29, 1803.

303. PENNSYLVANIA HOSPITAL. The members of the City Troop serving from 1776 to 1783, resolved March 8, 1792, to give the pay due them for their Revolutionary services to establish a Foundling Hospital. The amount, which was about \$8,000, was invested, and in 1807 was transferred to the Pennsylvania Hospital to be known as "The Fund bestowed by the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry to the Lying-in and Foundling Hospital." This Fund had been exhausted by 1831, as stated in the History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 237. But, according to the History of the First Troop, it was lost by the failure of the Bank of Pennsylvania, 1857. (*v.* History First Troop, pp. 34, 41; History Pennsylvania Hospital, pp. 236, 237.)

KENTUCKY JOURNEY.

Continuing my reminiscences I have nearly to make my journey to Kentucky, with the same reference to a book, or in a bag containing claims, titles, etc., not only as a "Special" Assignee, but as a "General" Assignee of Francis and John West,³⁰⁴ and to which I must refer in a bag of papers and to

304. FRANCIS AND JOHN WEST, sons of William West and his wife Mary, daughter of William Hodge. (*v.* Notes 7, 8.)

William West, the father, born Sligo, Ireland, died Philadelphia October 28, 1782. His will, June, 1782-January, 1783, names his wife Mary West, daughter of William Hodge, his father-in-law William Hodge, and his own children, who were: Mary, wife of D. H. Conyngham, Francis and John, *supra*, William, who died 1793, James, Ann, Benjamin Fuller, and Helen, born 1777. His will also names his nephew William Alricks; witnesses John M. Nesbitt, Thomas Barclay and Matthew Mease. His executors were William Hodge, his father-in-law, his nephew, William West, Jr., and D. H. Conyngham. When his daughter Mary married Mr. Conyngham he added a codicil to his will naming his daughter Helen, born 1777, and giving his daughter Mary "a Silver Urn and Tea-boiler." He did not sign his codicil, and William Alricks deposed that it was William West's writing. Alricks says he was apprenticed five years and more to his uncle William West, the elder. Mary Hodge West, his widow, made her will and died 1785, naming her father William Hodge, step mother Eleanor, and her children Francis, John, William Hodge, James, Benjamin Fuller, Mary, Ann and Helen.

The Pennsylvania Gazette, November 13, 1782, speaks thus of Mr. West: "On Monday the 28th ult. died at his seat at Whitmarsh, *Mr. William West*, after a short fit of illness, which he bore with the greatest firmness and equanimity, and on Wednesday morning his remains were interred in this city attended by many friends and respectable inhabitants. He was certainly a gentleman of very unblemished reputation, amiable and gentle in his disposition, affable and courteous in his deportment, cheerful in his temper, though grave in his aspect, generous and polite in his manner of living, sincere and deservedly happy in his family connexion, and to the highest degree upright and exact in his dealings. He was long an eminent and principle merchant in this city. In his conduct the integrity of his heart and the candor of his principles were so distinguished and conspicuous that his loss is most universally regretted by the public and all who had the pleasure of his acquaintance." William West was one of the original members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, 1771; Vice President, June, 1773 to June 17, 1774; President, June 17, 1774, to June 17, 1776.

Francis West, Jr., born Philadelphia, September 14, 1761, was made a member of the Friendly Sons March 17, 1783. He died June 29, 1843, aged 81, "the last surviving of its members." He was a member First City Troop May 4, 1786, serving in the "Whiskey Insurrection" expedition, 1794, and was mustered into the United States service March, 1796, for public defence. He was made an Honorary Member February 20, 1810; was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company, and of the Philadelphia City Council, 1795, 1796.

John West, his brother, became a member Friendly Sons 1786; was also elected a member First City Troop April 24, 1786; Honorary Member July 3, 1798. He was in the dry goods business with his brother Francis from 1791 until his death, unmarried,

letters and agreement with James Cowan, Esq., from whom I am anxiously looking for letters, remittances and accounts.

D. H. Conyngham left Germantown, near Philadelphia,³⁰⁵ on the 27th day of May, 1807, went on to Lancaster, thence by Carlisle,³⁰⁶ Strasburgh,³⁰⁷ Bedford,³⁰⁸ Stoystown,³⁰⁹ and

in 1799. He lived in London, England. He was also a member of the Hibernia Fire Company.

Benjamin Fuller West, a younger brother, was a member of the City Troop September 12, 1794. Served in the "Whiskey Insurrection" expedition as private 1794, and was mustered into the United States service as Corporal 1796. He died, New Orleans, September, 1804.

Francis and John West were popular merchants in 1791, at No. 108 Front street, Philadelphia, and for many years afterwards. Conyngham & Nesbitt occupied Nos. 94 and 96; Stewart & Barr, No. 100; Peter Blight, No. 102; Abijah and Rumford Dawes, No. 106, and Francis and John West, No. 108. Ritter says, page 184: "Francis West was the sire of Captain James West, who was so long and favorably known as a Commander in Cope's line of Liverpool ships, and afterwards as a popular Commander of the finest steamship in the Liverpool trade. Dr. Francis West, second son of Francis, Sr., succeeded his parents in the homestead of No. 108, and grew in his practice of medicine there; but his assiduity, and fearless attention to the sufferers of the cholera of 1832 contributed much to his fame and deserved popularity, and his disinterested liberality justly links him in the chain of benevolent men." (*v. Friendly Sons*, 138, 139.) After the death of John West in 1794, the affairs of Francis and John West were placed in the hands of D. H. Conyngham as assignee for settlement. Hence his visit to Kentucky in 1807.

305. The route taken by Mr. Conyngham to reach Pittsburg from Philadelphia, 1807, is very interesting in contrast with the direct line of travel between these points in 1904. There were no railroads; and the only turnpike on the line at that time was the "Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike," 62 miles long. Mr. Conyngham travelled in his own chaise, with "wooden springs," to Lancaster, thence by public road to Carlisle, and thence probably by what was hardly more than an Indian path to Pittsburg. He surely took the same route as was followed by Christian Frederick Post to the Indians, 1758, from Carlisle to Upper Strasburg, thence to where once stood Fort Littleton, thence to Raystown or Bradford, thence to Greensburg, and Pittsburg. Post went from Carlisle October 29 to Shippensburg, November 1 to Fort Littleton, November 3 to Raystown, thence to the Loyalhanna (Greensburg), and thence to Pittsburg, so that the roads could have been very little improved by 1807. Mr. Conyngham took ten days in 1807 to cover a distance now covered in ten hours.

A paper on "State Roads and Highways in Eastern Pennsylvania and Lebanon County," by Hon. Theo. B. Klein, Lebanon County Historical Society, April 17, 1903, gives a good account of the character of these roads. It has just issued.

In 1807 Brownsville (Old Redstone) and Pittsburg were at the head of Ohio and Western navigation, and nearly all commercial business between these places and those below Pittsburg was carried on by flatboats.

306. CARLISLE. (*v. Note 255.*)

307. STRASBURG. Upper Strasburg, Franklin county, at foot of the Blue Mountains.

308. BEDFORD, Bedford county, 200 miles west of Philadelphia, formerly Raystown, incorporated 1795. Noted to this day for its mineral waters, discovered 1804.

309. STOYSTOWN, Somerset county; had 40 houses 1832.

Greensburg³¹⁰ to Pittsburgh³¹¹ where he arrived the 6th of June at 11 o'clock. During the ride he overset the chaise in a hole near Bedford, broke one of his wooden springs near Littleton,³¹² and encountered very bad roads. It rained daily after he reached the mountains, and although in general it was bad travelling, yet he thinks Turtle Creek Hills³¹³ was the most difficult part.

At Pittsburgh met Dr. Brassieus,³¹⁴ who was loading his boats, and on Wednesday, June 10th, we embarked our horses and put off in a severe gust of rain and wind, and the boat being leaky, made us very wet and uncomfortable. However, the Ohio was very full and gave us a great run down to Wheeling,³¹⁵ a promising town in Virginia, where several boats were building, and it appeared a thriving place. Left it 6 o'clock P. M. and reached Marietta³¹⁶ at same hour next day. This appears a place of great consequence; its situation on the Muskingum forms a fine harbour, and the ship yards were occupied with vessels from 80 to 400 tons, building being pushed there. The next day we passed Gallia³¹⁷ it is also well situated, but does not appear to

310. GREENSBURG, county seat of Westmoreland county. In Somerset county 1807; laid out 1784; seat of justice 1782; had 150 houses 1832; now has 6,500 people.

309. PITTSBURGH. (*v.* Note 264.)

312. LITTLETON, site of Fort Lyttleton, Franklin county. Not a town.

313. TURTLE CREEK HILLS, twelve miles above Pittsburgh, on Turtle Creek.

314. DR. BRASSIERES, probably Dr. Brashears of Bardstown, Ky., who performed at Bardstown, 1806, the first successful hip joint amputation in America. (*v.* Collins, Ky., II. 89.)

315. WHEELING, Va., now West Virginia. This "promising town," fifty-eight miles below Pittsburgh, with 100 houses in 1807, had then "a printing office, a book store and a library. The two first quit the town for want of patronage." It is now the seat of Justice for Ohio county, has 40,000 people, and a public library of 18,000 volumes.

316. MARIETTA, O., at the mouth of the Muskingum, had in 1807 90 houses, and a Bank with \$100,000 capital, of which General Rufus Putnam, brother of General Israel Putnam, and of Revolutionary fame, was President. It is the seat of Marietta College.

317. GALLIAPOLIS, O., settled 1790 by 100 or more French people, enticed by shrewd speculators, who got their money and left them with worthless titles, utterly unfitted to open a home in a wilderness. A few of the emigrants had money. Americans joined the colony, and in 1807 it had 50 families, was the seat of Justice of Gallia county, with a court house, jail, church, academy, &c. Howes's "Historical Collections of Ohio" contains a graphic account of its beginning as romantic and pathetic as Murray's "Story of some French Refugees and their Azilum, Pa., 1793-1800," *v.* *v.* The population, 1904, about 5,500.

progress, nor indeed does it carry on its appearance that state of cultivation that one would have supposed from the adventurers who settled it. Fruit trees appeared large and thriving. We still proceeded day and night, and in 112 hours reached Maysville³¹⁸ or Limestone. It is not in my power to describe all the new towns we passed. Point Pleasant,³¹⁹ in Virginia, on the mouth of the Kanawha, appears as handsome as any situation I saw. Passing some places in the night, such as Blennerhassett's Island,³²⁰ I could not well distinguish the improvements; was disappointed with the appearance of the Scioto,³²¹ it being much smaller than I had imagined. The Ohio from Pittsburgh exhibits an unusual sameness that is not long pleasing; it scarcely anywhere varies in breadth; in some places there appear fine bottoms, and when in time improvement accompanies population, it must become a general object for all travellers to descend. A circumstance worthy of remark is the great want of brooks or springs, as we often ran miles before we could obtain water to fill our kettles, the settlers depending on the river. Maysville appears a grand depot

318. MAYSVILLE, Mason county Ky., settled 1784; called Limestone because at the mouth of Limestone Creek; named Maysville for Colonel John May. (*v. Collins' Kentucky*, II. 565-536.)

319. POINT PLEASANT, Mason county, Va., now West Virginia, at the junction of the Great Kanawha River and the Ohio River, four miles above Galliaopolis. The "Battle of Point Pleasant" was fought here, 1774, between the Indians under Cornstalk and the Virginia troops under General Andrew Lewis, who, after an all day fight, routed the Indians. This was probably the initial battle for the Independence of the American Colonies. Had Cornstalk won, with Lord Dunmore on the side of England, the cause of the Colonies would probably have been lost. The location of Point Pleasant is one of unusual beauty. Henry Clay, when he passed the spot, said that it reminded him of a "beautiful queen clothed in rags." In 1807 one William Langtry was the only merchant at the Point. Its population in 1904 was 2,000. It is the county seat of Mason Co.

320. BLENNERHASSET'S ISLAND, so named for Harmon Blennerhassett, an Irish gentleman who built here an elegant home, but becoming involved in Burr's conspiracy, he left the place and the handsome buildings were destroyed. The Island is two miles below Parkersburg, West Virginia, and the Little Kanawha River.

321. SCIOTO RIVER, O., a beautiful river, 300 miles long, flowing into the Ohio, subject to like conditions as the Ohio of annual overflow. Columbus, Chillicothe and other cities are located on its course. (*v. Navigator*, 1811, 196.)

or place of landing for the convenience of transporting goods to Paris, Lexington, etc.

I proceeded on a tolerable road through Washington to May's Lick.³²² The spring did not appear strong, but from the gathering of cattle around it, no doubt it is still salt. From thence, over a rough and bad road, to the first Blue Lick.³²³ The springs on both sides of Licking are large and strong; twenty kettles were working in one house, and numbers in others. The taste of the water, although not brackish, sickened my stomach. The salt made appears fine and good coloured, and looks like the Lymington or coarse Liverpool. It sells at the spot for 13 shillings Virginia currency per bushel.³²⁴

Passed over the second Blue Lick, over rough and bad roads through Millersburgh,³²⁵ thence the road became better to Paris,³²⁶ a tolerably thriving place, and from thence to Lexington,³²⁷ which is indeed a wonder of its age; I reckon above 400 houses and the most, large brick buildings, and numbers of new ones. It is situated in a rich, fertile body of land, the stone all limestone of a blue cast, and water strongly impregnated with lime. The woods are mostly filled with sugar maple, locust, sycamore, etc. Several rope yards and cotton spinning give an appearance of business, and the other tradesmen all seemed well employed and industrious. In no place did I ever see so many persons ride

322. MAY'S LICK, Ky., twelve miles from Maysville, also named for John May, owner of the land and a famous "lick" or spring near by, once a noted camping ground. (*v. Collins' Kentucky*, II. 563.)

323. BLUE LICK. The Upper and Lower Blue Lick Springs, Nicholas county, Ky., famous for over a century; discovered 1773 by a party of men from the Youghiogheny River, Pennsylvania. (*v. Collins*, II. 654-655.)

324. VIRGINIA CURRENCY was then almost equal to Sterling. (*American Register*, I. 145.)

325. MILLERSBURG, Kv. Miller's Station, twelve miles south of the Lower Blue Licks.

326. PARIS, Kv. Established 1790 as Hopewell, then called Bourbonton, then Paris. (*v. Collins* II. 66.) Population 1900, 4,500.

327. LEXINGTON, Kv. Ranck in his "History of Lexington," says: "It had reached its zenith in 1810, then the centre of Western trade, with a population of 8,000; the sales of the largest business house there amounted, in 1810, to \$100,000 a month." Population, in 1900, 26,000.

to and fro, on horseback generally, but many in carriages and chaises, which proves the country must be thickly settled. But, as far as a passenger may judge, the farm houses in general are mean and miserable hovels surrounded by crops exceeding any I ever saw. The interference of titles is the cause to which the want of buildings is attributed, but it may be added that a ready money market is also to be adduced. I dined at Mr. Barr's³²⁸ on Sunday at his farm. I think in no part of the world did I ever see a superior. He has fifty brood mares, and expects forty-eight mule colts this year. His young mules are the handsomest I ever saw. He takes them at two years old to South Carolina, where they average him one hundred dollars per head. His wheat and oats are both so rank and fine that the late rains must injure them; his corn very good, he expects seventy-five bushels per acre from it.

His house large and convenient, built of bricks, with an extensive garden and orchard. His meadow ground is so loaded with timothy, clover and blue grass that he will cut two tons per acre. He showed me his wood pasture. In above two hundred acres there was not a handful of dry leaves; these, I am informed, rot so fast that by January they all disappear so that no dirt or trash remains. Eighty acres of the woods, which he had kept up for twenty-eight days, were fit for mowing, the blue grass and clover being knee deep, and the rest of the wood excellent also. Water is not plenty, but as the lands clear they say springs and brooks increase. Equality seems very general here, the Judge and Constable, the Colonel and Corporal, and except some few Lawyers and Merchants, the Yeomen, clad in homespun cotton, appear much alike. They seem hardy, bold and enterprising, and I do not see that propensity for liquor that prevails elsewhere. The women, I have seen

³²⁸. ROBERT BARR, Fayette county, probably. He was one of the promoters of the Kentucky "Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge." (v. Collins II. 193.)

few, are handsome; they have several schools for girls, to whose education they pay attention; not having seen any further I can only remark this much. Their market is well supplied with beef, mutton and veal, and their vegetables are very good. Strawberries were done, but of raspberries, currants and gooseberries, there appears plenty. Cherries I have met, but none of good sort. Bread very excellent.³²⁹

During my stay at Lexington I was able to enlarge my remarks upon general things. The Court was in session, Mr. Munroe³³⁰ presided as Judge, the lawyers appeared learned and well educated, and some displayed good capacity for dispute, but the influence of the people prevails in the Courts. Neither the Judge nor his opinions scarcely ever prevail; and his want of power and authority admits of a custom, upon the most trifling difference of opinion, of filing exceptions, which leads to a removal to their Court of Appeals³³¹ at Frankfort, which I think may be justly styled the "Court of Exceptions"; and having been acquainted with Judges of both, I must say I think Mr. Munroe the best informed.

Methodists prevail very generally; their worship, as usual, noisy and violent, the few I heard scarcely uttered common sense. Baptists are, I think, the most numerous, their service well attended; the other sects appear small.

June 30th I went to Frankfort,³³² the Capital of the State, upon the Kentucky River, a fine river full of boats, abounding with good fish, its banks high and bold, similar to the

329. THE ABOVE account of the value of products raised in Kentucky in this year is sustained by a letter in Charles Brockden Brown's *American Register*, 1806-7, I. 145-146. The hay was worth £1.10.0 sterling per ton.

330. JOHN MUNROE, Judge of the Fayette County Court. (*v. Ranck's History Lexington, Ky.*, 177.)

331. COURT OF APPEALS. In 1807 Felix Grundy was Chief Justice, and John Trimble, Ninian Edwards and Thomas Todd were Judges. (*v. Collins II.* 500.)

332. FRANKFORT. Mr. Conyngham's description of this beautiful city in 1807 is accurate. It contained then about 140 houses, three printing offices, a book store, a bindery and a library; a State Bank was established after Mr. Conyngham's visit. The population now is 9,000. From 1793 to 1873 Frankfort had eight State Houses of which four were destroyed by fire. (*v. Collins II.* 245.)

Schuylkill. The State offices were well built, but from parsimony of the Assembly are going fast to ruin. I think the Capital is wrongly fixed. Either Louisville, below the Falls, where a port would give great circulation, or else Lexington should have been the place. I renewed my acquaintance with Governor Greenup;³³³ he is allowed fifteen hundred dollars per annum with a house, garden and fire wood. This pitiful compensation prevents his living as a Governor, and Democraay is carried too far in every department in my mind.

Frankfort is a fine situation for a few stores and a Tobacco Inspection, but can never be a great place. The Penitentiary deserves high commendation, its labour nearly pays its support. Nails, chains, etc., are worked there to a great advantage from the convenience of excellent coal, at one shilling per bushel, brought down the Kentucky. There were twenty-one persons confined; three were foreigners, the rest natives. Mr. Snead superintends it with great judgment.

I dined, going and coming back, at Dailey's inn; he is a free black man whose house would prove excellent for neatness, attendance and propriety.

Yesterday, 4th of July, was a partial holiday, it was celebrated by the parade of some Militia Uniform Companies, and several orations delivered in several public buildings. The one I heard was languid; not a word of our worthy Washington nor to his memory. Several public dinners were then resorted to. Whiskey alone was drank, but I saw little riot, and few drunkards.

Rains were very frequent and roads bad; on the 5th it rained towards evening and again before day of the 6th, and during the morning, at 10 o'clock, it became stronger and fell with such violence as to raise the Branch, a small incon-

333. CHRISTOPHER GREENUP, born Virginia 1750, died Frankfort, Ky., April 24, 1818. Governor of Kentucky 1804-1807. (*v.* Collins II, 303-304.)

siderable rivulet at common times, so high as to carry down houses, hay scales, logs, fences and everything in its way. Besides great damage in the country, it overflowed the town of Lexington, rushing into stores and cellars, most of which were full of water. Several merchants suffered heavily by the loss of sugar, salt, etc., and I think if it had continued half an hour longer it would have destroyed the trading part of the Main street. This rain was accompanied with but little thunder, lightning or wind. It continued so very wet with heavy gusts that I was not able to proceed to the Mud Lick or Olympian Springs³³⁴ until the 9th, when I went part of the way, dining at Winchester³³⁵ situated in a rich spot of land where they cultivate more tobacco than I had seen in any other place. I slept at Watts' and breakfasted next day at Mount Sterling,³³⁶ County town of Montgomery. Here is an artificial hill or mound of earth thrown up about 30 feet high and about 300 feet in diameter, trees grow up from it, but whether it was a burial place or a fort I could not fix in my mind.

Hence to the Springs, about fourteen miles below, through a dark and lonesome road, I went on safely, and found Mr. Banks had done a vast deal to accommodate company. The lick is in a hollow, around which he has built a good house for a tavern, a room for billiards, and a large house for dining in and for dancing. This is piazzaed on both sides and is cool and airy. Round about are a number of cabins where you sleep and assemble to meals

334. OLYMPIAN SPRINGS, Bath County, eight miles southeast of Owingsville, a popular watering place with three springs, Sulphur, Salt-sulphur and Chalybeate.

335. WINCHESTER, Clark County, named for Winchester, Va., 1793; incorporated 1793. Population now 6,000.

336. MOUNT STERLING, so called because of the ancient mound which stood in the town limits. This mound was not so large as stated, *supra*. In 1806, Josiah Espy, a Philadelphia merchant, described it as "a remarkable Indian mound, about 25 feet high, almost 125 feet in diameter at the base and perfectly circular." It was cut down 1846 and a large residence built on the spot. (*v. Collins II. 632.*) It is probable therefore that the mound described by Mr. Conyngham was the one outside the town limits 25 feet high connected with a circular work 350 feet in diameter by a terrace 100 feet long.

in the big building. These springs are remarkable; the large well is called a salt spring; it is mixed with sulphur and magnesia, and is used for baths and many purposes. It smells and tastes so disagreeably that my stomach would not admit it. About ten yards from the pump is a fine large spring of vitriol water. It tastes quite acid, and was to me pleasant and agreeable. Within five yards of this spring is a larger one, so strong of copperas that it can only be applied outwardly to sores, etc.

Salt after rain is seen on all the ground, and cattle come many miles in droves to lick it.

About 400 yards around a small hill of gravel and stone is as fine a running stream of chalybeate or water from iron ore, clear and cold, and within ten yards of it a clear fine spring of pure water. About three miles from these is a spring of sulphur, very strong and clear, so that perhaps in the world there is no combination of so great a variety of mineral waters. I passed a week with great satisfaction, although the rains were still too frequent. I was pleased with the company, and made up an intimacy with General Scott.³³⁷ I procured some papers and information from Mr. Banks and returned to Lexington, where I heard the news respecting the Chesapeake frigate, and Burr's being found guilty by the Grand Jury. I also found that Blennerhassett was in gaol here, and saw him marched off for Richmond under the Deputy Marshal and an escort of six men.

Little business occurring for some days, and few engagements, being urged by numbers to take a view of the Cliffs of the Kentucky river,³³⁸ I went down on Saturday, the 31st of July, to Mr. Delham's, at the mouth of Hickman, in company with Mr. Nicholas and G. Bickham; we were joined there by J. Gratz; we dined pleasantly and set

337. GENERAL CHARLES SCOTT, 1733-1813; distinguished as a soldier; Governor of Kentucky 1808-1812. (*v.* Appleton Cyc. Am. Biog., V. 435.)

338. THE CLIFFS of the Kentucky River. (*v.* Collins' Kentucky, II. 397.)

off exploring the hills, which are truly remarkable. The rock is of marble and exceeds 300 or 400 feet in height on both sides. There are numbers of caves, some of which our party visited and found some of the earth from which the saltpeter is made.

We returned in the evening, contemplating our arrangements for next day's amusements, which were unfortunately frustrated by the death of poor George Bickham,³³⁹ who went in with young Delham to bathe, and intending to cross the river, was carried into the vortex of a fishtrap, and whether he was seized with cramp or illness, or fell and hurt himself against the wood, we know not, he disappeared and was drowned. Darkness prevented our seeing him, and the noise of the water must have prevented our hearing any cries if he made any, nor could we even examine the place; the only canoe within two miles being taken away by a boy. We found the body next afternoon about 400 yards down the stream in deep water, and had it conveyed to Lexington and there buried.

I saw two catfish that weighed one 60 pounds and the other 34 pounds. They are very palatable when dressed. Some Indian corn is so very strong and high as to run up to 14 and 15 feet, and some few fields up to 19 and 20 feet high; in many places I could not reach the ears.

³³⁹ GEORGE BICKHAM. The following notice from *The American Register* for 1807, Vol. II., p. 83, confirms the above:

"Drowned, Lexington, Ky., on July 30, George Bickham, jun., of Philadelphia, only son of George Bickham, Esq., merchant, of that place.

"On Friday morning Mr. Bickham and several of his acquaintances went on a visit to the Kentucky river; they had spent the afternoon in exploring the cliffs of the river, near the mouth of Hickman (the object of their visit), and in the evening he, with another gentleman, went in to bathe. In attempting to swim across the river, he unfortunately got into a current, which precipitated him over a fish dam a short distance below, and no efforts of his anxious friends could save him. The body, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Moore and Mr. Blythe, attended by a large number of his friends and acquaintances, was interred in Lexington. In no instance have we witnessed such universal sympathy as was excited by this lamentable occurrence. To eulogize the deceased is unnecessary. Humane and generous, all who knew him loved him. In him society has lost a valuable member, an aged father the consolation of his declining years, and an amiable family a tender and affectionate brother."

APPENDIX B.

(SEE PAGE 259.)

SECRET COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS TO CAPTAIN HODGE.

PHILADELPHIA, May 30, 1776.

SIR: As you are now bound on a voyage to Europe with a view of procuring sundry articles that are wanted here, and have expectations that your friend Jean Wanderwoordt will supply such as we may desire, provided he is assured of being duly paid the cost, with interest for the time he remains in advance, we, the subscribers, being a quorum of the Secret Committee appointed by the honourable the Continental Congress, and authorized to procure from foreign countries supplies of arms, ammunition, and other articles on the best terms we can, being sensible of your deserving character, and knowing that your attachment to the liberties of your native country entitles you to our confidence, have concluded to authorize and empower you to contract with any person or persons in Europe, for ten thousand stand of good soldiers' muskets, well fitted with good double bridled gun-locks, and good bayonets; ten thousand good double bridled gun-locks; two hundred thousand gun-flints; one thousand barrels of the best pistol powder; one thousand barrels of the best common powder; and for two fast-sailing, well-armed cutters, such as you may think best calculated for a good and safe passage to this country, and for making good cruisers on this coast afterwards. You are to make your contracts in writing; stipulate the prices, not to exceed the current rates for each article, and make it your business to be well informed on this point. We are sensible that it is difficult to extract arms and ammunition from many parts of Europe, and that penalties are inflicted on such as are detected in doing it; consequently a premium beyond the first cost and common commissions must be allowed to those that undertake it; and, in this respect we are rather at a loss how to limit you, being willing to allow what might be reasonable compensation, but unwilling to submit to extortion. However, as it is not in our power to judge of this point with precision, we exhort you to make the best bargain you can for the continent, and we conclude to allow you a commission of two and one-half per cent. on the amount of the invoice of the goods, and on the cost and outfit of the cutters; but you will observe this commission is the whole of what we are to pay you, being the only compensation you are to expect for transacting this business, and expect and hope it will afford you a very handsome reward for your services.

Our design is, to pay for those goods and cutters by remitting to the consignation of those that supply them cargoes of this country's produce, such as tobacco, rice, indigo, furs, skins, flour, lumber, iron, etc.; and we hereby pledge the thirteen United Colonies for the punctual discharge of the debt or debts you may contract, in virtue of and conformity with these orders. We agree to allow such rate of interest as you may agree for, not exceeding five per cent. on the amount of the debt or debts, from the time the goods are shipped until

payment is made, and this interest to cease on such partial payments as may be made from time to time. In confirmation of these orders, we deliver herewith a letter to your friend, Mr. Jean Wanderwoordt, attended with a certificate of our being a quorum of the Secret Committee, properly authorized to transact such business for the public, which you may avail yourself of with Mr. Wanderwoordt, or any other person necessary for effecting the purchase.

It is our understanding that the goods you contract are to be at the risk of the contractors until they are shipped on board, and bills of lading granted for them, after which they become our risk; and if the risk from that time until the ending of the voyage can be covered by insurance, at a premium not exceeding twenty per cent., we would wish to have such part insured as is to come from Europe direct out for this coast; the insurance to be against all risks whatever, at and from the shipping port to any place of delivery in the thirteen United Colonies of America.

When you have accomplished the business so far as to make the contracts and purchase cutters, you must cause to be shipped three thousand stand of arms, six hundred barrels of powder, three thousand gun-locks, and sixty thousand gun-flints, on board each cutter. Take bills of lading, deliverable to us in any part of the United American Colonies, and dispatch them for this coast. These cutters must be well armed and manned. You should procure, if possible, masters that are acquainted with the sea-coast of America, men of intelligent understanding and firm minds, well attached to the American cause; many such there are in Europe, pining to return and serve this country in the present glorious contest. You will also pick up as many American seamen as possible, and if sufficient of those do not offer, complete the number with the best you can get; and in fitting these vessels it will be well done to put on board each three or four tons of musket balls, suited to the bore of the ten thousand stand of arms. As the operations of our enemies are uncertain, it is hard for us to point out what part of the coast these cutters should push for. We believe the inlets between New York and Virginia may be as safe as any. They must get into the first place of safety they can, and give us immediate advice by express of their arrival; and by these vessels you will transmit us any public news, or any useful intelligence in your power. The remainder of the goods we think it most prudent to order out in foreign bottoms to some of the foreign Islands in the West Indies, where you can send for them with ease and tolerable security. You will consult with your friends what Island may be safest to make use of; and also obtain recommendation to a proper house for receiving and reshipping the goods, transmitting us the name and address by the cutters, and we shall send them funds to pay the freight and charges. Those goods going in neutral bottoms need only be insured against the common risks of the sea, etc.

We are, sir, etc., etc.

To Mr. William Hodge.

(Force's Archives, 4th Series, VI. 618.)

No. 1.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO WILLIAM HODGE, JUN.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3, 1776.

SIR: We deliver you herewith copies of the letters and credentials you had from us when you sailed on your late unfortunate voyage, the originals whereof we understand you destroyed on being taken by the "Orpheus" man-of-war. We have since that time taken other measures for procuring arms and ammunition, which probably may have succeeded; therefore we request you will lay those copies and this letter before Silas Deane, Esq., at Paris, and follow such advice and directions as he may give respecting arms and ammunition; but with respect to the cutters we approve much of that plan, and wish it to be executed and even enlarged. We therefore propose that you should consult with Mr. Deane and Mr. Thomas Morris on this subject, and if you find it will be in your power to procure seamen and obtain permission to arm and fit out vessels in France, Spain, or Holland, that you should, if possible, buy a frigate of twenty to forty guns, have her completely fitted, armed and manned, putting in a gentleman of unexceptionable good character, being also an able seaman, to command her, for which purpose we give you herewith a blank commission, to be filled up with his and the ship's name, which may be "Surprise." The Captain and you may appoint the officers necessary for this ship, giving to each a certificate showing his station.

When this ship is completed you must give orders to the Captain, signed by Mr. Deane, to cruise in the channel against the enemies of the United States of America, making prize of all British property as he can meet with. He may send his prizes into such ports in France as may be most convenient, and you will there demand protection for them, or rather let Mr. Deane demand this, and also liberty to make sale of such goods as he, Mr. Morris, and yourself may think best to sell there. Direct the Captain to take out any dry goods he finds on board his prize into his own ship, and when by this means he has got a considerable quantity on board, let him come away for this coast, and get into the first place of safety he can in the United States of America.

The Captain must, before he goes, give bond duly to observe all rules and regulations of Congress; and herewith we deliver you a blank bond, with a book of those rules, and a list of the Continental agents. Any prize that he sends into France you must send forward from thence to some of these states, unless Mr. Deane, Mr. Morris and yourself agree it is more for the publick good to sell in France; and if you sell them there apply the net proceeds to pay the debts you contract in this business.

Besides this ship, we approve also of the two cutters, as mentioned in our former letters. You may arm, fit and man them, and dispatch them hither as soon as possible, either with arms, ammunition, or such other goods as Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris may recommend or provide. We deliver you commissions, etc., for these vessels also, and recommend to you to be very attentive to

the choice of Captains. They should all be good seamen, men of good character and principles, strongly attached to this country and its cause; and prefer Americans, thus deserving to any other country. If such Americans are not to be found, seek for good men of other countries that have been here or have connexions among us. We know that there are many such in Europe that would be glad of the employ.

The ship must make but a short cruise in the Channel, and a short one will do the business, for she will daily meet prizes; but if she is long there, they will have men-of-war in quest of her. We hope you will meet with some fine, fast-sailing ship for this purpose, and be able to purchase and fit her on reasonable terms. We shall desire Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris to join you in the necessary assurances to those you deal with of being faithfully reimbursed. We again repeat that we shall make remittances in the produce of this country for that purpose. We shall also make you a proper compensation for your trouble and services hereafter, when they can be better ascertained. Therefore, wishing you success, we remain, sir, your humble servants.

To William Hodge, Jun.

P. S.—It is absolutely necessary that you observe the utmost secrecy in all this business, and make use of every cloak or cover you can think of to hide the real design.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 851.)

No. 2.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO WILLIAM HODGE, JUN.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 3, 1776.

SIR: We commit to your care sundry despatches delivered you herewith, and you are immediately to repair on board the sloop "Independence," John Young, commander, now waiting for you between this and Reedy Island. This sloop will carry you and said despatches, with the utmost expedition, to the Island of Martinico, where you must apply to Wm. Bingham, Esq., delivering to him all the letters and packages directed for him. This gentleman will assist in procuring you an immediate passage from thence to some port in France, on board a French vessel. Choose a good one if you have a choice, and a man-of-war or a packet, in preference to a merchantman. The General of Martinico will give you a letter to the commander of the port you sail for, requesting him to grant you a passport, and to expedite you immediately to Paris. On your arrival there, you must find out Silas Deane, Esq., and Mr. Thomas Morris, and deliver to each the letters and packages directed for them.

If you arrive at Nantz, apply to Mr. John Daniel Schweighauser; at Bordeaux, to Messrs. Samuel and John Hans Delap; at Havre de Grace, to Mr. Andrew Limozin; at Dunkirk, to Messrs. P. Stival & Son, in the name of Willing, Morris & Co., to furnish you with the address of Mr. Deane and Mr. Morris, at Paris, as it will be well known to them all, and they will also ren-

der you any other services you may stand in need of. Should you go to Paris without previously finding out the address of these gentlemen, apply to Messrs. ———, bankers in Paris, who can direct you to Mr. Deane.

The letters and packets directed for him and Thomas Morris you are to consider as despatches of the utmost importance. You must never suffer them to be out of your possession one moment until you deliver them safe, with untouched seals, to those two gentlemen, unless you should unfortunately be taken, and in that case you must throw them overboard, always keeping them ready slung with a weight to sink them if that measure should be necessary, and for your faithful discharge of this trust, you are answerable to your God, your country, and to us that have reposed this confidence in you.

We have desired Mr. Bingham to supply you with what money you want at Martinico, and to transmit us your receipts for the amount. Mr. Deane will supply you with any sum not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds sterling in France. You will keep an account of your expences, which will be paid by the Congress, who will also compensate you hereafter generously for your time, trouble and risk, in this voyage. Should Mr. Deane think proper to send you immediately back with despatches for us, you will no doubt take charge of them and proceed according to his instructions.

Your most cautiously avoid letting any person whatever know what is your business, or that you have the least connection with publick business.

We wish you a safe and successful voyage, and are, sir, your obedient and humble servants.

To Mr. William Hodge, Jun.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 852.)

No. 3.

COMMITTEE OF SECRET CORRESPONDENCE TO THEIR COMMERCIAL
HOUSES IN EUROPE.

PHILADELPHIA, October 3, 1776.

GENTLEMEN: The bearer hereof, Mr. William Hodge, Jun., is a young gentleman we esteem; he now goes for France, via the West Indies, and is uncertain at what port he may land. He has business with Silas Deane, Esq., and Mr. T. Morris; we beg, therefore, you will furnish him with their address, and render him any other service he may stand in need of. If he wants money for expences, please to advance it, and his draft on Mr. Deane will be honoured. Your compliance will oblige, gentlemen, your obedient, humble servants.

To Mr. John Daniel Schweighauser, at Nantz; Messrs. Samuel & J. H. Delap, at Bordeaux; Mr. Andrew Limozin, at Havre; Messrs. P. Steval & Son, at Dunkirk.

(Force's Archives, 5th Series, II. 853.)

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