

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS MUHLENBERG.

Born 2d. January 1750.

Died 4th. June 1801.

*From the original painting, in the possession of the Family*

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ADDRESS TO THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY BAR  
ASSOCIATION, DECEMBER 1, 1888.

BY HON. DANIEL AGNEW, LL.D.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ALLEGHENY COUNTY  
BAR ASSOCIATION :

I declined your appointment as historian of the bar and bench of Allegheny County. I found that the admissions to this bar in 1863 had been six hundred and fifty. The correspondence and labor of collecting information and the compilation of even a partial number of sketches would extend over many months, resulting in a large book instead of a modest pamphlet appropriate to this occasion. I therefore undertook to furnish a few sketches only of prominent lawyers of the last century and earlier years of this. Brief as these must be, they occupy a large space. But too much cannot be sacrificed to brevity. It would be to omit much that is interesting, and leave virtues, peculiarities, and true character often obscure.

The life of an upright, honorable, and learned lawyer is full of instruction. He is in the front of active business, and his example useful. Intrusted with vast interests and

called to advise, often under the most painful and delicate circumstances, he is the confidant and most trusted person in society. His integrity and learning are of the highest order. Vulgar prejudice assigns to the profession a lower position, where artful tricks and dishonest schemes hold a greater sway. True it is, and as sad as true, there is too much of these prevailing in the lower grades. But there is much of high and honorable character left, and many there are whose places cannot be easily filled and whose loss is sincerely mourned.

It is of such I fain would write. But to raise from the ashes of dead generations the forms of those who existed nearly one hundred years ago—of those who played conspicuous parts and even dazzled the eyes of their contemporaries with the brilliancy of their genius, or commanded their admiration by the force of their intellects—is a work of labor now scarcely possible. Around many names tradition circles bright halos of light, giving promise to the hope, but, when approached, which fade away, leaving only shadowy forms, finally disappearing in darkness.

Of the millions who crowded the earth a century ago, who are now known? Their very names are lost. Nothing remains, yet the same sun shone on them as brightly, they chased happiness as eagerly, and followed the phantoms of fancy as fondly as we do; and, as we, they thought not of the fleeting foot falls of time and of the coming hours, when all would be forgotten and not even a rack of memory be left behind. Such is the work I am called to perform, in raking among the ashes of the dead past.

Our starting period is the erection of the county of Allegheny by the Act of the 24th of September, 1788. In the following year the county embraced all the territory lying east of the Allegheny and southwest of the Monongahela and Ohio Rivers, now bounded by the counties of Westmoreland and Washington, and all the territory north and west of the Ohio and Allegheny Rivers, bounded by the New York and Ohio State lines. It was over this vast spread, largely of wilderness, that many whom I am to sketch





ALEXANDER ADDISON.

- (*Born in Morayshire, Scotland, 1758. Died 1807.*)

performed their parts. Peace with the Indian tribes was not concluded until August, 1795, by the treaty of General Anthony Wayne at Fort Greenville, ratified by the Senate of the United States December 22, 1795.

The Fifth Circuit of the Courts of Common Pleas of the State, under the Constitution of 1790, was established by the Act of 13th April, 1791, and was composed of the counties of Westmoreland, Fayette, Washington, and Allegheny. Of this circuit the first president judge was Alexander Addison, a man of great note and many virtues, and worthy to begin our sketches.

ALEXANDER ADDISON.

Born in Ireland, according to an early note, but in Scotland, according to family tradition, he was of Scottish descent, and was educated at Edinburgh, according to the same note, but at Aberdeen by family tradition; and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Aberlowe. Coming to Western Pennsylvania, he was, on the 20th of December, 1785, permitted by the Redstone Presbytery (Brownsville) to preach within its bounds. For a short time he preached at Washington, Pennsylvania, then studied law, was admitted there, and admitted in Allegheny County December 16, 1788, and in 1791 was commissioned president judge.

Judge Addison was eminent for his culture, erudition, correct principles, and his patriotism. Living in troublous times and during the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794, he was sorely tried; but all his efforts were on the side of good order and lawful government. An earnest advocate of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, he was antagonized by those who opposed it, and by some who were impregnated with the loose and virulent ideas of the French revolution. This antagonism led finally to his impeachment at Lancaster in 1802. After a trial, the most flagitious ever urged on by vicious hate and obnoxious partisanship, he was convicted and sentenced to be removed from office, and ever afterwards to be ineligible to the office of judge in any court in this commonwealth. But insolence and enmity

failed to rob him of his good name, and it has descended to posterity surrounded by a cloudless lustre and unstained by the impotent attempts to blacken and defame it. In his volume of Reports, and his charges to juries, and essays may be read the fidelity, learning, and impartiality of the judge and the luminous virtues of the man.

He died November 27, 1807, leaving descendants loved and admired by the community.

JAMES ROSS.

The bar of the decennial between 1790 and 1800 was one of marked character and ability. Foremost was James Ross, a man of culture, erudition, legal learning, eloquence, and forensic ability. In person an Apollo, with the proportions of an Ajax, his mental was superior to his bodily vigor. He was born in York County, Pennsylvania, July 12, 1762; his father being the Hon. Thomas Ross.

In the West we first notice him as a teacher of a Latin school at Canonsburg, before 1784, under the patronage of his friend, the Rev. Dr. McMillan, of pious memory. He was led to study law by the recommendation of Hugh Henry Brackenridge, then a prominent lawyer in the West. The time of his admission to the bar in Washington County is uncertain. He was admitted in Fayette County in December, 1784, and in Allegheny after its erection, December 16, 1788.

He became conspicuous for his eloquence, persuasiveness, learning, and logical statement. To a fine manner he united force and polish in his address, and soon rose to distinction. Impelled by the circumstances of the times, he took a lead in politics. They were full of excitement and incident, were calculated to bring out all the talent of the day, and Mr. Ross became a marked leader. On the presentation to the people of the Constitution of the United States for adoption, he was found among its able advocates and defenders, and was ranked among the Federalists. In the formation of the Constitution of Pennsylvania of 1790, he took a leading part. He strongly opposed the Whiskey



Insurrection of 1794, making a speech in opposition in Washington, where he resided, of two hours' length. But the fiery zeal of David Bradford, a leader in the opposition to the government excise on whiskey, carried the people with him, and they resolved to go to Braddock's Field, a place of meeting of the insurgents. Defeated then, he resolved to attend the meeting there. Historically the fact is well known; he appeared there, with Hugh Henry Brackenridge and others; but his previous speech, his subsequent course, and his well-known service to the government leave no doubt of his purpose to be there to observe the proceedings and not to be an actor,—a matter in which Mr. Brackenridge was less fortunate, for his motive has never been clearly vindicated, though much has been written in his defence.

A supporter of Washington, Mr. Ross was on the 8th of August, 1794, on account of his bold and open stand on the side of law and order, appointed a commissioner to confer with the insurgents. Judge Jasper Yeates and William Bradford, attorney-general, were joined with him as commissioners. In this service he displayed marked ability. To him Hugh Henry Brackenridge owed largely his escape from a prosecution for high treason, for the apparent part he took with the insurgents.

Mr. Ross was three times a candidate of the Federal party for governor; but, Pennsylvania having followed the fortunes of the Democratic party, he was defeated by Thomas McKean in 1799 and 1802, and again by Simon Snyder in 1808. It was during the last campaign this famous couplet was repeated by the supporters of Snyder:

“Jimmy Ross,  
He's a hoss;  
But Simon Snyder,  
He's the rider.”

He was also a senator of the United States from 1794 until 1803. After his defeat by Simon Snyder, Mr. Ross retired from politics and pursued his profession in the western counties, chiefly in Allegheny. In the latter part of

his life he became fairly wealthy from the rise in the value of real estate of which he became a pretty large owner. The court-house recently burned, the site also of the present magnificent building, was erected on property purchased of him. I remember well the high, close board fence which separated his property from the remainder of Grant's Hill, then open and the parade-ground of the militia and kite-ground of the boys. His dwelling and office stood on a rise, at about fifty or sixty feet eastward of the old Fourth Street road. In these pages I shall refer to the numbered "avenues" as "streets," as they were always known to me and in the times treated of in these sketches. From this office emanated a number of law students, among them my school-companion and friend Cornelius Darragh.

Mr. Ross came occasionally into the court after I came to the bar. I was so fortunate as to hear his argument in the Supreme Court at September Term, 1830, in the Diamond Court-House, before Chief-Justice Gibson and his associates. The case was then a great case,—an ejectment for land occupied by West Elliott, at the mouth of Saw-Mill Run, opposite the Point,—involving titles acquired under the State of Virginia while she claimed this part of Western Pennsylvania. The plaintiff claimed under General Hand, whose title rested on a Pennsylvania warrant and patent and on two Virginia entries. Walton, under whom the defendant claimed title, held also a Virginia certificate. The counsel were W. W. Fetterman, James Ross, John Kennedy, and Walter Forward. Ross spoke about half a day. Kennedy's argument was as long as one of his opinions when he became a supreme judge, a whole day,—and Forward spoke less than two hours, making a most terse and lucid argument. Ross's argument was remarkable for its smooth and polished periods, the beauty and finish of its delivery, as well as for its cogency.

In the latter part of his life, though not then considered intemperate, he occasionally came under the warming influence of wine. Then a peculiarity noticed by others, I have seen myself, when walking he always took the middle of

the street. My last recollection of him was when going beside him, up the steps of the Bank of Pittsburgh from Third Street. What led to the quotation of Pope's line I do not remember, but as we entered he said, "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

Mr. Ross was married to a daughter of Colonel George Woods, of Bedford, a sister also of John Woods, the celebrated lawyer. She died September 14, 1805. He, himself, died at Pittsburgh, November 27, 1847.

HUGH HENRY BRACKENRIDGE.

Contemporary and prior to James Ross lived Hugh Henry Brackenridge, a noted man in his day. He was born at Campbellton, in Scotland, in the year 1748. When he was five years old his father, a poor farmer, emigrated to America, and settled in the so-called "Barrens" of York County, Pennsylvania. The son, a bright youth of energy and force of character, by night-study and recitation to a neighboring clergyman, acquired sufficient knowledge to become a country school-teacher. Through saving and industry he was able to reach Princeton College, teaching two classes for his own instruction in others. He remained a tutor for a time after graduation, and then took charge of an academy in Maryland. Thence he removed to Philadelphia, studied divinity, and was licensed to preach. A writer of ability, patriotic and pithy, he wrote for the *United States Magazine* of Philadelphia. In 1777 he served as chaplain in a Pennsylvania regiment of the Revolutionary War. Afterwards abandoning divinity, he studied law with Judge Chase, of the Supreme Court of the United States, and after admission came to Pittsburgh, in 1781, reaching the head of the bar before Allegheny County was erected, and after its creation was admitted there December 16, 1788.

Elected to the legislature in 1786, he there advocated an instruction to Congress to urge the free navigation of the Mississippi, a fact which doubtless aided to influence Mr. Jefferson afterwards in the purchase of Louisiana.

In the discussion upon the Constitution of the United

States he advocated its adoption, separating from his friends Gallatin and Findley, who opposed it.

The most doubtful part of Mr. Brackenridge's life was that during the Whiskey Insurrection of 1794, when he apparently sided with the insurgents. That he was a delegate, met with the insurgents at Parkinson's Ferry and at Braddock's Field, opposing the collection of the excise on whiskey, and seemingly approving of their proceedings, there is no doubt. But it is said his purpose was to prevent excess and lead to a more prudent and peaceable mode of redress. Yet after the arrival of the militia under President Washington, with Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, he was so strongly suspected by Hamilton that he was marked by him for arrest. Then it was that James Ross interfered in his behalf, explained to Hamilton what he said was Brackenridge's true position, and averted proceedings. Hamilton addressed a note to him stating the suspicion and the final exoneration. Still the cloud rested on him so much, his son, Judge Henry M. Brackenridge, a man of fine genius, defended his course in a book upon the Whiskey Insurrection, intended as a vindication of his father.

James Ross, Judge Jasper Yeates, and William Bradford, attorney-general, had on the previous 8th of August been appointed by President Washington commissioners of the United States to confer with the insurgents, "in order to quiet and extinguish the insurrection." The ill feeling between Judge Yeates and Judge Brackenridge, when on the bench together, probably was owing to the part Yeates took in this commission.

Perhaps the true attitude of Mr. Brackenridge is exhibited in his letter of August 8, 1794, to Tench Coxe, Esq., recently published in the *Magazine of Western History*. From this letter, written before the marching of the troops to Pittsburgh, we discover that he was a strong and even bitter opponent of the excise system, believed the government would be unable to suppress an insurrection of the people against it, and was disposed to consider it as involv-

ing a general rising in the West and the organizing of a new government, including parts of Western Virginia and Western Pennsylvania and an unknown extent westward. All this may not be incompatible with a desire to control the movement of the people in favor of peace and the authority of the government. Yet the purpose of the letter seems to have been to delay force, in the hope, possibly, that the movement would subside under a belief of final repeal of the law and an abandonment of the excise system. The following extracts from his letter will exhibit, at least partially, his views and feelings :

“It will be said that insurrection can be easily suppressed,—it is but that of a part of four counties. Be assured it is that of a greater part, and I am inclined to believe the three Virginia counties, on this side of the mountains, will fall in. The first measure then will be the organization of a new government, comprehending the three Virginia counties and those of Pennsylvania, to the westward to what extent I know not. This event, which I contemplate with great pain, will be the result of the necessity of self-defence. For this reason I earnestly and anxiously wish that delay on the part of government may give time to bring about, if practicable, good order and subordination.

“But the excise law is a branch of the funding system, detested and opposed by all the philosophic men and the yeomanry of America, those who hold certificates excepted. There is a growing, lurking discontent at this system that is ready to burst out and discover itself everywhere. I candidly and decidedly tell you the chariot of government has been driven Jehu-like as to finances ; like that of Phaeton, it has descended from the middle path, and is likely to burn up the American earth.

“Should an attempt be made to suppress these people, I am afraid the question will not be whether you will march to Pittsburgh, but whether they will march to Philadelphia, accumulating in their course and swelling over the banks of the Susquehanna like a torrent, irresistible and devouring in its progress.”

As a writer, Mr. Brackenridge displayed marked ability, indulging often in a fine vein of humor. His "Modern Chivalry," published in 1796, was widely read, and popular estimate is seen in a new edition published in 1856.

In 1799, Mr. Brackenridge was appointed by Governor McKean a judge of the Supreme Court of this State, in which position he continued until his death, in 1816. At the bar he abounded in wit and native eloquence, and his knowledge of men and ready and fine address made him a powerful and popular advocate. In person he was commanding and prepossessing in manner. As a judge he did not display the high powers he had exhibited as an advocate. His opinions were often racy, but not very profound; while his opposition to Judge Yeates (who, as before stated, was one of the commissioners to confer with the insurgents) led to frequent disagreements; when, as the Reports often say, "Brackenridge, J., agreed with the Chief-Justice."

Of the marriage of Judge Brackenridge a romantic story is told. About 1790 he was on his way home from the Washington Court. At the tavern of a German farmer named Wolf, in Washington County, he stopped to "bait" his horse. Sabina Wolf, a daughter, in her bare feet, and playing hostler, brought his horse to the door. He was so much struck with her appearance that, after riding many miles, his mind reached a conclusion, and he rode back and asked the father for the girl in marriage. After some parleying, to prove his seriousness, consent was given, and they were married. Mr. Brackenridge then sent Sabina to Philadelphia to be educated in ways polite.

#### JOHN WOODS.

Contemporary with Hugh Henry Brackenridge and James Ross was John Woods, an eminent counsellor of Pittsburgh in the last and present centuries. Little material is found to trace his life. Tradition informs us he was an able lawyer, especially in real estate and ejectment cases. Yeates's Reports, from 1793 onward, discover that he was engaged in nearly every cause argued in the Circuit Courts of the Su-

preme Court, held at Huntingdon, Bedford, Somerset, Greensburg, Washington, Pittsburgh, and Beaver. He was undoubtedly in full practice before that date, as he was admitted to the bar in Westmoreland County in 1784, in Fayette County in the same year, and in Allegheny December 16, 1788.

He was a son of Colonel George Woods, of Bedford, who, in 1784, under the authority of Tench Francis, the agent and attorney of John Penn, Jr., and John Penn laid out Pittsburgh. In this work George Woods was aided by his son, John Woods, and Thomas Vickroy. A full account of the transaction will be found in the celebrated Batture case in 6 Peters's Reports, 501-2.

The plan of Pittsburgh is often referred to as "John Woods's plan of Pittsburgh." This is correct. Though the authority was conferred on George Woods, the plan is certified thus: "A draught of the town-plot of Pittsburgh, surveyed and laid out by order of Tench Francis, Esq., attorney of John Penn, Jr., and John Penn, May 31, 1784, by John Woods." "Witness George Woods, Peter Miller."

A daughter of George Woods, and sister of John Woods, was the wife of James Ross, Pittsburgh's eminent lawyer.

Wood Street in Pittsburgh was doubtless named in honor of the Woods family. It is interesting, in this connection, to trace some of the military occupants of Fort Pitt by the names of the streets running from Liberty Street to the Allegheny River, now the numbered streets. There was "Marbury," after Captain Joseph Marbury; "St. Clair," after General Arthur St. Clair; "Hand," after General Edward Hand; "Irwin," after General William Irvine; "Wayne," after General Anthony Wayne, etc.

John Woods at an early day built a very fine brick dwelling on the square between Wayne and Washington Streets and between Penn Street and the Allegheny River, the same square now occupied by the buildings of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway. When I first remember the house, in 1818 or 1819, it was occupied by Christian Ferbiger, a prominent gentleman from Philadelphia, who

had been active in State affairs in the eastern part of the State early in the century. It was afterwards owned and occupied by James S. Stevenson, a partner of Charles Avery in the drug business, corner of Wood and Second Streets, and who represented Allegheny County in Congress. The house was a double brick, with wings, situated in the centre of the square, distant from Penn Street about one hundred and twenty to fifty feet, and faced by trees and shrubbery. During the occupancy of Mr. Stevenson, on the 4th of July, 1828, a great Jackson meeting was held in the rear of this square, next to the Allegheny River, presided over by William Wilkins, and addressed by Henry Baldwin. I was present. Later the property became a tavern-stand and wagon-yard and a place of many public meetings. I remember hearing there "Tariff Andy Stewart," of Uniontown, and Senator John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.

Few, I suppose, now remember the duel, or rather shooting affray between James S. Stevenson and a gentleman living on Wood Street, nearly opposite to Avery & Stevenson's drug-store, whose name I have forgotten. It occurred in the morning, on the inner porch of Ramsey's Hotel, corner of Wood and Third Streets. The frame of a door was the only object hurt.

John Woods was married to Theodosia Higbee, who survived him, and removed to Trenton, New Jersey, where she died in 1832. Mr. Woods was a Presidential elector in 1796 and a State senator in 1797, and represented Allegheny County in Congress in 1815-1817. He died in 1817, leaving a daughter, who married Judge Henry M. Brackenridge, and brought him large wealth.

How little remains of this distinguished lawyer, so eminent in his day, is seen in the foregoing very meagre sketch. The following is found in the "History of Westmoreland County," and is extracted, though with no knowledge of its accuracy. The writer is said to have been George Dallas Albert:

"The reputation of John Woods as a skilful lawyer was



also high. His person was fine and his dress and manner bespoke the gentleman, although there was a touch of aristocratic pride about him, which lessened his popularity. His voice was rather shrill and unpleasant, especially when contrasted with his manly appearance; but, like John Randolph, his ear-piercing voice often gave effect to a powerful invective. Few lawyers could manage a case with more skill. He was deeply versed in the subtlety of the law of tenure and ejectment cases. Being possessed of a handsome fortune, he rather shunned than courted practice, but in a difficult case the suitor thought himself fortunate when he could secure his assistance."

STEELE SEMPLE.

Somewhat later than John Woods came Steele Semple, an able lawyer, eloquent advocate, and finished scholar. Tradition says this much, yet his remains are so small and vague it is impossible to describe him with fidelity. Tradition speaks of his legal attainments as immense, of his scholarship as magnificent, and of his eloquence as grand. Like Woods, with whom he was partly contemporary, his largest practice was found in land-title disputes and the trial of ejectments. His name is also frequently seen in Yeates's Reports, and as in attendance at the Circuit Courts of the Supreme Court in the western circuits of the State. He was, with Henry Baldwin, a witness of the cowhiding of Ephraim Pentland by Tarleton Bates, and with him signed a certificate of the facts. In this way he became partly identified with the duel which followed between Bates and Stewart, in which Bates was mortally wounded and died in a few hours.

Tradition represents him as of a convivial turn, often tarrying over the wine-cup late at night. It is said that on one night, after indulging in the pleasures of the glass until very late, and being too much elated to walk in the right line of sober directness, he started for home along Wood Street, and, walking with erratic steps, fell into an open cellar. There confined within the unassailable ramparts of

its walls, he lay shouting aloud, and from time to time crying, "*De profundis clamabo!*" until a night wanderer, late as himself, passing, heard the cry, and released him from the profound depth, in which he so resolutely shouted out to catch the passing ear.

He had his own experience in litigation, under the will of an uncle, carried into the Supreme Court; and his case gave rise to the rule laid down by that court,—“That words which only describe the *object* devised give no more than an estate for life; but words which comprehend the *quantum* of the estate pass the fee.” The words were, “I devise to my beloved son-in-law, Steele Semple, all my real and personal property,” 6 Binney, 97.

He lived in, and probably built, the house which before the great fire of April 10, 1845, stood on Second Street, at the corner of Chancery Lane, next door to the Branch Bank of the United States, and in which my father lived many years as a tenant under James Ross, who in some way claimed the property.

The following description is taken from the “History of Westmoreland County,” p. 301. What opportunities the writer—said to be George Dallas Albert—had to enable him to make the statements I know not:

“The great favorite of the younger members of the bar was Steele Semple, who ought to be considered at the head of the corps of regular practitioners. In stature he was a giant of mighty bone, and possessed a mind cast in as mighty a mould. Personally he was timid and sluggish. As a speaker his diction was elegant, sparkling, and classical. His wit was genuine. He was at the same time a prodigy of memory, a gift imparted to him to supply the want of industry, although it is not every indolent man who is thus favored. Mr. Semple was conversant with all the polite and fashionable literature of the day, and was more of a modern than his distinguished competitors. It is no less strange than true that, for the first few years of his appearance at the bar, his success was very doubtful. His awkward manner, his hesitation and stammering, his

indolent habits occasioned many to think that he had mistaken his vocation. Judge Brackenridge, the elder, was almost the only person who saw his future eminence. He was unfortunately carried off when he had just risen to distinction. He fell a victim to that vice which unhappily has too often overtaken the most distinguished in every profession. His fame had not travelled far from the display of his powers, which is usually the case in professions which must be seen and felt to be appreciable."

THOMAS COLLINS.

Among the distinguished lawyers of Pittsburgh in the decennial of 1790 to 1800 was Thomas Collins, a native of Ireland, born in Dublin in the year 1774, so far as is known. He received his education at Trinity College, Dublin, where he was matriculated. He came to the United States in the year 1790, soon reaching Reading, Berks County, Pennsylvania, where he studied law in the office of Marks Biddle, Esq., and was admitted to the bar of that county on the 8th of August, 1794. In the same year he came to Pittsburgh, and was admitted to the bar of Allegheny County, December 3, 1794, soon after his arrival.

He quickly rose in practice, and became engaged in important causes, his name appearing frequently in Yeates's and other early reports of cases decided in the courts of Allegheny and in the western Circuit Courts of the Supreme Court.

He was admitted to the bar of Beaver County at the first term after its organization, in February, 1804, his name being second on the list, following that of Alexander Addison, and in company with Steele Semple, Alexander W. Foster, John B. Gibson, William Wilkins, Henry Baldwin, and other celebrities of that day. He was one of the early bar who rode the circuit of the western counties. Much of his practice afterwards fell within Butler County, when, by marriage, he became interested for the lands of his father-in-law, Colonel Stephen Lowrey.

Mr. Collins was married twice. His first wife, Susan

Read, to whom he was married September 28, 1796, was a daughter of Collinson Read, Esq., a noted Philadelphian in the latter end of the last and the early years of this century, who was an elector voting for Washington when first chosen President, also a compiler of a "Digest of the Laws of Pennsylvania," published in 1801. In 1806 he also published "The American Pleader's Assistant," a valuable compilation much in use in the early years of my practice. The issue of this marriage of Mr. Collins was a son, Thomas Collins, Jr., a cadet at West Point, and long a respected citizen of Allegheny and Beaver Counties. Mr. Collins's first wife died at Pittsburgh in September, 1804. He next married, October 16, 1805, Sarah Lowrey, a daughter of Colonel Stephen Lowrey, residing near Centreville, Queen Anne's County, Maryland. William Wilkins was his groomsman.

Colonel Stephen Lowrey, an Irishman by birth, and a commissary in the Revolutionary army, was a gentleman known in Western Pennsylvania as late as my day, dying December 29, 1821. He was a large landholder in Butler County, whose interests, often affected by the entries of adverse settlers, made Mr. Collins's professional services in Butler frequently necessary. Colonel Lowrey's wife was a daughter of Rev. Elihu Spencer, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Trenton, New Jersey. He was also a trustee of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton.

From letters and documents in the family of Thomas Collins, his relatives in Ireland were evidently persons of culture and refinement. His father was a leading merchant of Dublin, and in 1799 was appointed by the English government to a position of responsibility and honor at Dominica, one of the Caribbee Islands. A tradition exists in the family that he acted for a time as governor of Dominica; but there seems to remain no evidence of the fact. John Collins, a younger brother, was a lieutenant in the British navy, killed in action on board the "Alexander," Lord Nelson's flagship, in the battle of Aboukir (the Nile), August 1, 1798.

Thomas Collins died in the prime of life, February 17,

1814, at the town of Butler, and was buried in the Catholic burying-ground, near to the town. His widow, Mrs. Sarah L. Collins, came to Pittsburgh about 1819 or 1820, with her children, Margaret, Valeria, Lydia, Sarah, and Stephen. She was a lady of culture, highly esteemed, and admired for her energy and her efforts in self-support, and for the education of her daughters. Stephen, her son, died early, and was buried beside his father, at Butler.

The Butler County lands of Colonel Stephen Lowrey, devised to her, came into possession in 1822, but at that early day brought very little at sale or lease, compelling her to put forth strenuous efforts to maintain her family and station,—efforts, however, made successful by her force of character. Her eldest daughter, Margaret, married William D. Duncan on the 17th of February, 1825. The late Colonel John Duncan, of Altoona, was her son. After the death of her husband, William D. Duncan, she married John Wrenshall. Valeria married Evan R. Evans, a lawyer from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on the 7th of October, 1828. In May, 1830, Mrs. Collins conveyed to her a valuable tract of land of four hundred and seventeen acres, adjoining the town of Butler, on which she lived, and died there September 18, 1833. This land was unfortunately lost through proceedings on a mortgage given by her husband, who died in Texas in 1836. Mrs. Sarah F. McCalmont, of Franklin, Pennsylvania, widow of Alfred B. McCalmont, colonel of the Two Hundred and Eighth Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers, is her daughter.

Lydia, the third daughter of William Collins, still living, on the 17th of May, 1833, married William B. McClure, Esq., a brother of Mrs. General William Robinson, late of Allegheny. He came from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, finished the study of the law in the office of John Kennedy, afterwards a supreme judge, and was admitted in Pittsburgh, November 18, 1829. He afterwards became president judge of the several courts of Allegheny County, an office held until his death, December 27, 1861, presiding with great acceptability. Their daughter, Rebecca, is the wife of Judge

Charles B. Flandreau, of St. Paul, Minnesota, whose brilliant services in defending New Ulm, Minnesota, in 1862, against the murderous attack of the Sioux Indians, made him conspicuous in the Northwest.

Sarah Collins, the youngest daughter of Thomas Collins, still living, on the 4th of December, 1834, married Wilson McCandless, Esq., who was admitted to the Allegheny bar June 15, 1831, and after an extensive practice in partnership, first, with W. W. Fetterman, Esq., and afterwards with William B. McClure, Esq., his brother-in-law, became judge of the United States District Court of the Western District of Pennsylvania, in which he presided with dignity until his death, on the 30th day of June, 1882.

Thus, though cut off in the midst of a busy life, the name and reputation of Thomas Collins have been perpetuated without stain or blemish by a family among the most noted and esteemed of Pittsburgh's eminent and distinguished citizens. I write of them as one who knew them in childhood's happy hours and in their earliest days in Pittsburgh.

WILLIAM WILKINS.

William Wilkins, contemporary with Brackenridge, Woods, Semple, Collins, Baldwin, Mountain, and other members of the old bar, lived until within the memory of the present day. He was the son of John Wilkins, of Carlisle, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, where he was born on the 20th of December, 1779. After graduating at Dickinson College he studied law under David Watts, an eminent lawyer of that day, remaining with him until his admission to the bar in Cumberland County. He came to Pittsburgh, and was admitted in Allegheny County December 28, 1801, his father, John Wilkins, having preceded him as a resident of Pittsburgh in 1786. William Wilkins was a gentleman of fine address and courtly manners, and a fair lawyer, though he owed more to his suavity and finished style than to the depth and strength of his intellect. His impulses were quick, and his temperament unfitted for prolonged investigation or great labor, and he wearied of pro-

tracted and severe effort. His mental proclivity led him into politics, in which he became a leader.

At an early day (1806) he became a participant in a duel between Tarleton Bates, prothonotary of Allegheny County, and Thomas Stewart, a merchant, which grew out of a quarrel between Bates and Ephraim Pentland. The political feuds and animosities of that day had been raging at their highest pitch. In 1805 there were three newspapers published in Pittsburgh,—the *Gazette*, the *Tree of Liberty* (edited by Walter Forward), and the *Commonwealth* (edited by Ephraim Pentland). On the 25th of December, 1805, the *Commonwealth* contained a bitter attack on Bates. Bates, on the 2d of the following January, cowhided Pentland publicly on Market Street. Henry Baldwin and Steele Semple were witnesses of the attack, and gave a public certificate of the facts. Pentland challenged Bates, who refused to accept, on the ground that Pentland was not a gentleman, and was unworthy of such notice. Stewart, having, as Pentland's second, carried the challenge, then challenged Bates. William Wilkins became his second. They fought on the Chadwick farm, now Oakland, and at the second fire Bates fell, shot in the breast, and died in about one hour. Bates was very popular, and public indignation rose so high that Mr. Wilkins left the State and went to Kentucky, where he spent over a year with his brother, Charles Wilkins, then residing in Lexington.

A few years after his return, Mr. Wilkins, who was a gentleman of taste and refinement, was led to build a very handsome and expensive brick dwelling on Water Street, where the Monongahela House in part now stands. The undertaking was too much for his means, law practice not then being so remunerative as in later days. This led to an effort of his friends, in 1818, to induce the Bank of the United States to purchase or lease Mr. Wilkins's house as a banking-house for its branch in Pittsburgh. Quite a controversy arose *pro* and *con*, and a large protest, signed by leading citizens, was sent to the parent bank in Philadel-

phia. The result was a failure, and the branch was located on Second Street between Ferry and Market Streets.

The public spirit of Mr. Wilkins led him to take part in useful enterprises, such as turnpike-roads and manufactories. The Bank of Pittsburgh, now known as the "Old Bank," owed its origin largely to him. He was its first president, beginning as a voluntary private association as early as in 1810, and afterwards chartered in 1814. He was fond of military display, and rose to a high rank in the militia. He also represented Allegheny County in the legislature. The election of 1820 led to a change of parties in the State administration, and late in the night of the 17th of December, 1820, and within two hours of the expiration of Governor Findley's term of office, he appointed William Wilkins president judge of the courts in the Fifth Circuit, succeeding Judge Samuel Roberts, who had died on the night of December 13, 1820.

Judge Wilkins presided with ability. His mental operations, being quick, were adapted to great facility in the despatch of business. He adopted a number of new rules of practice, which added much to this despatch. He continued on the Common Pleas bench until May 25, 1824, when he resigned to accept an appointment to the bench of the District Court of the United States, in the Western District of Pennsylvania, succeeding Judge Jonathan Walker, then lately deceased.

In 1828 he was elected to Congress, but declined to serve. Following this, in 1831, he was elected a senator of the United States, and resigned the judgeship for a full term in the Senate. In that body he took a conspicuous part. As chairman of the Senate committee, he reported the Force Bill, to meet the nullification measures of South Carolina, under the lead of John C. Calhoun. In 1828 he was a warm admirer and supporter of General Andrew Jackson, and presided at a great Jackson meeting held on the property of James S. Stevenson, in the rear of the lot, and on the bank of the Allegheny River. In the Senate he gave President Jackson his undivided support. In 1834



the President appointed him minister to Russia. This was his first lift out of straitened pecuniary circumstances. The next lift was the rise in the prices of real estate, caused by the inflation of the currency of the State banks after their receipt of the deposits of the United States Treasury, removed from the Bank of the United States. The removal engendered a spirit of speculation. The deposit banks, full to repletion, lent money freely, which was invested in the purchase of real estate, and prices rose to an extent inviting men of all kinds to invest in purchases. This condition of affairs enabled Judge Wilkins, on his return from Russia, which was in a short time, and before the bubble bursted in the great bank suspension of May, 1837, to sell his Water Street property for a high price.

In 1842, Judge Wilkins was elected to Congress, and after the sad and terrible disaster caused by the bursting of the monster gun on board of the "Princeton," in February, 1844, he was appointed by President Tyler Secretary of War, to succeed Secretary Gilmer, one of the killed by the explosion. This office he held until March, 1845, at the incoming of President Polk.

In 1855 he was elected to the State Senate from Allegheny County. When he came into the Senate he was seventy-six years of age. The cause which brought him in and his course in the Senate were exceptional. A generation of men have passed away, and few now living are aware that the temperance sentiment then rose so high. The Act of April 14, 1855, entitled an "Act to restrain the sale of intoxicating liquors," prohibited all sales of liquors under a quart, and provided that no license for the sale of liquors should be granted to the keeper of any hotel, inn, tavern, restaurant, eating-house, oyster-house or cellar, theatre, or other place of entertainment, refreshment, or amusement. It was sweeping, and blotted out all places where liquor was commonly drunk. As a consequence, opposition arose from the liquor interests, and a large fund was raised to secure the repeal of the act, which was ironically called the "Jug Law." This movement brought into the Assembly a majority

for the repeal, among the number Judge Wilkins. He introduced a bill of his own into the Senate, which, with the bill reported by the Senate committee, became the foundation of the Act of the 1st of March, 1856, repealing the Act of 1855, and becoming the basis of the liquor and license laws until the Act of 1887. Much was told me by a leading senator of the modes of procedure during the pendency of the measure, but I shall not go out of the record to repeat it. Perhaps my mind was drawn to notice the course of Judge Wilkins by an occurrence known to me personally. During one of his professional visits to Beaver County, as the counsel of the Harmony Society at Economy, following the Count Leon secession movement of 1832, a temperance meeting was held at the court-house; Judge Wilkins, happening to be present, was called on for an address. In his speech he remarked that he was temperate from the force of constitution,—that he could not take even a glass of wine without its firing his brain and unsettling his intellect.

Judge Wilkins was instinctively patriotic. He was a life-long Democrat, and when the late rebellion rose, though over fourscore years, he entered heartily into the cause of the Union, taking a lead in inspiring the people with patriotic fervor. He appeared on horseback in the full uniform of a general at a military review of the Home Guards.

He was twice married, his second wife being a Dallas of the famous Pennsylvania family. Mrs. Wilkins (Matilda Dallas) was a sister of Vice-President George M. Dallas, and of Judge Travanion B. Dallas. The latter was a rising man, but unfortunately died early, carried off by scarlet-fever. I remember him well, as a gentleman of cordial and courteous manners. He, with Walter Forward and Samuel Kingston, examined George W. Buchanan and myself for admission to the bar in 1829.

Judge Wilkins died at his residence (Homewood), in the east end of Pittsburgh, June 23, 1865, aged eighty-six years and six months.

HENRY BALDWIN.

Among the distinguished men who marked the early period of the bar of Allegheny County was Henry Baldwin, a native of New Haven, Connecticut, born January 14, 1780. He was the son of a farmer, a man of strong intellect, and the father of several sons who rose to eminence. One became a member of Congress from Georgia, another ranked high in Ohio, a third held office under the United States in New Haven, and the fourth is the subject of this sketch. A sister became the wife of Joel Barlow, celebrated as an early American poet and as minister to France. His chief work was the "Columbiad," a patriotic poem. A brother of Joel was Judge Stephen Barlow, of Meadville, Pennsylvania, a large landholder in Crawford and Mercer Counties, and a joint tenant with Mr. Baldwin in a number of tracts of land. Another brother, Thomas Barlow, was long a resident of Allegheny Town (City), and married to the daughter of a brother of Commodore Preble.

Henry Baldwin was graduated at Yale College, and in 1830 received from his *Alma Mater* the degree of Doctor of Laws. Having lived in the early part of his life on a farm, he maintained and strengthened a vigorous constitution, inherited from his father. It was his boast in after years that he drove a cart for James Hillhouse in planting the now famous elms of New Haven, whose spreading branches arch the highways of the city. He studied law with Alexander J. Dallas, then a distinguished lawyer of Philadelphia and attorney-general, and was admitted in that city. An amusing event, happening to him while in Mr. Dallas's office, he used to relate with great zest. A large party was given by Mrs. Dallas, to which Henry was invited. The fashion of the time was to wear long hair combed back from the forehead, tied in a queue behind, and powdered white. Baldwin had gone to a barber, and had his hair dressed in the fashion, in preparation for the great event. On entering Mrs. Dallas's parlor he found his hair had been drawn back and tied so tightly and his brows were elevated

so high he could not close his eyelids without effort, and thus he spent the night with open eyes, suffering great agony.

One of his brothers having settled in Ohio, he was led to come West, but stopped in Pittsburgh, where he was admitted to the bar April 30, 1801. Being a man of talent and possessing a frame and vigor which suited the people and the times, he soon became popular, and obtained practice.

The courts of the territory west of the Allegheny River, laid off into counties in the year 1800, were organized for judicial purposes early in the year 1804. We find his name among the list of attorneys enrolled in Beaver in February of that year. Afterwards he "rode the circuit," as the phrase ran, over all the counties west of the Allegheny, and was employed in the trial of many ejectments, land actions then composing the principal litigation, owing to the unfortunate legislation of the State in 1792, which brought the holders of warrants and the actual settlers into conflict; a contest which lasted far into my own day. The lawyers who practised in these counties for the most part lived in Pittsburgh, and rode the circuit together. Among Baldwin's companions we find John Woods, Steele Semple, Thomas Collins, Alexander W. Foster, James Mountain, and others. Baldwin was somewhat rough at that day, and these were the occasions for practical jokes, in which he was foremost. According to the custom of that time, night found the company of riders at a country tavern, unrestrained by order, with whiskey, cigars, and cards in plenty, and this was Baldwin's opportunity. Tradition has handed down tricks and practical jokes which will not bear repetition in ears polite.

Among the earlier incidents of his life, I heard it said in my youth, he had fought a duel, and his life was saved by a Spanish silver dollar carried in his waistcoat-pocket. But of this I can find no verification; and it may have been a rumor in some way growing out of the duel between Tarleton Bates and Thomas Stewart, with which he and Steele

Semple were measurably connected, being present when Bates cowhided Ephraim Pentland on Market Street. William Wilkins was Stewart's second in that duel. Dueling was not so uncommon then as now. Alexander W. Foster fought with Major Roger Alden in 1800, at Meadville, crippling him for life; the duel growing out of a love-affair, in which the wounded man carried off the prize.

Advancing years brought greater refinement, and Baldwin ripened into a great lawyer and advocate. His powerful frame and vigor of intellect enabled him to accomplish much work, and to bring to his cases extensive learning, the result of tireless study, and of the finest library in the West. His library was composed of all the English Reports in law and equity, from the earliest period, including the Year Books, imported from England, and all the then American Reports of the principal States. Many of the early English Reports, some in black letter, such as Hardress, Hobart, Keble, and others, and Coke's Institutes and Lillies' Entries, were in the folio form. This library descended to W. W. Fetterman in part, and from him to Messrs. McCandless and McClure. What became of it all, I never knew. When a student in Mr. Baldwin's office I often witnessed his method of examination, generally made at night, however. In the morning I would find the books piled on the floor open, face downward, and around a chair, the pile often mounting two feet high. Sometimes there were two and even three piles. During examination he smoked incessantly, always having at hand a box of the best small black Spanish cigars. His style of speaking was not polished or finished, but strong and forcible; his full, sonorous voice giving emphasis to all he said. He was very effective before juries, and was employed in all important causes.

Mr. Baldwin was elected to Congress in 1816, and took his seat in 1817, and was twice re-elected, but resigned in 1822. He became chairman of the Committee on Domestic Manufactures, and conspicuous for his able advocacy of a tariff for the protection of American-made fabrics. The

War of 1812-15 had left the country in a state of extreme poverty, and measures were essential to bring the industries of the United States into a state of activity. Then the statesmen of the South, including John C. Calhoun, were favorable to the protection of domestic manufactures, not having discovered the peculiar interest of that section in the export of cotton and return cargoes. A strong impulse was given to these measures by the part Mr. Baldwin took in the passage of the protective tariff laws, especially in that of 1820.

The period centring around the year 1820 was one of great stringency, in which the leading business men of Pittsburgh suffered largely, many to the extent of relief by the insolvent laws. Mr. Baldwin suffered severely. He had embarked in the iron business on Bear Creek in the northeast corner of Butler County, had failed, and was sadly straitened by the adverse state of affairs. That he was encumbered largely the record shows; but whether he was relieved by the insolvent laws cannot be ascertained, as, strange to say, no record of insolvents can be found in the prothonotary's office of Allegheny County from 1818 until 1829, a period searched by myself. This search was made in reference to the case of Anthony Beelen, as well as that of Mr. Baldwin.

The case of Mr. Beelen is interesting as exhibiting the former state of the law, and the expedient he resorted to to avoid arrest. It occurred before the law authorizing the giving of an insolvent bond had been passed. As the law then stood the defendant arrested on a *capias ad satisfaciendum* went to jail to await a discharge. But the sheriff could not break the outer doors of a dwelling to make an arrest on civil process, nor could he execute civil process at all on Sunday. Mr. Beelen shut up and barred his outer doors and windows. The backyard of his dwelling on Water Street, between Wood and Market Streets, was protected by a high wall. In this he placed as a watchman and guard a tall, strong, and vigorous workman, taken from his foundry, to prevent surprise by the sheriff when the family was

employed in the yard. On Sunday his house was thrown open, his friends were dined and wined, and he and his family went to chapel. Thus the officer was held at bay, until Mr. Beelen was either discharged or in some way appeased his creditors.

In the Presidential campaign of 1828, between John Quincy Adams and General Andrew Jackson, Mr. Baldwin was an earnest and active supporter of the latter. On the 4th of July of that year an immense Jackson meeting was held near the Allegheny River, on the rear end of the John Woods premises, on Penn Street, then owned by James S. Stevenson, member of Congress from Pittsburgh, the same now occupied by the buildings of the Pittsburgh, Fort Wayne, and Chicago Railway. The meeting was presided over by William Wilkins, whose silvery voice penetrated distinctly to the outward limit of the great assemblage. Baldwin was the orator of the day, and spoke in tones thundering far and wide, but not with the distinctness of Wilkins's utterance. His speech was long and full of points, covering about forty pages of foolscap. I copied it. The campaign of 1828 was most bitter, the attacks upon Jackson being greatly personal, requiring much to be said in his defence.

Mr. Baldwin expected to be appointed Secretary of the Treasury by General Jackson, with whom he was a favorite. But policy dictated otherwise, and Samuel D. Ingham was appointed from Pennsylvania in 1829. Still Baldwin was remembered by Jackson, who appointed him to the vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1830, caused by the death of Judge Washington. Here he exhibited the immense learning his indefatigable industry had acquired. The labor of his latter years was supposed to have unhinged his mind,—so gentlemen of the bar of Philadelphia thought. But my knowledge of his peculiarities lead me to think this was largely a mistaken belief. For example, a learned judge of Philadelphia said to me there was no doubt of his insanity, for he had known him to have a cup of coffee and cakes brought to him on

the bench. These persons, probably, knew little of his peculiarities and the inattention paid to punctilios in the new country where Baldwin lived so long. He often carried confectionery in his pockets, which he dealt out to the children liberally. An instance of conduct which might be attributed to insanity occurred in Philadelphia, when the late Walter Forward and myself were there as members of the Constitutional Reform Convention, in 1837-38. We both had been his students, *longos intervallos*, called by him "Forred" and "Dannel." We had called on him at his hotel in Chestnut Street. He proposed going to see Mrs. Baldwin, then visiting Philadelphia. Starting, we turned into Eighth Street towards Market. Going a short distance he stopped, went into a grocery, and came out carrying a large ham by the hock. Proof conclusive of insanity! Yet none knew the contrary better than we.

It was in his circuit Judge Baldwin was seen at his best, presiding with dignity, exhibiting his stores of learning, and holding attorneys to good behavior. One of the noted trials in which he sat was that of John F. Braddee, of Uniontown, in 1840, for robbing the mails. The most eminent members of the Pittsburgh bar participated in the trial,—Cornelius Darragh, Andrew W. Loomis, Samuel W. Black, Moses Hampton, Richard Biddle, Walter Forward, Wilson McCandless, and others. The excitement of the trial was great, waged as it was by these Titans of the bar. Tradition spoke of the strong hand of Judge Baldwin in which he held the reins of power, and by bridled sway kept in order men of so much character and force.

Perhaps the most noted case coming before Judge Baldwin, and his greatest opinion delivered, was that of *Magill vs. Brown*, found in *Brightly's Reports*, p. 347,—involving the doctrine of charitable bequests to unincorporated societies. By his research and his laborious thought he brought to the light the true doctrine of such charities, then much misapprehended, in a way untrodden before in this State, and redeemed them from the influence of English common law, and the prohibition of British statutes; bringing them



into the favor and protection of equity. The opinion was one of immense labor, and a work of love, to which the profession is greatly indebted.

Judge Baldwin had but one son, so far as I know, and an adopted daughter. He died in Philadelphia April 21, 1844.

JAMES MOUNTAIN.

To the Irish nation Western Pennsylvania is indebted for some of its best early population,—men of stalwart frame and hardy constitution; vigorous in intellect, firm in principle, religious in conviction, honest, determined, and intrepid, yet somewhat rough in manner.

These men came chiefly from the north of Ireland, whose ancestors went over from Scotland, and were generally known here as the Scotch-Irish. They emigrated to America to find a home, liberal in religion, free from tyranny, and exempt from heavy burdens.

Among the eminent men of this body of immigrants was James Mountain. Born in the north of Ireland in the year 1771, he received a liberal education there, became a tutor in the family of an Irish gentleman, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in his native country, and emigrated alone to the United States. The ship in which he sailed was wrecked on the American coast, and with it he lost all his possessions, leaving him without means. Coming without companions, no one is now found to tell much of his early life.

The first knowledge of him, in Western Pennsylvania, we possess is that, on the 28th of April, 1796, David Johnson and he were employed by the trustees of the Canonsburg Academy to teach the Greek and Latin languages, commencing on the 2d of May, 1796, at a salary, each, of ninety pounds a year. In an advertisement of the trustees of that academy, published in the *Western Telegraph* and *Washington Advertiser*, dated June 9, 1796, we find the following account of Mr. Mountain:

“The characteristics and literary accomplishments of Messrs. Johnson and Miller are too well known in this

county to need any recommendations. Mr. Mountain is a young gentleman from Ireland, who, after he finished his education, has been in the habit of teaching for several years, and has such an accurate knowledge of the Latin and Greek authors, of their references to antiquities, and such a perspicuous easy manner of communicating his ideas, and, withal, is so attentive to the duties of his station, as render him every way capable of filling the office of tutor with respectability and profit."

On the 14th of November, 1796, an usher was appointed to assist Mr. Mountain, whose salary was increased ten pounds for the year. But the whole salary being inadequate, as Mr. Mountain thought, his services as an instructor in the classical department of the academy came to an end in April, 1797.

How long he continued in Canonsburg, and with whom he studied law, if at all here, is unknown. He was admitted to practice in Washington County at November Term, 1801, and in Pittsburgh, December 28th of the same year. He was admitted also in Fayette County in 1802. He was one of the long list of eminent Pittsburgh lawyers admitted to the bar of Beaver County at February Term, 1804, of the first court held there. His name is frequently seen in the early reports of cases in the Supreme Court.

On the 24th of March, 1803, he married Agnes Gilkison, a lady whose parents came from Virginia, and lived on a farm near Pittsburgh owned by Henry Heth, her maternal grandfather, and afterwards the property of Jacob Negley. Having lost her parents at an early age, she was adopted and raised by her aunt, the wife of General Adamson Tannehill, in whose family she was found and courted by Mr. Mountain. At one time, after their marriage, they lived in one of a row of frame houses on the south side of Penn Street, near to Cecil Alley.

James Mountain died early, September 13, 1813, when only forty-two years of age, and was buried in the graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church in Pittsburgh. He

left a widow, two sons, and a daughter. Susan, the daughter, married James B. Morgan, Esq., of Morganza, Washington County, and with her Mrs. James Mountain, her mother, lived until her death, in 1859, at the house of James B. Morgan, in Pittsburgh, who had removed thither from Morganza in 1832.

Morganza, a large domain, consisting of a number of large tracts of land surveyed together, at an early day—one of which is now the well-known site of the Pennsylvania Reform School—was the seat of the memorable Revolutionary Morgans, and was devised by Doctor John Morgan to his brother, Colonel George Morgan, who came into possession of it very early, and made it a home of hospitality, refinement, and generous liberality. It was there Colonel (once Vice-President) Aaron Burr visited Colonel Morgan on his tour through the West, when engaged in his purpose of either Mexican conquest or disunion,—an uncertainty yet not fully solved. And it was at the hospitable table of Colonel Morgan, Burr, in covert terms, made known to him his Western scheme. The proposition of Burr, how easy it would be to detach the Western and Southwestern Territory from the United States, was scouted by Colonel Morgan with scorn; but in consequence of this visit and conversation, Colonel George Morgan and his two sons, John and Thomas, were called to Richmond, Virginia, as witnesses in the celebrated trial of Burr for treason, before Chief-Justice Marshall, in 1807.

The sons of James Mountain were Algernon Sidney Tannehill Mountain and William Mountain. Sidney, born December 31, 1803, was a young man of great promise. But being in straitened circumstances, by the influence of friends he was advanced to the bar in 1821, at the early age of seventeen. He speedily rose in his profession. The writer remembers him well, and the public sentiment in his favor before he had reached his majority. On the 1st of March, 1825, he married Eliza, eldest daughter of John Thaw, Esq., then in the Branch Bank of the United States, on Second Street. But the bright prospects of his life became clouded

by an early death, which occurred on the 9th of August, 1827, when only in the twenty-fourth year of his age. His widow afterwards married Thomas S. Clarke, senior partner in the well-known firm of Clarke & Thaw, of Pittsburgh.

William, the second son of James Mountain, I remember well, especially when a member of the Pittsburgh Thespian Society, to which I belonged. But after my departure from Pittsburgh, in 1829, I lost sight of him. Susan, the daughter, an amiable and attractive girl, became the wife of James B. Morgan, as already stated. He was the last of the Morgans who occupied Morganza, and is yet living at the age of ninety-two years. His son, Colonel A. S. M. Morgan, is stationed at the Allegheny Arsenal in Pittsburgh.

James Mountain was a dignified and polished gentleman, and one of the most eloquent of Pittsburgh's lawyers. His reputation for this splendid faculty descended to my day, and was frequently spoken of. The Hon. James Allison, Beaver's oldest distinguished lawyer, in the early years of my residence there, related to me the following circumstance: Mr. Mountain was employed to defend one James Bell, charged with murder, to be tried at January Term, 1809. Owing to distance and bad roads, he had not been able to reach Beaver from Washington, whither he had gone, until the close of the evidence. Hastily learning the leading points, he at once launched into his address to the jury, and electrified and thrilled the audience to the highest pitch of excitement by his eloquence and the pathos of his tones. The prisoner was acquitted. Few men have left behind them a higher reputation for that magic power which at once persuades and transports an audience.

#### SAMUEL ROBERTS.

Judge Samuel Roberts was not a Pittsburgh lawyer, but came from Sunbury, Pennsylvania, commissioned by Governor McKean, April 30, 1803, to succeed Judge Addison as judge of the Fifth Circuit, then composed of the counties of Allegheny, Washington, Beaver, Fayette, Greene, and Westmoreland. In 1806 the Fifth Circuit was reduced

by the withdrawal of Westmoreland. This continued until 1818, when the Fifth Circuit was reduced to Allegheny, Beaver, and Butler Counties:

Judge Roberts was born September 10, 1761, in Philadelphia, of an old family coming over from England about the time of the first settlement of Pennsylvania. He was educated in that city, studied law under William Lewis, and was admitted to the bar there in 1793. In the same year he married Miss Maria Heath, of York, Pennsylvania, a lady of refinement, well remembered by the old inhabitants of Pittsburgh, where she lived to an advanced age. Mr. Roberts removed to Lancaster, and practised his profession there until he removed to Sunbury, whence he came to Pittsburgh.

As a judge he was sound and highly respected by the bar, though somewhat slow and indulgent in the despatch of business. He continued on the bench until his death, December 13, 1820.

He published a "Digest of Select British Statutes in force in Pennsylvania," printed in Pittsburgh in 1817. It followed the "Report of the Judges of the Supreme Court," made to the legislature, was largely annotated by him, and was highly useful to the profession. A second edition was printed in 1847.

Judge Roberts left eight children,—five sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Edward J. Roberts, was a paymaster in the army in the War of 1812-15. He studied law, and was admitted to the bar November 13, 1816. After the erection of the Western District Court of the United States for Pennsylvania, he was appointed clerk, and held the office for a long time. He was a local politician of some note, but on what side I am unable to state, unless it be indicated by a doggerel attributed to him at an early day. It caricatured in verse a caucus said to have been held by James Riddle and his followers. Riddle was a local leader and politician in the Democratic party in Pittsburgh. He had been first a shoemaker, then a merchant, and was finally an associate judge of Allegheny County, an office he held for years,

when the term was during good behavior, or for life. The first verse of the doggerel ran something like this :

“ In Pandemonium Beelzebub sat,  
His imps and his devils around,  
When at hell’s outer gate came a terrible rap,  
And all Erebus echoed the sound.”

The remaining verses described the sulphurous proceedings and fiery doings of the caucus *in inferno*.

Edward’s eldest son, Richard Biddle Roberts, a precocious youth, who, at the age of eleven or twelve years, performed nearly all the duties of the clerk’s office, owing to his father’s unfortunate habits, became distinguished for his military services. He ripened early, but studied law more lately, and was admitted to the bar in 1850. In the War of the Rebellion he won distinction as colonel of the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Reserves. At the close of the war he returned to his practice in Pittsburgh, became United States district-attorney, and finally removed to Chicago, Illinois, where he pursued his profession until he died, two or three years ago.

One of Judge Roberts’s daughters married Oldham Craig, for a long time teller in the “Old” Bank of Pittsburgh. He was a highly-respected gentleman, and a brother of Neville B. Craig, an old-time lawyer of Pittsburgh, and well-known historical writer, at one time editor of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*.

Horatio N., a younger son of Judge Roberts, studied law, and was admitted to practice in Pittsburgh in 1831. He afterwards went to Beaver and practised there until June, 1840, when he was mysteriously shot at Clinton, Allegheny County, while visiting the family of Mr. Morgan.

Samuel A. Roberts, another son of the judge, older than Horatio, was a lawyer also, admitted in Pittsburgh, August 6, 1819. He lived and died in that city, a well-known and highly-respected gentleman, but not largely engaged in practice.

WALTER FORWARD.

Perhaps no member of the Pittsburgh bar deserved the regard and was endeared to the people more than Walter Forward. Himself plain in manners, simple in tastes, unostentatious in bearing, his heart was the well-spring of his popularity. Few men were more noble and lofty by nature or more genial and kind, inspiring all he met with high appreciation.

Born in Connecticut in 1786, he came west in 1800, brought out by his father, who settled in Ohio, beginning a home in the woods, building his log cabin, and clearing his farm as the early settlers did. The son possessed naturally a rugged frame, not very tall, but broad and heavy, and strengthened by work in the fields. He obtained his early education in the humble country school-house. This he increased by teaching at night. In 1803 he set out on foot for Pittsburgh with the intention of studying law with Henry Baldwin, of whom he had heard, and whom he fortunately met in the street while looking for his office. He was quite poor, but Mr. Baldwin, perceiving something in the youth of seventeen which pleased him, took him by the hand and helped him along. In 1805, being interested in a Democratic newspaper called the *Tree of Liberty*, he secured young Forward's services upon it. This afforded him scanty means, and assisted him while pursuing his studies, and he was admitted to the bar of Allegheny County November 12, 1806.

Being a young man of talent, indeed of genius, and popular in his manners, he rose in practice, until the attention of the people was drawn to him as one fit to represent them in Congress. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1822, following in the wake of Henry Baldwin, whose business affairs had led him to resign. Mr. Forward was re-elected in 1824. While in Congress he entered the caucus, then a common mode of nomination, and in February, 1824, voted for William H. Crawford, of Georgia, as the congressional candidate for the Presidency. The

campaign of 1824, however, brought into it candidates more popular,—Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, and John Quincy Adams,—resulting in the election of Mr. Adams by the House of Representatives. The effect of Mr. Forward's participation in the congressional caucus was felt by him in his subsequent candidacy for Congress, and twice led to his defeat. In the campaign of 1830, which I remember, Beaver County being in the congressional district with Allegheny, the caucus agreement was used against Mr. Forward with effect. Though candidates on the same side, in Allegheny County Harmar Denny's vote was 2711, and Forward's only 1180, one township to be heard from. In Beaver County, however, Mr. Forward, who was always a favorite, was held up, his vote being 2133, and Mr. Denny's 1799.

Unless Mr. Forward abandoned Mr. Crawford, he did not vote for Mr. Adams in 1824, as has been stated, but he did, no doubt, in 1828, when the issue was between Mr. Adams and General Jackson. He became a National Republican, and afterwards a Whig, when that party arose in 1832-33.

In 1836 he was elected by the people of Allegheny County to the State Constitutional Convention of 1837. In that body he was not conspicuous at first, owing to his natural repugnance to hasty conclusions. His early speeches partook in a measure of the hesitation which led him to be called "Walter the Doubter." An evidence of this cautious reflection was often witnessed by myself. John Dickey, my colleague, and I sat on the opposite side of the chamber from the seat of Mr. Forward. When the convention was engaged in discussing important questions, Mr. Forward often came over to our seats. He would say, "Dickey, Agnew, how ought we to vote on this question?" Dickey was a county politician,—smart, but not deep,—and was always ready to advise. I was young, only twenty-eight,—but, like young men, thought I knew something. Perhaps there was a better reason,—my name came first on the roll-call, and I was compelled to keep the state of the question in all its phases in my mind,—amendment and amendment of the amendment,—and to make up my mind on its merits,



ready to lead off,—for we stood 67 Whigs to 66 Democrats; and in every body there are members liable to be led astray by the lead. Another feature made the lead important. The convention was composed of three classes on the subject of amending the constitution. About one-third was opposed to all amendment; another third was conservative, but for reasonable amendments called for by the people; a third class (all Democrats) was extremely radical; some would elect all officers, judicial as well as executive, every year. Being a conservative member, I was kept constantly on the watch.

This characteristic of Mr. Forward was from no want of ability to think, but the opposite. His mind was so comprehensive, and travelled so far beyond common thought, he saw aspects of the subject not within common vision, which led him to ponder well before deciding. The first impression of the convention soon gave way, when it had reached questions his mind had considered and pondered well. From his inmost heart he loved liberty, and his soul revolted against African slavery. When the proposition to insert the word “white” in the qualification of electors was under debate, Mr. Forward spoke against it, bursting out with a force and eloquence which electrified his auditors, and many were present besides members.

I embrace this opportunity (the only one I have properly had) to refute a slander. I voted against the insertion of the word “white” in every form in which the question arose directly. I voted for the *whole* section, which contained some of the most important amendments made by the convention. Malignant partisans and an erring divine have made this the means of unwarrantable falsehood.

In 1841, Mr. Forward was made first comptroller of the Treasury by President Harrison. In September of the same year President Tyler appointed him Secretary of the Treasury, continuing until March, 1845, when Mr. Polk became President. He then returned to his practice in Pittsburgh.

In the month of August, 1847, soon after the death of

George Rapp, the head of the Harmony Society at Economy, Mr. Forward and I were called to draw up papers suited to the change caused by the death of Mr. Rapp. We spent the greater part of a week consulting and advising, and finally drawing up documents to continue the society in its proper relations, and to govern its affairs. I was draftsman, while Mr. Forward sat by, reflecting and suggesting. There were several documents written, one being what might be termed a frame of government and method of procedure. A circumstance occurred, drawing marked attention by us both.

The preamble to this frame and course of procedure, as first drafted by me, began by stating the death of George Rapp, in the usual way, as in the ordinary course of nature, and in the order of an all-wise Providence. The document, after submitting it to the society for approval, was returned to us, the person stating that the members highly approved of it. "But," and here the spokesman paused hesitatingly, "there is a little alteration our people would like to have made." He then stated an objection to the preamble in rather a cautious way. The result was the phraseology was so changed that, instead of an ordinary death, it was said that, by the decree of God, the venerable patriarch and beloved founder of the society had departed this life. The drift was plain. Mr. Rapp had been regarded by the body of his followers as more than an ordinary man, and his departure differed from that of others.

In 1848, Mr. Forward took an active part in behalf of General Taylor for the Presidency. He spoke frequently, along with the Hon. Moses Hampton, on the subject of the tariff and the currency, the former being his favorite theme. He and Mr. Hampton had quite, to them, an unusual experience in Beaver County. Neither had been in the habit of addressing anti-slavery men, and had given but little attention to their arguments. They were invited by the Whigs to speak at Fallston, in the vicinity of which anti-slavery men abounded. In speaking neither had gone far until he was assailed by a torrent of questions and statistics. These

freesoilers, headed by a noisy-tongued fellow named James M. Gregg, had purposely assembled in force. It was not long until Mr. Forward, and also Mr. Hampton, became involved in a cyclone of anti-slavery figures and inquiries, and soon made haste to finish. When we came away, Forward said to me, "Agnew, what sort of people have you here? Why, I never heard such a volume of stuff as they poured out upon me."

In 1849, Mr. Forward was appointed by President Taylor *chargé-d'affaires* to the Court of Denmark. He resigned in 1851, to take the office of president judge of the District Court, to which he had been elected in his absence. Unfortunately for his constituents, and to the sorrow of the bar, he sat in his high office only until the 24th day of November, 1852, when he died, after a few hours' sickness.

Mr. Forward was married January 31, 1809, to Miss Elizabeth Barclay, a sister of Joseph Barclay, a well-known Pittsburgher in my youth. His board yard occupied the square on which the St. Clair Hotel was afterwards built and the Anderson Hotel now stands, on St. Clair or Sixth Street. Harriet, another sister, was married to Thomas Perkins, the silversmith, since county commissioner. A circumstance, interesting to me as a boy, led me to notice these sisters.

At that time (about 1823 or 1824), as you descended the steps on the west side of the northern abutment of the Allegheny bridge (now Suspension) and passed in front of General William Robinson's garden and orchard, down the green-tree-lined bank of the river, a few perches, you came to a beautiful, gently-sloping, grassy sward, running down to the first water-channel of the river, turning suddenly to the right, around the head of the upper Smoky Island, then filled with elders and alders and the blue-flowered ironweed, and with tall elms and sycamores. On this beautiful grassy sod, and just around the turn, sat two ladies and several children with baskets beside them. As I neared them they were singing in sweet accord some of those exquisite old Irish melodies, which then delighted far beyond Italian quavering, high-strained airs, or Germania's harsh

guttural songs. I stood, like Peter, afar off, and listened till my heart was full. The time is long ago, sixty years or more, and the scene is afar, yet I think I still hear the simple strains of "Kitty of Coleraine" borne by two sweet voices in delightful unison. Both these ladies died early. They were Mrs. Forward and Mrs. Perkins.

Mr. Forward had several daughters and sons. One of the daughters married Alfred W. Marks, Esq., a lawyer, and a son of General Wm. Marks, a former senator of the United States; another married Wm. E. Austin, Esq., a lawyer also.

Judge White, in his valuable sketches of the "Judiciary of Allegheny County," has truly said, "Judge Forward was a great man, intellectually, morally, and socially. And, like all truly great men, he was modest and unassuming, candid and sincere; not envious or jealous; rejoicing at the success of others, and always ready to give a kind word or helping hand to those starting in life. The religious element was strong in his character, resulting in a life remarkably exemplary, pure, and spotless. He was emphatically domestic in his habits, devotedly attached to his home, and delighted in social enjoyments. His conversational powers were of the highest order."

In the early period of my practice in Beaver County Mr. Forward often attended the courts there, and I had an opportunity of observing his traits and methods. Few men treated the court and opposing counsel with more propriety, even in the midst of exciting contests. His fairness and good temper never deserted him when opposed by gusts of passion. He was naturally eloquent, but not always even. At times he seemed sluggish and unable to rise, which was probably owing to his honesty of purpose that could not soar without the wings of a righteous cause. At other times his dark eyes would flash with piercing power, his thoughts spring into vivid life, and, mingling argument with metaphor, his heavy blows would strike out brilliant thoughts, coruscating like sparks struck from the anvil's hard breast by the arm of the brawny smith.

He was one of my examiners for admission to the bar, and I have ever remembered his kind encouragement, enabling me and my young associate, George W. Buchanan, brother of the future President, to answer without embarrassment. A generation has passed away, but his memory is still green in those halls where he so long moved and so often stirred his audiences.

JOHN H. CHAPLIN.

This time the Green Mountain State contributed her gift to Pittsburgh's noted lawyers. John Huntington Chaplin, of Royalton, Vermont, was born there in 1782. His parents were William Chaplin and Judith Huntington Chaplin. Mrs. Chaplin's brother, Samuel Huntington, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. John H. Chaplin was graduated at Yale College, Connecticut, and came to Pittsburgh in 1805, where he studied law with Henry Baldwin, and was admitted to practice November 15, 1808.

On the 28th of June, 1809, he was married to Harriet Craig, eldest daughter of Major Isaac Craig of the United States army, and Amelia Neville Craig, only daughter of General John Neville, then of Bower Hill, on Chartiers Creek, near Pittsburgh. By this marriage Mr. Chaplin became connected with two of the most distinguished families in Western Pennsylvania. On the 25th of July, 1809, William Chaplin, his father, wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Craig a very kind and flattering letter of congratulation, dated at Bethel, near Royalton, Windsor County, Vermont, and bore testimony to the high character of his son. His only regret was the great distance intervening, which made strangers of both families. The date of this letter and that of the marriage show that letters must have taken a month to go and a month to come. This fact reminds us of the advance, in our time, of all that relates to convenience in travel, and to the unity and greatness of our country. The news by telegraph would have taken less than an hour to find its way over this widespread land, and by mail a few days only.

John H. Chaplin resided on Water Street, below Ferry, and next door to the house of David Logan, on the corner of Water and Ferry Streets, his garden extending back to First Street. Along Water Street, in this vicinity, lived the principal families of that day.

A portrait of John H. Chaplin, painted in Boston, is said to have been on exhibition recently in Gillespie's art-room, on Wood Street, the queue and powdered hair denoting the fashion of the early time.

Mr. Chaplin was at one time Worshipful Master of Lodge No. 45, of Pittsburgh, an order of Masons chartered by the Provincial Grand Lodge of England, December 27, 1785. This lodge (45) celebrated its centennial in Pittsburgh December 27, 1885.

The purchase of Florida was made of Spain in 1819. That country was supposed by many to be, as it was called by Ponce de Leon when in search of the fountain of health and beauty, the "land of flowers," and many Americans, on its cession to the United States, emigrated thither, hoping to find wealth and fortune, as well as health and pleasure, within its orange-groves and ever-blooming plants.

Among these aspirants of hope was John H. Chaplin, who moved to Pensacola in the year 1820. He there practised his profession successfully, and was in a fair way to redeem the promises of his aspirations, when cut off by yellow fever, August 24, 1822, just as he was about to bring his long exile from home to an end, and to return to his loved ones, whose separation from him had been a constant sorrow.

Mr. Chaplin left a wife and two children,—one a son, William Craig Chaplin, who became a lieutenant in the United States navy, and married Sarah G., a daughter of James Crossan; the other, a daughter, Amelia Neville Chaplin (now a widow), who married Thomas L. Shields, Esq., of Sewickley, Pennsylvania, October 8, 1832. John M. Chaplin, manager of the Pittsburgh Clearing-House, is a son of Lieutenant William C. Chaplin.

NEVILLE B. CRAIG.

This name, like thoughts from dreamland, or far-off music's strains, rouses memories of the long past, when Fort Pitt was the scene of great deeds, and when the head of the Ohio was the *ultima Thule* of early settlement, made famous by a long array of brilliant names, the Revolutionary generals, Hand, Butler, McIntosh, Broadhead, Irvine, and officers of less degree, and many eminent men from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, brought hither by the exigency of the times, who made Pittsburgh luminous by their lives, their talents, and their virtues. Here were found the Nevilles, Morgans, Butlers, Kirkpatricks, O'Hara, Tannehill, Denny, Wilkins, Addison, Ross, Woods, Semple, and a host of worthies, the fragrance of whose memories clings to the tradition of their names. Even in my day some survived, but nearly all had gone to rest in the old graveyard of the Presbyterian Church. I remember the funeral procession of General James O'Hara, crossing Wood Street at Fourth, in December, 1819.

Among the eminent men of the "olden time" was the father of Neville B. Craig, Major Isaac Craig. He was born near Hillsborough, County Down, northeastern coast of Ireland, in the year 1741, and emigrated to America in 1765. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war he took up arms in defence of his adopted country's rights, determined to lay them down only with his life or the establishment of freedom. In November, 1775, he was appointed a first lieutenant of marines in the navy, and served ten months in that capacity, on board the "Andrew Doria," commanding marines. This vessel formed one of the squadron of Commodore Hopkins, which captured Forts Nassau and Montague, on the Island of New Providence, in the West Indies. The governor himself was captured, together with many valuable stores, then much needed by the Americans, and subsequently used in Rhode Island and on the Delaware. Of these a minute inventory was made by Lieutenant Craig. On return to harbor, in October, 1776, he was commissioned

captain. In November following the marines were ordered into the army as infantry, and performed artillery duty. He was commissioned in March, 1777, a captain of artillery, under command of Colonel Proctor. On the promotion of Major Ford to the lieutenant-colonelcy, Captain Craig was entitled to the majority, but through misinformation, caused by his absence at sea, the Supreme Executive Council appointed Captain Andrew Porter to the vacancy. This led to a strong letter of protest on the part of Captain Craig, dated at Philadelphia February 21, 1782. The council reconsidered and revoked the order, and conferred priority of commission as major on Captain Craig, in the Fourth Regiment of Artillery, annexed by resolution of Congress to the Pennsylvania Line. He partook in a number of battles, among them Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, and Brandywine.

He was ordered to Fort Pitt to join General Clark in an intended expedition against Detroit, which, however, failed to take place. At Fort Pitt he performed various services to the satisfaction of the government, and became noted for his energy, activity, and integrity. During his service at Fort Pitt he availed himself of the land laws of the State by taking up some valuable tracts of land. In 1797 he and General James O'Hara built the first glass-works erected in Western Pennsylvania, preceding those of Albert Gallatin at Brownsville a few months.

On the 1st of February, 1785, he was married to Amelia, only daughter of General John Neville, then living at Bower Hill, on the Chartiers Creek, and became the father of a numerous family, some of whom followed the military instinct of their father. Percy Hamilton Craig was senior surgeon of the United States army, and medical director under General Zachary Taylor in Mexico. Henry Knox Craig was general and chief of ordnance, United States army, and Isaac Eugene Craig, lieutenant in the engineer corps of the United States. Some lived until a very recent period. Oldham Craig, a well-known Pittsburgher, died October 4, 1874, on his way to Florence, Italy, to visit a son.



Amelia Neville Craig died October 27, 1879.

Major Isaac Craig himself died on Montours Island May 4, 1825.

On his mother's side Neville B. Craig was related, through her father, General John Neville, to one of the most distinguished families in England and America. The Nevilles in America settled in Virginia. General Neville was born there, and at one time lived in Frederick County. He bought land on Chartiers Creek when Western Pennsylvania was claimed by Virginia, and within the bounds of Augusta County, as erected by Virginia. From that county, in 1774, he was elected a delegate to a Provincial Convention of Virginia. Augusta County then embraced a large part of the present territory of Allegheny County.

In 1777, General Neville and General George Morgan were at Fort Pitt together, charged with important public duties. They joined in a letter in that year to Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, giving a minute detail of the condition of the Western country in relation to the tribes of Indians then incited to war against the colonists by Great Britain.

After his removal to Pennsylvania, General Neville was a member of the Supreme Executive Council in the years 1785 and 1786. His residence was on his farm on Chartiers called "Bower Hill," about seven miles from Pittsburgh, near to the road from Pittsburgh to Washington. He had resided a short time at a place called Woodville, nearly opposite Bower Hill. In my boyhood Bower Hill was owned by Christopher Cowan, who was building a large brick dwelling on Water Street, below Evans Alley. While thus engaged a workman offended him. Cowan, who felt his importance, asked him if he did not know the owner of the building. "Sure an' I do," replied the Irishman; "it's Christy Cooen,—Christy Cooen the nailor." John Wrenshall afterwards became owner of the farm. Wrenshall was a church-member, son of a worthy Methodist clergyman, but sharp, shrewd at a deal, while his white flowing beard gave him a venerable appearance.

While residing at Bower Hill General Neville was inspector of the United States excise revenue, having his office there, and then at Pittsburgh. The Whiskey Insurrection of 1794 involved him in great unpopularity, and led to two attacks upon his house, the first being repelled by arms and loss of life to the insurgents; the second, by a larger number of insurgents, being successful, and ending in the burning of his dwelling, then the finest in the West, and all its out-houses. The general himself was not at home.

General Neville and Major Abraham Kirkpatrick married sisters named Oldham, relatives of Colonel William Oldham, and belonging to a noted Virginia family. General Neville died on the 29th of July, 1803, and was buried in the old graveyard of the First Presbyterian Church, which was uprooted not long ago, with all its cherished memories of the olden time, and the bones of its occupants removed, to make way for a building to be used as a parlor, reception-room, and Sunday-school. My opinion of this act of vandalism was expressed in a dissent to the opinion of the Supreme Court of this State.

Neville B. Craig, descended from this worthy line of ancestors, was born in the Colonel Boquet Redoubt, on the 29th day of March, 1787. He was educated at the Pittsburgh Academy, and graduated also at Princeton College; studied law, and was admitted to the bar of Allegheny County August 13, 1810, and opened an office in Pittsburgh while it was a borough. His practice embraced a number of cases in which Richard Biddle was also concerned. As to some of these Mr. Biddle wrote to him from London in a letter dated December 10, 1828. Two of these cases were the celebrated case of John McDonald, whose house on Water Street, at the foot of Liberty, was cut down from a square to a pentagon, because it encroached on Water Street, and the still more widely-known Batture case (Water Street), decided in favor of their clients, the city of Pittsburgh, in the Supreme Court of the United States.

In 1829, Mr. Craig became the owner and editor of the

*Pittsburgh Gazette*, which he converted into the first daily in Pittsburgh, continuing until 1841, when he disposed of his interest. As an editor he was bold and successful, always holding the pen with a firm and consistent hand, and devoting his vigorous powers to the best interests of the city of his birth and his country.

Possessing a large amount of traditionary lore, and fond of historical subjects, he next published the "Olden Time," a monthly periodical, commenced in January, 1846, and continued until December, 1847. His chief purpose was to preserve and disseminate early important documents and papers relative to the West, and especially to the head of the Ohio. With him it was a work of love, in which he labored with assiduity and ardor, and collected in two volumes of the "Olden Time" many scarce and valuable records, and preserved many interesting events, which else had not reached the eyes of the general public. But in this, as often in other efforts for the benefit of mankind, that public failed to prize the value of this contribution to the interests of history and of the city itself.

Mr. Craig was a forcible writer, often pungent and severe. He was one of the *noli-me-tangere* sort, whose shield it was unsafe to strike with the lance's point. He returned blow for blow, with interest, having not only strong convictions, but the courage to back them.

He was the author of several historical works, one of them a "History of Pittsburgh." Pittsburgh and the West owe much to his spirit of inquiry and literary labors, constituting a rich mine for the future reader and historian.

He was solicitor of the city of Pittsburgh from 1821 until 1829. In March, 1822, he formed a partnership with the Hon. Walter Forward, lasting several years.

He married Jane Fulton, May 1, 1811, and died March 3, 1863. Isaac Craig, the well-known writer, now living in Allegheny, is his son. To him I am indebted for many interesting facts as materials for these sketches.

## CHARLES SHALER.

Connecticut has given to the bar of Allegheny County several talented and loyal sons. One of these was Charles Shaler, born in that State in 1788, and graduated from Yale. He went to Ravenna, Ohio, in the year 1809, to attend to lands owned by his father, who was one of the commissioners to lay off the Connecticut Reserve, generally known as the Western Reserve. There he studied law, and was admitted to the bar. In 1813 he came to Pittsburgh and was admitted here. He soon obtained practice and became prominent in politics, first as a Federalist, and next as a National Republican. His first office was as judge of the Recorder's Court of Pittsburgh, presiding from 1818 until 1821. He next was commissioned, June 5, 1824, following Judge Wilkins, as president judge of the courts in the Fifth Judicial District, composed of the counties of Allegheny, Beaver, and Butler, resigning May 4, 1835, and returning to practice.

Previous to the Presidential election of 1832, he had been a National Republican; but anti-masonry, having reached the western counties of Pennsylvania from Buffalo, New York, about 1830, continued to make progress, and in 1832 had drawn in a large number of votes in the three counties in which he presided. During this time the *Statesman* was edited by John B. Butler, a friend and fellow Freemason of Shaler. Butler was a violent anti-Jackson man in the campaign of 1828, and had brought out the coffin hand-bills, first printed by John Binns, of Philadelphia, and posted them on the front of the *Statesman's* office, a small one or one-and-a-half story frame building on the corner of Wood and Fourth Streets. These hand-bills represented the deaths and coffins of John Woods, and the six Tennessee militiamen, shot by the order of General Jackson. Butler circulated these largely. At this time Charles Shaler and other Adams men stood beside John B. Butler, strong, indeed violent, in their opposition to Jackson. But in 1832, anti-masonry having acquired strength in this region, Moses Sul-

livan, of Butler County, being elected to the Senate of Pennsylvania on that ticket, the anti-masons voted for William Wirt for the Presidency. Henry Clay was the candidate of the National Republicans. But owing to the number of candidates opposing Jackson in 1832, many counties were scarce of electoral tickets. They were scarce in Beaver County, many National Republicans there voting for William Wirt in consequence. Presumably Butler, Shaler, and other Adams men voted for Clay, but they voted for George Wolf in opposition to Joseph Ritner, the anti-masonic candidate. The election of Joseph Ritner, in 1835, and the crusade of Thaddeus Stevens against masonry settled the matter with many masons; and Shaler, Butler, and some other Adams and Clay masons in the West, became Democrats, voting for David R. Porter, in 1838, against Ritner. Shaler ever remained a Democrat. Butler was rewarded by an appointment at the United States Arsenal in Lawrenceville. Shaler never sought political elevation, but he took an active part, and became an acknowledged leader of the Democracy in Allegheny County.

In 1841, Charles Shaler was appointed, May 6, associate judge of the District Court of Allegheny County, and held the office until May 20, 1844, when he resigned and returned to the practice of his profession, in which he continued until his eyesight failed. He retired, esteemed and respected by his fellow-citizens as a gentleman and a lawyer and advocate of high character, unstained integrity, and unblemished honor.

As a lawyer and judge he was brilliant rather than solid. His mind was quick and subtle, his language chaste and exuberant, and his elocution pleasing, though slightly broken by a partial stutter, a quality making his racy humor oftentimes more effective. In his earlier days on the bench, the litigation in Beaver and Butler Counties was largely between the warrantees and the settlers, involving land-titles and questions of survey. The latter he professed not to understand. Indeed, his mind did not take cordially to the dry details of courses, distances, corners, blazes, blocks, and

variation of the compass. In regard to land-titles of the peculiar kind in these western counties his decisions were not always affirmed by the Supreme Court. I remember a case in Butler County in 1830, a settlement on warranted and surveyed land, in which he ran so strongly to the settler's side he pledged his reputation as a lawyer that the settlement would be supported on a view he took, somewhat novel and contrary to the current of decision. Unfortunately for his pledge, he was reversed.

On the creation of the Seventeenth Judicial District, in the winter of 1831, Beaver and Butler Counties were withdrawn from the Fifth District, leaving Allegheny County remaining the Fifth alone.

During the War of 1812-15, and while he continued in Ohio, some disloyal expressions were attributed to him, which were repeated against him after he came to Pittsburgh. But they were doubtless the foolish ebullitions of youth, or of hasty rashness. They never lost him favor in the city of his adoption.

Judge Shaler was twice married; the first time to a daughter of Major Abraham Kirkpatrick. The issue of this marriage was two sons and three daughters. His second wife was Miss Mary Ann Riddle, a daughter of James Riddle, long time an associate judge of Allegheny County, and in his day a noted local politician. His courtship of this lady being known in Beaver caused occasional amusement at the judge's expense; it being observed that in his haste to return to Pittsburgh he often ended the court on Wednesday or Thursday on the plea of an important engagement at home. This was true, and his engagement ended in marriage.

Judge Shaler, after the loss of his eyesight, went to reside in Bellefonte, Centre County, but being called by the illness of his daughter, the wife of the Rev. Mr. Hodges, to Newark, New Jersey, in the winter season, he took a violent cold, became ill, and died there, March 5, 1869.

RICHARD BIDDLE.

The bar of Pittsburgh had long been distinguished for its ability. When Richard Biddle entered it he added another eminent and highly-prized name to its galaxy of brilliant stars. He was one of the younger sons of a large family of boys, born to Charles and Hannah Biddle, of Philadelphia, a family distinguished in the public service, and esteemed in private life for talent and high qualities. The army and navy had lustre from their service, and the bar derived no less reputation from their ability and eminence.

Richard Biddle was born in Philadelphia, March 25, 1796. In the War of 1812-15, though quite young, he joined the Washington Guards, seeing some service near Wilmington, Delaware, and in 1813 became an ensign in the Guards, under the command of General Thomas Cadwalader, at Camp Dupont, remaining in service until December, 1814.

He read law with William S. Biddle, an elder brother, and was admitted to practice in Philadelphia in 1817. In the same year he came to Pittsburgh, was admitted November 10, 1817, and soon rose to eminence. One of his first cases was the prosecution of John Tiernan, who was convicted of murder in the first degree, and hanged in the hollow of Suke's Run, at the foot of Boyd's Hill, a few yards above the stone culvert over which Second Street (Avenue) then crossed. After this Mr. Biddle pursued his practice with diligence and labor, rising at every step until 1827, when he retired from the bar for a time to visit England.

He resided in London several years, pursuing favorite studies in the public library of that city, at the same time visiting the courts and keeping up his relish for legal proceedings. While in London he wrote the life of "Sebastian Cabot," a work, it was said, of great labor and research. For reasons now unknown he became dissatisfied with his effort, and (as I heard after his return to Pittsburgh) bought up and suppressed the edition so far as possible.

Whether any copies reached Pittsburgh I am not informed. On his return, in 1832, he recommenced the practice with his usual diligence and ability.

During his absence Mr. Biddle was not unmindful of his law business. To his friend, Neville B. Craig, he wrote a long letter on various subjects. Among matters of business he referred to the John Wilkins estate, on which he administered; to the Batture or Water Street case of Pittsburgh; to the case of the Commonwealth *vs.* John McDonald, and other causes in which he had been employed as counsel. The letter is dated London, December 10, 1828.

In 1837 he was elected a representative in Congress from the Allegheny District, and was re-elected. He served in Congress with distinction, recognized by his fellow-members as a gentleman of high character and eminent ability, and served also to the satisfaction of his constituents, and to their regret resigned in 1840. The bar was his true sphere, and he felt out of his proper atmosphere in Congress, where sound argument and eminent statesmanship were too often disregarded for less patriotic reasons.

After his resignation he continued in practice until his death. One of the noted cases tried by him was as leading counsel, with Walter Forward, in the defence of John F. Braddee for robbing the mails at Uniontown, Pennsylvania. On both sides was a rare combination of eminent lawyers, making the trial before Judge Baldwin, in the Circuit Court of the United States, one of the most memorable in Western annals. The struggle between these giants of the Western bar was intense and exciting, and among them Mr. Biddle shone in the vigor of his high powers, and in the commanding argument and eloquence of his addresses.

About the same time I had, myself, an opportunity of witnessing the peculiar force and character of Mr. Biddle's intellect, as his colleague, in the then famous case of the Gregg family of Pittsburgh and James Patterson, of Brighton, an ejectment for the undivided half of the property on which Beaver Falls now stands. The controversy grew out of an illegal sheriff's sale of Isaac Gregg's real



estate, as a partner and co-tenant of Oliver Ormsby, who, with Mr. Gregg, had been engaged in the iron business at Brighton before 1812. Mr. Biddle took no notes in the trial except a few at wide intervals on the white foolscap, of the name of a witness, or of a fact he desired to notice. These few black marks on an illuminated ground seemed only as aids to recollection. The trial he left largely to myself, who had prepared the case, yet always keeping a close watch and ready to suggest. His address to the jury was remarkable for its keenness and power and for its adroitness and persuasiveness. He had studied it in all its aspects, personal and subjective. Mr. James Patterson was then the largest miller in the county, buying all its wheat, and popular among the farmers, who chiefly composed the jury. Mr. Biddle's description of how Mr. Patterson, the farmer's friend and public benefactor and popular gentleman, would meet the jurors after a verdict in his favor, his hearty handshake, his words of praise and gratitude, and then his sharp, telling contrast between the rich miller and the poor insane widow, and the distant stricken children of Isaac Gregg, the fraud of the sheriff's sale, and the sympathy due to the defrauded deceased, and his oppressed and helpless family, the widow too insane to know her rights, and the children too poor, too ignorant, and too young to defend them, was one of surprising power, telling on the jury until no doubt seemed to rest on the verdict. But the positive instruction of the court left no room to the jury to be swayed by the masterly argument of Mr. Biddle. We lost, but had the satisfaction, afterwards, of reversing the judgment on leading points. The case being one of great lapse of time, involving large improvements and some doubtful facts, was compromised without a second trial.

Mr. Biddle's mind was not rapid in its operations, but of immense momentum in its force, the result of large preparation and long and matured thought. Naturally Mr. Biddle was not eloquent, but, as it is said of Demosthenes, he overcame his defects, and became impressive and forcible in argument and expression. His thoughts were logical and

his language well chosen and exceedingly effective. Those who knew him best have told of his preparation and his rehearsal of his speeches in the privacy of his room. Of the latter I can bear some personal testimony, having heard him at night in the second story of his office building on Third Street (Avenue) below Market Street, and between the dwellings of Mayor John Darragh and Major Ebenezer Denny. In the upper room, between 1824 and 1828, he was often heard speaking to the walls, as though they had ears, with earnestness and full utterance.

Richard Biddle was a gentleman of fine literary taste and acquirement, as well as of a large and accurate knowledge of the law in its highest sense. His reading was said to be various and extensive. I remember well of the wonder of the youngsters, of whom I was one, at the statement that he had actually read Henry's "Commentaries on the Bible" through and through.

In the main he was not very social, but rather exclusive, seeking communion with books and his own thoughts, and a few friends only, but at times he would unbend and become exceedingly pleasant. In my personal intercourse with him on business I found him courteous and always ready to impart his views. An anecdote is told of his meeting a friend, a member of the bar, who boasted of a fee he had received in the shape of a very fine dog; Biddle replied he was sorry to hear his fees were so *cur*-tailed.

On the 17th of June, 1844, he was married to Miss Ann Eliza, eldest daughter of John Anderson, of Allegheny City. In 1845, he lost largely by the great fire of April 10, including all his books, valuable briefs, notes of trial, various papers, and numerous curiosities. He did not survive long, dying on the 6th of July, 1847, leaving a widow and two children.

#### JOHN HENRY HOPKINS.

John Henry Hopkins, by birth an Irishman, was born in the city of Dublin January 30, 1792. He came with his parents to the United States in the year 1800. He was

classically educated, but his *Alma Mater* is unknown to me. His first business was that of a clerk in Philadelphia. Having a taste for drawing and painting, he assisted in the preparation of the plates for "Wilson's Ornithology." About 1810 or 1811 he was brought out to Bassenheim Furnace, near Zelienople, Butler County, by John S. Glaser (my uncle) as clerk and manager of the furnace. While there he became acquainted with the family of George Henry Müller, a German merchant, who had failed in business in Hamburg (I think), and emigrated to the United States.

His family consisted of his wife, a son William Edward, and several daughters. The son entered business in Pittsburgh. While driving to Braddock with Miss Nancy Denny, to whom he was engaged, and within a week of the day fixed for their marriage, he was thrown from his gig and his thigh-bone broken. He was brought to Major Denny's house on Third below Market Street, where he died.

John H. Hopkins married a daughter of Mr. Müller, Melicina, a lady of rare accomplishments, excelling in music and painting, who became a valuable assistant when he opened his school for young ladies in Allegheny.

Mr. Glaser sold Bassenheim Furnace to Daniel Beltzhoover, of Pittsburgh, and Mr. Hopkins went into the iron business with General James O'Hara, in Westmoreland County, at or near Ligonier. But this business failing, as indeed all business did after the War of 1812-15, Mr. Hopkins studied law, and was admitted, after a short course of study, in Allegheny County April 9, 1818, and at a later day formed a partnership with W. W. Fetterman. As a lawyer he was credited with being sharp and full of expedients. Tiring of the law, in 1823 he turned his attention to divinity, and in 1824 became the rector of Trinity Church, on the triangle bounded by Liberty, Wood, and Sixth Streets, succeeding the Rev. John Taylor. He studied architecture, and planned and superintended the building of the new Trinity on Sixth Street (Avenue), between Wood and Smithfield Streets, in the Gothic style.

During this time he built the house on the Beaver Road (now Western Avenue), Allegheny, lately occupied by the Hon. Robert McKnight. There he and his wife taught a classical and art school for young ladies, where before 1830 many of the young ladies of Pittsburgh were educated. He was also professor of belles-lettres in the Western University about 1823-24.

Rising in the church, he was called to Trinity Church, Boston, and was also professor of divinity in a theological seminary there. In 1832 he was chosen the first bishop of Vermont, and took the rectorship of St. Paul's Church in Burlington, where he resided until his death. Still filled with the desire of educating youths, he built and established a boys' school in Burlington, which, however, involved him so greatly the property was sold for debt.

He became quite a voluminous writer, chiefly on theological subjects, and published many sermons, addresses, and some books on subjects mainly connected with the Episcopal Church and its affairs. Among his works was the "American Citizen," published in 1857, which created a sensation on account of his vindication of American slavery on Bible grounds. He belonged to the High Church party, and was honored by Oxford with the degree of Doctor of Canon Law.

Mr. Hopkins was a gentleman of culture and refinement, a fine musician and painter, and well up in art, and was also an accomplished speaker. His diction was classical and elegant, sometimes bordering on eloquence, and always pleasing and attractive. He was an accomplished reader, and always read his sermons. My father had a pew in New Trinity, and I often listened to his services. I remember of hearing his sermon on the Trinity, in which he likened trinity and unity to the memory, imagination, and judgment, as three faculties in one mind.

He was the father of five sons, who became distinguished in their professions and callings. He died at Rock Point, Vermont, January 9, 1868.

JAMES HALL.

About the year 1820, a collocation of lawyers' offices stood on the east side of Third Street, a few doors from Wood towards Market Street. They were occupied by Harmar and William Denny, Harry Campbell, Duncan S. Walker, and others. A little later came in Robert J. Walker, who removed to Natchez, and in course of time became a well-known senator of the United States, and Secretary of the Treasury.

Among the gentlemen whose offices stood there was one remembered or known by few of the present day, who moved westward, and became eminent as a jurist and a man of letters. James Hall was born in Philadelphia, August 19, 1793, and began the study of law there, which was interrupted by the War of 1812-15. He first served in the Northern troops on the Niagara border, where he distinguished himself at the battles of Chippewa and Bridgewater on Lundy's Lane.

After the close of the war he sailed as an officer in Commodore Stephen Decatur's squadron, in the expedition against Algiers. In the month of October, 1816, Lieutenant Hall reported himself for duty to Major A. R. Woolley, at the United States Arsenal near Pittsburgh. Soon afterwards difficulties sprang up between them, ending in a court-martial convened at Pittsburgh, September 11, 1817, composed of Major Thomas Biddle, president; Captain Isaac Roach, N. N. Hall, James H. Rees, and Lieutenant Richard Bache, members; and Thomas T. Stevenson, judge-advocate. After a trial, lasting until September 25, 1817, Lieutenant Hall was convicted of unofficer-like conduct, of disobedience to orders, and of conduct unbecoming a gentleman, and was sentenced to be cashiered. On the 27th of November, 1817, the President approved of the sentence, but in consideration of his fair character in other respects, his brave and meritorious conduct during the late war, and in expectation that his future deportment would merit the lenity extended towards him, he remitted the punishment and re-

stored him to his rank, and ordered his release from arrest, and to report for duty.

The proceedings in this trial were printed in Pittsburgh in 1820, by Eichbaum & Johnston. One cannot read them without being impressed with the belief that the prosecution by Major Woolley was largely the fruit of his tyrannical and vindictive spirit, and the result of Lieutenant Hall's high tone and temper, which could not brook what seemed to him the oppression and insult of his superior officer, carrying him by his loss of temper beyond the line of military subordination. The conviction, in view of the necessity of military obedience, though hard, was technically right; but the action of the President shows that he appreciated the circumstances of the case, and in view of Lieutenant Hall's merits relieved him from the effect of the sentence. Major Woolley was himself tried by court-martial at Jefferson Barracks, and on the 14th of March, 1829, convicted and dismissed from the service by order of the President, April 28, 1829.

The trial brings back to my memory many well-known Pittsburghers,—for example, Stephen Barlow, Henry Baldwin, Dunning McNair, William B. Foster, Dr. Catlett, Charles Shaler, Edward J. Roberts, and Jailer Barney Hubley. The defence of Lieutenant Hall, by himself, was masterly, exhibiting not only forcible argument, but that rich style and exuberance of expression for which he became noted as a writer. The place of the meeting of the court-martial, I presume, from the mention made, was the tavern of — Kerr, a well-known hostlery in my youth, on the southeast corner of Second and Market Streets.

In 1818, Lieutenant Hall resigned his commission in the army, having previously recommenced the study of the law in Pittsburgh, and was admitted to the bar on the 30th of June, 1818. In 1820 he removed to Shawneetown, Illinois, where he practised his profession, and also edited the *Illinois Gazette*, and was for a time treasurer of Illinois. About 1825 he was elected to the office of circuit judge of the State, which he held until 1833, having removed to Cincinnati late in 1832.

He also published in Shawneetown the "Illinois Magazine," beginning in October, 1830. In it he wrote largely on the subject of the Western Indians, condemning the government and the people of the United States for their injustice to the red man. This magazine is said to have been the first of its kind published in Illinois. It was devoted chiefly to historical articles and criticisms. Among its contributors were James H. Perkins, Otway Curry, and Salmon P. Chase.

After his removal to Cincinnati Mr. Hall began, in January, 1833, the publication of the "Western Monthly Magazine." Among its contributors were many well-known writers, such as Rev. I. M. Peck, E. P. Mansfield, Morgan Neville, Salmon P. Chase, Mrs. Caroline L. Hentz, Miss Hannah F. Gould, and Harriet Beecher (Mrs. Stowe). Hall himself wrote largely criticisms, stories, and historical notes. As a writer he was often caustic and severe, but always interesting. His course on two subjects of controversy tended to lessen his popularity,—his defence of Catholicism in the West and his attacks upon "Abolition."

His writings outside of his magazine were voluminous and attractive, among them legends, tales, biographies, historical sketches, and statistics. Many years ago I remember of reading his "Harp's Head," a relation of a most mysterious murder of a Virginia planter, singular in its circumstances and undiscovered for a long time. The murderer was a remarkable negro, named Harp, and, after his execution, his head was stuck up on a high post on a road, which thenceforward bore the name of the "Harp's Head Road."

Mr. Hall was a man of genius as well as of culture. About thirty years since an edition of his entire works was published. He died near Cincinnati July 5, 1868.

HENRY G. PIUS.

There was a lawyer, probably now entirely forgotten as such, named Henry G. Pius, pronounced Pees. An amusing incident recalls his memory. He was a German emigrant, and evidently a gentleman in manners and

education; but being quite poor, and a fine violinist, he was compelled to resort to teaching dancing for a livelihood. I remember him well. It required hard pushing to thrust me into his dancing-room, then on the corner of Market and Second Streets, and quite as hard pulling to draw me out. In the mean time while teaching he studied law, and was admitted to the bar August 19, 1820. The German population was then quite small, the foreign element of Pittsburgh being almost wholly Irish. Pius was therefore compelled to continue teaching the light step and pointed toe. Still he longed to dance the legal field and engage with the lawyers' high emprise. But his German tongue barred the way. Like Richard Biddle, he therefore practised in his own safe retreat.

On one occasion he set up his bow in one place and his violin in another, as judge and jury. Imagining his cause as one of importance to draw forth all the eloquence of his heart, he commenced, "Mr. Shudge, and you Jentlemans of de Shury, I will now bresent dis important case of my clients, so clearly as I can, to make you see his droobles." But here his tongue failed of its duty. "Oh, Gott tam dis Dootch tongue of mine, he never goes right!" He began again, "Mr. Shudge and you Jentlemans," but again the words failed to flow in good English, and he said, "Oh, hell, tam dis Dootch tongue, I will pull him out." Suiting the action to the word, he gave it a wrench, equal to his temper, so hard it soon swelled to double its size, and became so painful he had to call my father from his office across the street to treat it. Pius's dancing-room was then on the corner of Third and Wood Streets.

Poor fellow! He got no practice, and removed, I think, to Paris, Kentucky.



## A NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS, IMPRISONMENT, AND SUFFERINGS OF JOHN CONNOLLY, AN AMERICAN LOYALIST AND LIEUT.-COL. IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE.

(Continued from Vol. XII., page 420.)

Though I had progressively acquired rank in the provincial service, of which they could not be ignorant, few men having been more generally or more respectably acquainted in the middle and southern colonies, though I had obtained a lieutenant-colonel's commission under his Majesty, yet whenever they had occasion to mention me in their resolves and public proceedings, they wrote plain John Connolly, without the least mark of distinction, or affected to call me Doctor, thereby bringing to the remembrance of those who knew me, that it was once intended I should pursue the practice of physic, if that were any disgrace, and insinuating to the world at large, that a Doctor would not have been in such a situation, had he not been a busy, factious person. The English history is replete with instances of a similar nature. The tyranny and insolence of republican faction, arraigned even the sovereign of these realms, by the name of Charles Stuart. Self-defence obliges me to make the foregoing remarks, it would else become matter of wonder, when the papers of Congress necessarily cited hereafter come to be read, Why, if I were what I say, I was not so distinguished.

Amidst the hardships and chagrines I daily suffered, I had still the consolation to reflect, I had done every thing possible in the discharge of my duty, and anxiously hoped Mr. Smyth had been fortunate enough to escape to the Illinois, but in this I was disappointed. This Gentleman, after having encountered a variety of difficulties, and suf-

ferred abuses for having undertaken this enterprise, scandalous to the perpetrators, disagreeable to remember, and unnecessary to relate, was brought once more a prisoner to Philadelphia. I was still resolved, if possible, to apprise Captain Lord of his danger, which I effected by the following means.

The Council of Safety had made a resolution to discharge all British prisoners, privates, who would take an oath not to engage in hostilities against the United Colonies. Among their captives, was a recruit of the Highland emigrants, that was allowed to come of a morning to make my fire, whom I found to be acute, and willing to do me any service. This man I prevailed on to take the oath, and procure his release, and then resolved to send him to Pittsburgh, with letters to a friend of mine, who might dispatch an Indian down the Ohio to Captain Lord. The recruit found opportunity to bring me some writing paper and sal ammoniac, and the business was happily effected. By this means I endeavoured to preserve his Majesty's garrison, stores, and ordnance; but as the transaction became ultimately known to Congress, it did not tend to lessen their severities.

When Mr. Cameron and myself were conveyed to the new Prison, we were both confined in one room; the walls were thick, and not thoroughly dry, so that we contracted inveterate colds. Our room door was constantly kept shut, and our windows towards the street nailed down, by which all free circulation of air was prevented, neither was any person suffered to speak to me, without an order under the signature of the Secretary of Congress. Under these circumstances, I began first to experience a very disagreeable and a very serious alteration in my health, when by a resolve of Congress, I was allowed more open air, and a separate room; but this indulgence was of short duration, and I was again locked up night and day.

In the month of December, 1776, an attempt was made by Mr. Cameron, Mr. Smyth, and another gentleman (Mr. Maclean, since captain in the Eighty-fourth), of so industrious and hazardous a nature as to deserve a particular

relation, the horrors of their imprisonment alone can account for the temerity of the enterprize. These gentlemen, with wonderful exertions and address, and with no other tool but a knife, opened a hole through the arched roof, and got unobserved upon the top of the prison. With the unsound paillasses on which they lay, and their old blankets torn up, they made a rope, and perilous as the attempt too visibly was, resolved to endeavour this way to descend. Mr. Cameron, than whom no man is more daringly intrepid, made the first and the only essay; for scarce had he suspended himself beneath the roof, before the faithless cord broke, and he fell near fifty feet upon a hard frozen ground. It seems miraculous, that immediate death was not the consequence. He was taken up lifeless, his ancle bones were broken, and his whole frame shattered. The two unhurt gentlemen were thrown into the dungeon, where they remained until removed, with the other prisoners, to Baltimore, on the advance of the royal army to Trent Town, when Mr. Cameron, in a dying condition, was taken to the sick quarters in the city. Mr. Smyth was more fortunate in a third attempt, escaping from Baltimore to New York, where Sir William Howe gave him a company in the Queen's Rangers.

Mr. Cameron did not obtain his release till the winter of 1778, when, from a series of extreme hardships and abuses, his health was so much impaired, and he only enabled to walk on crutches, that he was incapable of service. This he accounted his greatest misfortune; he therefore came to England, bearing with him the most unequivocal and melancholy testimonials of his loyalty. Here he recovered in so astonishing a manner, that scarcely any visible marks of lameness remain. I am sorry to add, he has not been provided for in that mode in which he is again become capable of acting, with honour to himself, and advantage to society.

When Congress first fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore, they left only a small committee of their body to act in concert with the Council of Safety. I had now been immured within the inhospitable walls of a gaol for upwards of

a year, deprived of all exercise, cut off from all social intercourse, and my mind preyed upon by eternal chagrine, by reiterated reflections on what I hoped to have performed, and what, were I free, I might still perform: no wonder that my state of health became truly deplorable. I had contracted a complication of disorders; my legs were swollen, and I was emaciated to a surprising degree. Solitude itself was become more solitary, for the very prison was deserted, and I only remained. At this crisis, two members of the Council of Safety came to inform me, I must prepare to move to the southward; to which I replied, that my health was so far impaired, of which they seeing me, would not avoid being convinced, I was no longer able to encounter the difficulties to which I saw others exposed, and that if they meant to continue my existence, they must suffer me to procure a carriage, and go on my parole. To this they assented, moved, as I imagined, by the spectacle they beheld; and I was in hourly expectation of a partial relief, which, however, I did not obtain, till my brother, now become a General in the service of Congress, came to command at Philadelphia. Through his interest, and becoming responsible for my appearance when demanded, I was enlarged upon my parole, and sent to his house in the country, where I was allowed five miles distance to ride for the recovery of my health. This was fourteen months after my first becoming a prisoner at Hager's town.

I remained here between five and six weeks, and was then remanded back to prison, where I continued about six weeks longer, with the liberty, however, of walking in the gaol yard during the day. My health had been too radically impaired to be so suddenly re-established, which being represented to Congress, I was again admitted to live at my brother's on my parole, though not till he had entered into a high pecuniary obligation with the Council of Safety for my appearance.

I now began to hope, that austerity and persecution were past, and that henceforth I should be allowed something like those liberties which officers, under such circumstances,

usually enjoy, till my exchange could be effected. I was miserably deceived. I continued, in this comparatively happy situation from the 11th of April, 1777, till the 14th of October following, when Congress, once more obliged to fly from Philadelphia at the approach of Sir William Howe, retired to York Town, in the vicinity of my brother's house. The night of the 14th I was again apprehended, by an order from the board of war: my papers, with every scrap of manuscript they could collect, seized, and myself hurried away to York-Town prison, close locked up, and every former severity renewed. I was conscious of having done nothing to merit this treatment, and imagined, that as it might flow from some malicious misrepresentation of my having given secret intelligence to the British army, I should be enlarged as soon as my innocence appeared. But my prediction was drawn from reflections on justice, candour, and humanity, and I was a false prophet. My papers were returned, and I was taught to hope for my former indulgence; but days and months elapsed, and I was still a prisoner. The convention of Saratoga put so many persons of consequence into the possession of Congress, that the prospect of either humane usage, or exchange, was very faint.

In consequence of a recommendation from Congress, laws were passed in some Provinces, that whoever among the Loyalists should return, within a time specified, and become subject to the Republic, should have their estates restored. When this act took place in Virginia, I was earnestly solicited to renounce my allegiance, and again enjoy my lands and liberty. But harrassed as I had been, and unhappy as I was, without one earthly comfort, and scarce a future ray of hope, this proposition was peremptorily rejected: at the risk of a lingering death, I preferred my honour and my loyalty to every inferior consideration. I was debarred the rights, but could not forget the duties of a good subject.

York-Town gaol, where I was now confined, was so crowded with British prisoners, it being the stage for such as were marching southward, exclusive of those that were

resident, that at length a contagious fever appeared. About this time Congress appointed a day of thanksgiving to be observed throughout the United States, and their proclamation was replete with professions of piety, benevolence, and charity towards their enemies. This I thought a proper time, by a firm and candid representation of facts, to draw their attention towards the miserable condition of the prison, and, in concurrence with the opinion of some officers who signed the paper, I wrote and sent them the following remonstrance :

TO THE HON. HENRY LAURENS, ESQ. :

May it please your Honour, We the subscribing persons, prisoners of war, having underwent a series of calamitous confinement equal to the utmost rigour (which has given cause to loud complaint) had the pleasing prospect of seeing a period to such afflictions by an exchange of officers, or by that humane interposition, which, in such cases, marks the character of a civilized and Christian people; but unhappily find ourselves disappointed. We beg leave to remind your Honour, of the multitude of prisoners taken by his Majesty's forces, who have been restored to their friends, and their distress alleviated by a dismissal from captivity. Whilst we have beheld a succession of such events extending to almost all ranks of American prisoners, we are sorry to say, that our miseries have been aggravated by a most criminal imprisonment, in a loathsome, crowded jail infected with a contagious fever, and polluted with noisome smells through every part. Could any motives, founded upon reasons even of a political nature, be urged in justification of the treatment we experience, it would appear to us less objectionable; but when we are satisfied that different gentlemen, in every respect in similar circumstances with ourselves, who were born and educated in this country, have been admitted to generous favours, sent into the British lines, either on parole, or exchanged, and, in every other respect, treated only as unfortunate, we find ourselves utterly at a loss to account for the peculiarity of our persecution.

In your address to the inhabitants of the United States, it is therein publicly declared, that you have studiously endeavoured to alleviate the captivity of your enemies. We most heartily wish we could subscribe to this assertion; but how is it possible, when sixteen months imprisonment, of the most distressing nature, is the shortest time of which any of us complain? Subject to all the indignities, and low insults, of an illiberal gaoler and turnkey, and placed upon the same footing with horse-thieves, deserters, negroes, and the lowest and most despicable of the human race? To cultivate the assistance of Heaven by acts which Heaven opposes, is a recommendation truly laudable. But whether the complaints which we thus exhibit, can be agreeable to the benignity of the Divine Ruler of Heaven, we submit to the dispassionate determination of your Honour. We beg leave, finally, to observe, that as this gaol is a stage for all prisoners moving to the westward, that such as are sick, lame, or otherwise disabled, are left behind, and as the yard, and every part of it, is truly odious, from the disagreeable smell, and unfit to maintain life, we intreat your Honour to lay this our Remonstrance before Congress, earnestly soliciting them to admit us to our paroles in any part of the country, or in some other manner to extend their humanity towards us, which, from our sufferings and your declarations, we have the greatest reasons to expect.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble servants,

JOHN CONNOLLY,  
RICHARD W<sup>M</sup> STOCKTON,  
CHARLES HARRISON,  
ASHER DUNHAM,  
ROBERT MORRIS,  
FRANCIS FRAGER.

YORK-TOWN GAOL, May 17, 1778.

This Address was productive of the following Resolve of Congress, and Report from the Board of War :

IN CONGRESS, May 23d, 1778.

Whereas it appears probable that attempts are making to misrepresent the conduct of these United States towards the prisoners in their possession, in some degree, to wipe off or counterbalance the just reproach that has fallen upon our enemies for their barbarity.

*Resolved*, That the letter from John Connolly and others, dated York-Town gaol, May the 17th, 1778, together with the report of the Board of War upon it, be published.

At a Board of War, 22d of May, 1778. The Board, having taken into consideration the letter from Doctor John Connolly, and the other prisoners of war, most of whom have been lately removed from Carlisle gaol, into the prison of the County of York, beg leave to report to Congress :

That, forbearing to remark upon the indecency of the terms in which the said letter is conceived, and which is calculated for other purposes than merely to relate their pretended grievances, the board will lay before Congress the facts which they have collected from Major Wilson, commanding at Carlisle, during the residence of Major Stockton, and other officers of his party in the gaol of that place. . . . From Mr. Thomas Peters, Deputy Commissary of prisoners, who had the charge during the winter, of the prisoners at Carlisle and York, from Doctor Henry, employed to attend the British prisoners, when sick . . . and from Colonel Pickering, one of the board, who visited the gaol of this place. From the concurrent testimony of all which gentlemen, the account given by the prisoners, in the said letter, appears to be founded in misrepresentation.

Major Wilson, who was frequently called in by the officers themselves to examine their situation at Carlisle, agrees with the Commissary of prisoners.

That as often as either of these gentlemen visited the gaol at Carlisle, the officers, being six in number, had the privilege of the whole gaol, except such part as the gaoler occupied, and one room entirely to themselves; and, although the criminals were under the same roof, yet they were so far from being crowded, that there were not in the



said gaol more than six or seven prisoners at a time (and the most of these Tories) on an average, during the confinement of the officers at that place. That the gaol was as clean as such places can be kept; and if it had not been so, the fault would have lain with the officers, who were indulged with two servants to attend them for the purposes of cleansing their apartment, and waiting on their persons. These officers too, were confined by order of the Commissary General of prisoners, as a retaliation for those of our army suffering every degree of insult and cruelty, which British haughtiness and inhumanity could inflict, in the provost and dungeons of New York and Philadelphia. This being the reason of their confinement, and the foregoing the situation of it, the board conceive their imprisonment was of the mildest nature, when compared with the rigours of that of our own officers. . . . But the gaol at Carlisle not being secure, the Deputy Commissary of prisoners, removed them to the prison of this place, wherein was confined Doctor John Connolly, for the same causes which induced and continue their present imprisonment; and for other reasons of policy and prudence, Doctor Connolly having also sundry times behaved amiss while on parole.

In the gaol at York, these prisoners (seven only in number) have two airy rooms; the one fifteen by twenty feet, and the other something less, besides the privilege of the whole gaol yard, which is sixty yards long, and eighteen wide . . . frequently swept, and kept as clean as possible, and by no means polluted with filth, &c., there being a privy at the extreme end of the yard. These gentlemen too, have three servants to attend them . . . their complaints, then, of being confined in a loathsome, crowded prison, infected with a contagious fever, and polluted with noisome smells through every part, are not warranted by facts. The gaol is made a place of temporary confinement for passing prisoners, but is never crowded, and there are now only nine privates therein, and three of them are the officers' servants, although it is capable of holding, conven-

iently, one hundred and sixty prisoners. There was, some time ago, an apprehension, in a part of the gaol, distant from the officers' apartments, that a contagious fever had broke out among the soldiers: but the diseased were immediately removed to hospitals, and a surgeon and nurses provided for them, and every assistance offered them the nature of our affairs would admit. The gaol is now clean and healthy, save that there are five soldiers who have fevers, from want of exercise and other causes common to places of confinement; but the disorders are not contagious or dangerous.

Mr. Connolly, although indulged with every thing a prisoner could reasonably wish, has repeatedly represented his own, and the situation of the gaol, in similar terms with the letter now under consideration; and the former, and this board, have often had consequent examinations, in all of which, they found the complaints groundless. . . . Once, particularly, when Mr. Connolly represented himself at the point of death from the severity of his confinement, the board directed Doctor Shippen to visit him, who reported that his situation was directly opposite to his representation; his indisposition slight, and merely of an hypochondriac nature; the board have been so particular for several reasons, one whereof is, to supercede the necessity of future enquiries; and are upon the whole of opinion, that these gentlemen should be more strictly confined, as from the indulgence now given them, there is a probability of some of them, at least, making their escape.

By order of the Board,

RICHARD PETER.

Published by order of Congress,  
CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

(To be continued.)

BETHLEHEM DURING THE REVOLUTION.

EXTRACTS FROM THE DIARIES IN THE MORAVIAN ARCHIVES AT  
BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA.

BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

(Concluded from Vol. XII. page 406.)

*September 22.* — Throughout the day more sick and wounded arrived, which filled up the [Brethren's] House. John Hancock and Samuel Adams, with other Delegates arrived, making sixteen in all here to-day. As the surgeons desired an additional building for the sick, and suggested the Sisters' or Widows' Houses<sup>1</sup> as the most suitable; Bro. Ettwein, while conducting a party of the Delegates through the former, where they had been entertained with singing and playing on the organ, took occasion to represent the distress an ejection from their homes would cause the inmates. He was listened to respectfully and a promise at once given him, that their houses should be held sacred. On returning to the Tavern, Henry Laurens directed Richard Henry Lee to issue the following order, which was signed by all the Delegates present :

BETHLEHEM, September 22, 1777.

Having here observed a diligent attention to the sick and wounded, and a benevolent desire to make the necessary provision for the relief of the distressed as far as the power of the Brethren enable them,—

<sup>1</sup> The Widows' House, as its name imports, was erected to accommodate the widows of the congregation, where they found the comforts of a retired home at rates proportioned to their means. It stands on the south side of Church Street, opposite the Sisters' House, and was erected in 1768, and enlarged in 1794. The "Widows' Society" was organized in 1771. A few years since this building was purchased, liberally endowed, and presented to the society.

We desire that all Continental officers may refrain from disturbing the persons or property of the Moravians in Bethlehem; and, particularly, that they do not disturb or molest the houses where the women are assembled.

Given under our hands at the place & time above mentioned.

John Hancock,	Eliphalet Dyer,	Henry Laurens,
Samuel Adams,	Henry Marchant,	Benjamin Harrison,
James Duane,	William Duer,	Joseph Jones,
Nathan Brownson,	Cornelius Harnett,	John Adams,
Nathaniel Folsom,	Richard Henry Lee,	William Williams,
Richard Law,		

Delegates to Congress.

There was constant talk of Congress holding its sessions here. In the evening arrived 50 troopers and 50 infantry, with the archives and other papers of Congress, from Trenton *via* Easton.

*September 23.*—Many of the Delegates attended the children's meeting in the chapel. After the service John Hancock took up the Text Book<sup>1</sup> which was on the table and with several others examined its contents, when Bro. Ettwein offered to explain its design and use, at the same time reading that portion for the day: "Whoever is not against us, is for us." To this Samuel Adams remarked: "St. Paul says, 'If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema.'" During their sojourn, the Delegates spoke in high terms of Bethlehem. Those from New England especially, were delighted with our institutions, and the neatness prevalent in the town, promising to exert their influence for the speedy removal of the Hospital and the British prisoners, provided we would consent to their making Bethlehem their

<sup>1</sup> Since the year 1731 the Moravian Church has published a "Text-Book," containing two texts of Scripture for every day of the year, designed to be read by the heads of families in the morning, as affording matter for religious meditation throughout the day. In addition to these texts a few lines from a hymn are given. This manual is printed in English, German, Bohemian, French, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, Esquimaux, and Negro-English (used in Surinam, S. A.) languages.

headquarters during the war.<sup>1</sup> It was by much persuasion, only, that we induced them to abandon that idea, setting before them the ruinous consequences to our Society, which would inevitably result from such a measure. Not only were they satisfied with our argument, but generously ordered the removal of the laboratory, just set up in one of our workshops for the manufacture of cartridges, to Allentown, and the early transfer of the Highlanders to Lancaster.

*September 24.*—The whole of the heavy baggage of the army, in a continuous train of 700 wagons, direct from camp, arrived under escort of 200 men, commanded by Col. [William] Polk,<sup>2</sup> of North Carolina. They encamped on the south side of the Lehigh, and in one night destroyed all our buckwheat and the fences around the fields.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> As late as 1780 the proposition to make Bethlehem the seat of government was entertained by a number of delegates to Congress. See PENNA. MAG., Vol. II. p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> See Lossing's "Field-Book of the Revolution," Vol. II. p. 496, for biographical sketch and portrait.

<sup>3</sup> BETHLEHEM, March 1, 1778.

Account of the damages done by the troops and horses belonging to the army of the United States who escorted, brought and attended the Baggage of the army to this place, and encamped here from September 1777, to Febr'y. 1778.

To 15,500 Fence Rails, 4500 stakes @ \$6. per c.	. . . . .	£450.
" 1,500 do. belonging to single women & widows,		
15s. per c. . . . .		33.15.
" 200 Chestnut Posts, 1/6 . . . . .		15.
" 22 Acres Buckwheat, entirely ruined, @ 20 bush. per		
acre @ 5/ per bush. . . . .		110.
" 4 Acres Indian Corn @ 35 bush. per acre, 7/6 per bush.		52.10.
" 6 " Turnips @ 100 bush. per acre, 3/8 per bush. .		105.
" 1 " Cabbage @ 4000 heads, /2 . . . . .		33. 8
" A crop of Flax laid out in the pasture which could not be		
taken away before the baggage came & was totally		
destroyed being 100 bundles spread for dew rotting, @		
3/9 . . . . .		18.15.
" 6 Tons Hay @ £6 . . . . .		36.
" 594½ Cords of Wood, which upon the lowest computation,		
the waggoners and troops belonging to the Baggage as		
well as part of the hospital had taken from Bethlehem		
land, @ 30/ per cord . . . . .		891.15.

wagons after unloading, return to Trenton for more stores. Among the things brought here were the church bells from Philadelphia, and the wagon in which was loaded the State House bell, broke down in the street, and had to be unloaded.<sup>1</sup>

*September 25.*—The Highland prisoners with their guard left for Reading on their way to Lancaster, and from thence are to be taken to West Virginia. No sooner were their old quarters cleared than the Doctors of the Hospital took it for their store. We heard that Philadelphia had been occupied by the British, and that the army was expected here, for Baron de Kalb with a corps of French engineers has commenced to survey the heights in and around the town. Col. Polk has received orders to hold himself in readiness to cross the river and occupy the southern acclivity of the town.

*September 26.*—To this date some 900 wagons, with munitions of war have arrived, and been parked behind the Tavern, in the fields towards Nain.<sup>2</sup> With them came a crowd of low women and thieves, so that we had to maintain a watch at the Tavern. No services could be held of late—it is a time of confusion! We learned from officers just from the Army, that camp had been broken in Falckner's Swamp,<sup>3</sup> and that the troops instead of coming here, were moving to Germantown. A beginning was made in the removal of the powder magazine.

*September 27.*—Bethlehem swarms with officers! We heard heavy cannonading.

*September 28 (Sunday).*—Many officers attended church. The houses of our members were forcibly taken for storing regimental baggage.

*October 4.*—Loud cannonading was heard in the distance to-day.

<sup>1</sup> The bells were subsequently taken to Allentown.

<sup>2</sup> The seat of a Moravian Indian mission (two miles from Bethlehem, in Hanover township, Lehigh County), between 1758–1765.

<sup>3</sup> Included in Hanover and Frederick townships, Montgomery County, and named for Daniel Falckner, who settled there in 1700.

*October 5.*—News was received that a battle had been fought at Germantown.

*October 7.*—Yesterday and to-day many wounded were brought hither. Bro. Ettwein accompanied Gen. [William] Woodford, and Colonels [John] Banister and ——— Elliot, of Virginia, to Nazareth and Christian's Spring, apparently objects of interest to those visiting here.

*October 14.*—Orders were received for the collection of clothing for the soldiers in the army,<sup>1</sup> and Gen. Woodford kindly protected us from lawless pillage. We made several collections of blankets for the destitute soldiers, also shoes, stockings, and breeches for the convalescents in the Hospital, many of whom had come here attired in rags swarming with vermin, while others during their stay had been deprived of their all by their comrades.

*October 18.*—The French Marquis de La Fayette left us to-day for the army, in company with Gen. Woodford. We found him a very intelligent and pleasant young man. He occupied much of his time in reading, and, among other matter read an English translation of the History of the Greenland Mission.<sup>2</sup> With the accounts given by the mis-

<sup>1</sup> TO COL. JOHN SIEGFRIED.

SIR,—

By virtue of the power & authority given me by the Honourable Congress, I hereby request and authorize you to appoint such & so many persons as you shall see fit to collect for the use of the Continental Army, all such blankets, shoes, stockings, and other articles of clothing as can possibly be spared from the inhabitants in your section of the country, giving receipts therefor, to be paid by the Clothier General. Obtaining these things from the Quakers & disaffected inhabitants is recommended, but at all events to get them. Given under my hand & seal, Philadelphia County, 6 October, 1777.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

<sup>2</sup> "The History of Greenland: Containing a description of the Country, and its inhabitants: and particularly a relation of the Mission, carried on for above these thirty years by the Unitas Fratrum, at New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels, in that Country. By David Crantz. Translated from the High Dutch, and illustrated with maps and other Copperplates." 2 vols. London, 1767. The translation was made by Rev. Samuel Parminter.

sionaries he expressed himself highly pleased, pronouncing some of their descriptions *pompeux*, and their narrative of facts simple and truthful. Before bidding us adieu, he requested to be shown through the Sisters' House, a request which we were pleased to grant, and his admiration of the institution was unbounded.<sup>1</sup>

*October 22.*—A number of wagons with sick from the army arrived, but as no accommodation could be furnished, they were forwarded to Easton. Upwards of 400 are at present in the Brethren's House alone, and 50 in tents in the garden back. The Surgeons refuse to receive any more into the large building.

*October 24.*—Heavy and uninterrupted cannonading was heard from early in the morning until noon, when after a thundering report and concussion it ceased.

*October 25.*—This morning the camp of 100 tents, which had been put up in the fields behind the Tavern, were, owing to their exposed position, removed to the lowlands for better shelter. News reached us of Burgoyne's surrender to Gen. Gates.

*October 28.*—Commissary General James came with an order from Dr. [Benjamin] Rush, that owing to the rainy weather, 100 sick would be compelled to occupy the kitchen and cellar of the Brethren's House, until the weather would allow of their being transported to Bristol. They were, however, satisfied with the garret.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When La Fayette revisited the United States in 1824–25, Mrs. Beckel and her daughter Liesel were still living, and at a social gathering in the Widows' House, the former remarked: "When the Marquis lay wounded in our house, there was no such fuss made with him!" Tradition says that quite an attachment was formed between the dashing young Marquis and the pretty Moravian Sister; and a chronicler of the town states: "That the Marquis could not have failed impressing the sisterhood." Pretty Liesel Beckel died a *spinster* about 1831.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Shippen, under date, Bethlehem, November 12, 1777, wrote to Congress: "The pressing necessity of the Hospitals which begin to feel the effects of cold and dirt (I foretold in my last to the Medical Committee) calls on me to address you in a serious manner and urge you to furnish us with immediate supply of clothing requisite for the very ex-



*October 30.*—Saw the sun once again, after being hid six days.

*November 2.*—John Hancock passed through on his way from York to Boston. He was escorted hence by a troop of fifteen horsemen, who had awaited his arrival. From him we learned that our friend Henry Laurens had been chosen President of the Congress.

*November 3.*—Bro. Ettwein was requested to visit a sick and dying man in the Hospital, Robert Lepus, from Maryland. It was an affecting interview, and impressive to the spectators. Robert Gillespie, the Hospital Steward, noted for his daring and hardiness, was much moved on the occasion, and, what is remarkable, was taken with the camp-fever the same day.

*November 11.*—Doctor Aquila Wilmot,<sup>1</sup> of the Hospital staff, died, and pursuant to his request, made on his death-bed, was interred in our grave-yard; thus beginning the long projected "Stranger's Row."<sup>2</sup>

*November 13.*—The Hospital officers erected a wooden building, 50 feet long, for a kitchen on the line of the upper garden fence.

*November 14.*—Hospital Steward, Robert Gillespie,<sup>3</sup> died, and was buried in Stranger's Row.

*November 21.*—Bro. Ettwein, on his visit to the Hospital, found a Narragansett Indian in great distress about his soul, at the near approach of death.

*November 27.*—This evening a remarkably brilliant aurora arose in the northwestern sky, and gradually moved towards

istence of the sick now in the greatest distress in the *Hospitals*, and indispensably necessary to enable many, who are now well, and detained solely for want of clothing to return to the field."

<sup>1</sup> He was born in Baltimore County, Maryland, 1752, and died of putrid fever. See Toner's "Medical Men of the Revolution," p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> The row of graves along the fence, on the Market Street side of the burying-ground.

<sup>3</sup> The church register states: "He was a widower, about 40 years of age, born in County Carlow, Ireland, of the Presbyterian persuasion, and a faithful steward in the Hospital."

the eastern horizon, its blood-red arch flashing with streamers of white light.

*December 7.*—In the forenoon Bro. Ettwein preached to the inmates of the Hospital, from Matthew xviii. 11, in the dormitory on the third floor.

*December 11.*—Through Dr. [Thomas] Bond<sup>1</sup> we learned that all the Hospitals are to be moved to the west side of the Schuylkill.

*December 13.*—More sick soldiers were brought here to-day.

*December 16.*—More sick arrived from other hospitals; those that were the most feeble we provided for, but the others were taken further.

*December 18.*—We kept Fast and Prayer Day as ordered by Congress.

*December 20.*—Five corpses were conveyed out of the Brethren's House to-day for burial.

*December 24.*—Gen. Washington's baggage, which has been here exactly three months, near to our tile-kiln under guard, moved off to-day. Our Christmas Vigils were attended by the Surgeons, Doctors, and convalescent officers, about 40 in number.

*December 28.*—At present there are 700 sick soldiers in the Single Brethren's House alone.

1778.

*January 4.*—Lucas Sherman, a soldier from Virginia, died to-day. Gen. Greene's wife,<sup>2</sup> and [Lewis] Morris, a Delegate from New York, passed through. Col. Joseph Wood,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Thatcher's "American Medical Biography," p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelia Lott and Martha Washington Greene, daughters of General and Mrs. Nathaniel Greene, were scholars in the Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem in 1789. "Lady Greene," says an eye-witness, "several times came to visit her two daughters at Bethlehem school. The impression I received of her nobility of heart and stately dignity of person—her tall figure dressed in rich brocade and lace, with long, sweeping train—is not yet erased. She was a pattern-lady of the old school."

<sup>3</sup> The founder of Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia, and a colonel in the Virginia line.

from Winchester, Virginia, who for several weeks has lain sick here, left.

*January 5.*—So many of our Single Brethren have been made sick by the stench from the Hospital, that they have been advised to keep away.

*January 6.*—During the past three days, *seventeen* persons have died in the Hospital. Heard loud cannonading for some time to-day.<sup>1</sup>

*January 7.*—Gen. Gates and family arrived this evening from Albany, on their way to Yorktown. [They left on 9th.]

*January 24.*—The famous Col. Kobatsch, a Prussian officer of Hussars in the late war, arrived from Easton, to see whether we could aid him to equip and mount a corps of Hussars, which he is recruiting for Congress. He found,

<sup>1</sup> The following brief, but pithy notes, all written on the same sheet, are preserved in the Archives at Bethlehem :

“SIR.

“The Bearer, Mr. Carr, is in possession of Part of a House near the Fulling Mill, the owner of which wants him put out. He has applied to me for leave to stay until he is sufficiently well to shift for himself, as he is to all Intents and purposes an invalid. I have told him it was not in my power to do anything in his favor. He then desired me to write to you for advice & assistance, for if he is turned out he has no chance of having his cure completed.

“ I am

“ with respect

“ your very humble serv't

“ SAM'L FINLEY.

“ Bethlehem, Jan. 6 1778

“ To COL. CROPPER

“ In compliance with the request afs'd., these do certify, that Mr Carr is not to be moved until my orders.

“ Given under my hand at Bethlehem 6th Janu.

“ JOHN CROPPER

“ Lieut.-Col.

“ Col. Cropper has none to command in Bethlehem but his soldiers. Therefore we cannot receive his orders. Mr. Carr does not belong to the Hospital ; we want the Place where he is, and he must move without delay.

JOHN ETTWEIN.

[At the bottom of the sheet is also written]

“ *N.B.* Was directly fetched away by Mr. Finley into the Hospital.”

however, that we were unable to assist him, as our saddler, glove-maker, and founder had no stock for their trades.

*January 30.*—Baron von Steuben, and a French merchant from Boston, passed through *en route* for Congress.

*February 6.*—Gen. [Thomas] Conway passed through to Albany.

*February 18.*—During the past few days a number of French officers passed through *en route* for Canada.

*February 22.*—Capt. Webb went to Philadelphia on a pass.

*March 18.*—From New England there arrived a company of soldiers, composed of whites, blacks and a few Stockbridge Indians, who were lodged over night.

*March 22.*—Bro. Ettwein heard from D<sup>r</sup> Shippen, that it was quite possible that the Hospitals would be transferred to Lititz,<sup>1</sup> upon which we decided to write to Gen. Washington, giving him a clear account of the nature of our settlements.

*March 26.*—Bro. Hasse set out on his journey for the camp of Gen. Washington with Bro. Ettwein's letter, in which he beg'd that the General Hospital be not established at Lititz as designed by D<sup>r</sup> Shippen, and that we be relieved of some of our burdens.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Matthew Hehl, on behalf of the congregation at Lititz, petitioned Dr. Shippen not to locate the hospital in that town, to which the following reply was received :

“SIR.

“I am so much affected at the very thoughts of distressing a Society I have so great an esteem for, that you may depend upon it I will not put in execution the proposal of removing the inhabitants of Lititz unless cruel necessity urges, which at present I don't imagine will be the case. If we should fix the General Hospital & take more room in your village it shall be done in a manner the least distressing & disagreeable to your flock that is possible, of which I will consult you.

“I am Sir

“Your & the congregations

“Affectionate & very humble servant

“W<sup>m</sup> SHIPPEN.

“Manheim

“9 April, 1778.”

March 30.—Bro. Hasse returned from headquarters with the following reply :

HEAD QUARTERS 28 March 1778.

SIR.

I have received your letter of the 25th instant by Mr. Hasse, setting forth the injury that will be done to the Inhabitants of Letiz by establishing a General Hospital there—it is needless to explain how essential an establishment of this kind is to the welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that it cannot be made anywhere, without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other—at the same time it is ever my wish and aim that the public good be affected with as little sacrifice as possible of individual interests—and I would by no means sanction the imposing any burthens on the people in whose favor you remonstrate, which the public service does not require. The arrangement and distribution of Hospitals depends entirely on Doctor Shippen, and I am persuaded that he will not exert the authority vested in him unnecessarily to your prejudice. It would be proper however to represent to him the circumstances of the inhabitants of Letiz; and you may if you choose it, communicate the contents of this Letter to him.

I am Sir

Your most obed't Serv't

GEO. WASHINGTON

The REVEREND MR ETTWEIN

Bethlehem.

April 8.—An order by Express from Dr. [Thomas] Bond was received, removing the Hospitals here to Reading.

April 12 (Palm Sunday).—The services were attended by Gen. [Lachlan] McIntosh, of Georgia. Many New England recruits on their way to camp nighted here.

April 14.—To-day completed the removal of the Hospital.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BETHLEHEM Feb. 25, 1778.

ROBERT LETTIS HOOPER Jr., D.Q.M.G.

To JEREMIAH DENKE, Dr.

To Rent for the house appointed & used for the Continental forage, from April 1 1777 to March 1, 1778, 11 months . £27.10.

*April 16.*—Gen. Pulaski<sup>1</sup> and Col. Kobatsch attend the meeting this afternoon.

*April 24.*—About 400 New York troops *en route* for Albany, passed through to-day.

To Rent for 2 rooms & 1 kitchen over the Water Works, occupied by sundry departments, as, Guard for the military baggage & stores, the Commissary for Issues & his clerks and assistants, & now for the invalids on guard here from Oct 6 to Feby 21, 4 mo 15 days . . . . .	£15.15.
“ Rent for a house with 5 rooms occupied by several departments of the Army & Guard appointed here & now by the invalids on guard from Sept 15 to Feby 15—5 months	12.10.
“ Rent for a large room and kitchen in the Fulling Mill for sick Doctors, officers & stewards from Sept 13 to Jany. 15, 4 mo. . . . .	6.00
“ Rent for the so-called Guard House near the Saw Mill occupied for military stores and otherwise—a guard being there continually from May 1/77 to Feby 15/78—9½ months . . . . .	9.10.

<sup>1</sup> General Count Casimir Pulaski, while stationed at Bethlehem with a detachment of his troopers, always placed guards at the Sisters' House during the passage of troops through the town. In grateful acknowledgment for the protection thus afforded them, their superintendent, Sister Susan von Gersdorf, suggested the making of a banner, or more properly a guidon. The design of the work was intrusted to Sisters Rebecca Langly and Julia Bader; and in its execution they were assisted by a number of their associates, more especially by Sisters Anna Beam, Anna Hussey, and Erdmuth Langly. The guidon was accepted by Pulaski, and borne in his corps through the campaign, and until he fell in the attack on Savannah, in the autumn of 1779. After a careful examination of all the diaries at Bethlehem, not the slightest reference to a presentation such as the lamented Longfellow narrates in his poem, “Hymn of the Moravian Nuns, at Bethlehem, Pa., at the consecration of Pulaski's Banner,” was found. The following letter on the subject is of interest:

“CAMBRIDGE, January 13, 1857.

“DEAR SIR,—The ‘Hymn of the Moravian Nuns’ was written in 1825, and was suggested to me by a paragraph in the *North American Review*, Vol. II. p. 390.

“The standard of Count Pulaski, the noble Pole who fell in the attack on Savannah, during the American Revolution, was of crimson silk, embroidered by the Moravian Nuns of Bethlehem, Pa.

“The banner is still preserved; you will find a complete account of the matter in Lossing's ‘Field Book of the Revolution.’

May 13.—Gen. Gates and wife, and Gen. Ethan Allen<sup>1</sup> reached here, *en route* for Peekskill.

May 17 (Sunday).—In the English morning service, there were present Samuel Adams, Delegate from Massachusetts, and Gen. Pulaski, with some members of his corps, in full dress uniform.

June 1.—In the Single Brethren's House, late Hospital, the whitewashers and others commenced renovating.

June 15.—John Hancock with others from Boston, on their way to Yorktown, nighted here.

June 19.—Two Delegates to Congress from Connecticut, one of them [Titus] Hosmer, remained here.

June 27.—The Single Brethren slept in their hall for the first time. [Since the hospital was removed from their building.]

July 1.—Three Delegates to Congress; also [Governor] Morris, of New York; Col. [John] Banister, of North Carolina; and Mr. [George] Plater<sup>2</sup> from Maryland visited here.

July 2.—News was received that on last Sunday (28th ulto) a battle was fought at Monmouth.

July 3.—Bro. Ettwein accompanied the three Delegates to Nazareth and Christian's Spring.

July 5.—News reached us that Wyoming had been attacked and destroyed by Tories and Indians.

July 9.—Many fugitives from Wyoming came hither.

July 10–11.—Some of the wounded arrived from Wy-

“The last line is figurative. I suppose the banner to have been wrapped about the body, as is frequently done.

“Yours truly;

“HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.”

The guidon is now in possession of the Maryland Historical Society. For a colored plate see “Penna. Archives,” Second Series (frontispiece), Vol. XI.

<sup>1</sup> He had just been exchanged, and was on his return to Vermont. A niece of his, Anna, daughter of Levi and Ann Allen, a pupil in the Seminary at Bethlehem, died May 22, 1795, and is buried there.

<sup>2</sup> Delegate to Congress, 1778–81, and for many years judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals.

oming, who reported that 400 of the New Englanders had been killed in the fight.

*July 15-17.*—Many fugitives from Shamokin and the West Branch, passed through on the way to New York and Jerseys.

*July 31.*—Heard heavy cannonading in the forenoon. Col. Kobatsch and the equipped members of his corps recruited in Easton, passed through *en route* to Baltimore.

*August 2.*—Several hundred militiamen marched through on their way to punish the Indians over the Blue Mountains.

*August 11.*—To-day Mrs. Webb and family, who have been here fifteen months, left for New York, thankful for all our kindness.<sup>1</sup>

*October 8.*—Gen. Neuville,<sup>2</sup> a French officer, came to see the sights.

*October 27.*—Gen. [William] Woodford passed through to Virginia.

*November 4.*—A rumor reached us that a part of Gen. Washington's army of 5000 men were to encamp three miles from here on Nancy's Run. This rumor originated from a brigade of wagons unloading their stores at the Flax Seed House; but this was only done to allow of repairs being made.

*November 25.*—This afternoon the French Ambassador, Mons. Gerard,<sup>3</sup> Don Juan de Miralles, a Spaniard, and

<sup>1</sup> The wife of the Methodist preacher, Captain Thomas Webb, who had effected his exchange. See PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Brevet Brigadier-General de la Neuville served under General Gates as inspector, but retired from the army after six months' service, and returned to France.

<sup>3</sup> "MY DEAR FRIEND.

"Monsr. Gerard the Minister Plenepotentiary of France will be, provided he meets no obstruction on the Road, at Bethlehem on Wednesday the 25th Inst. about midday, this worthy character merits regard from all the Citizens of these States, an acquaintance with him will afford you satisfaction and I am persuaded his Visit will work no evil or inconvenience to your community. Don Juan de Miralles a Spanish Gentleman highly recommended by the Governor of Havanna will accompany Mr. Gerard. The whole suite may amount to six Gentlemen & perhaps a servant to each. I give this previous intimation in order



Silas Deane, arrived from Philadelphia to see the sights here.

*November 26.*—Bro. Ettwein took them to Christian's Spring and Nazareth, and in the evening they attended a concert we had arranged for them.

*November 28.*—Our distinguished visitors returned to Philadelphia to-day.

*December 3.*—Heard that Washington and his army were again at Morristown.

*December 5.*—Had not Quarter Master Hooper exerted himself in our behalf, we would have had quartered on us the Burgoyne captives, who marched in seven columns.

*December 30.*—Thanksgiving Day, pursuant to an Act of Congress. The inmates of the Single Brethren's House number 106.

1779.

*January 2.*—A troop of Pulaski's cavalry passed through on the way to Lebanon for winter quarters.

*January 5.*—To-day arrived the Brunswick General Baron von Riedesel,<sup>1</sup> with his wife, three children, and suite from Boston, with a letter from Gen. Gates.<sup>2</sup> The field-preacher

that preparations suitable to the occasion may be made by Mr Johnson [Jansen] at the Tavern, & otherwise as you think expedient. My good wishes attend you all. I beg Mr John Okely will forbear with me a few days longer, I consider him a merciful Creditor and when an opportunity presents I will pay him more in one Act than all my words are worth. Believe me Dear Sir to be with sincere respect and very great affection your friend and most humble servant

“HENRY LAURENS.

“Philadelphia 23 Novem. 1778

“(The REV MR ETTWEIN, Bethlehem.)”

<sup>1</sup> For his description of Bethlehem and copy of letter to General Washington, see “Memoirs of Major-General Riedesel,” Vol. II. pp. 60-75 and 240.

<sup>2</sup> “BOSTON, Nov'r 1778.

“DEAR SIR.

“This Letter will be delivered to you by Madame Reidesel, the Lady of Major General Reidesel to whom I entreat you will show every Mark of Civility and Respect in your Power. Wise Reasons have determined Congress to direct the March of the Army under the Convention of

John August Milius [the chaplain of Baron Riedesel's own regiment] is of the party.

*January 7.*—After spending two days pleasantly in our midst the Riedesel party set out for Virginia.

*January 11.*—Gen. [William] Phillips, with some officers arrived.

*January 22.*—Gen. Phillips and officers left for Virginia to-day. They were so much pleased with our attentions, that they distributed 5 guineas among the small girls.

*January 26.*—Thirteen Brunswick officers<sup>1</sup> on parole with their attendants arrived and were given quarters at the request of Quarter Master Hooper. Among the number were Major [Just C. von] Maibom; Capt. [August F.] Dommes; Lieuts [August W.] Breva; [Andreas] Myer; — Bach; [Johann H.] von Gödecke; [Count E. A.] von Rantzau; Judge Advocate [Johann B.] Stutzer, and Chaplain Melzheimer.

Saratoga to Charlottesville, in Virginia. General Reidesel, his Lady and little Family, accompany the Troopes of their Prince. It is a painful and fatiguing Journey at this Season of the year. I doubt not your Hospitable Disposition will render it as pleasant as possible, and that without my Recommendations, you naturally would indulge the Sentiments which influence the Gentleman and the Citizen of the World.

“I am

“Dear Sir

“Your affectionate

“Humble Servant

“HORATIO GATES.

“REV. MR ETTWEIN

“at Bethlehem Penna.”

<sup>1</sup> These Brunswickers were a lively set of fellows, and much given to music. Having an excellent harper and flutist among them, they would occasionally serenade the town people, and Beckel's Hill (Market and Main Streets) was a favorite spot to which they would repair. A burlesque song and popular air with them was the “Merz Kater;” a translation of one verse is here given :

“Is it not a rare delight

When a tom-cat in the night

On the roof-tree makes his bow

Calling to his wife Mi-au !”

*March 28* (Palm Sunday).—The Brunswick officers were present at service.

*April 4* (Easter).—At 10 o'clock Chaplain Melzheimer kept a service for his comrades in the Single Brethren's Chapel.

*April 11*.—The Brunswickers communed in the Chapel after service.

*May 11*.—Gen. Sullivan has his headquarters at Easton, preparatory to going on his expedition against the Indians.

*May 16*.—The Brunswick officers left for Lancaster.

*June 5*.—Gen. Sullivan, Cols. [Elias] Dayton<sup>1</sup> and Pierce<sup>2</sup> visited our town.

*June 15*.—Early this morning Lady Washington arrived from Easton in company with Gens. Sullivan, [Enoch] Poor,<sup>3</sup> [William] Maxwell,<sup>4</sup> and some 20 officers. After dinner Bro. Ettwein escorted Lady Washington through the large buildings, and in the evening with her suite she attended the service, Bro. Ettwein speaking in English.

*June 16*.—Lady Washington set out for Virginia this morning.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Third New Jersey Regiment.

<sup>2</sup> *Query*.—Captain Pierce, A.D.C. to General Sullivan?

<sup>3</sup> General Poor died September 8, 1780; and three days thereafter, out of respect for his memory, the countersign was "Poor," as the following extracts from Adjutant Bloomfield's "Orderly Book, No. 2, 3rd Jersey Regiment," in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, attests:

"HEAD QUARTERS Sept. 11, 1780.

"Parole . . . . . Portsmouth.

"Countersign . . . . . Poor.

Dallas.

"U. W. . . . . Magnanimity."

The following is also copied from the same "Orderly Book:":

"SEPTEMBER 12, 1780

"Advertisement.

"Part of the Effects of the late Brigadier Gen. Poor (among which are several Suits of Cloaths, a Genteel Small Sword, Sash Appaulets, and many other articles) will be Vendued at Lieut. Col. Dearbourn's Marquee To-morrow Morning Ten O'clock."

<sup>4</sup> See "Letters and Journals Relating to the War of the American Revolution," by Mrs. General Riedesel, pp. 113-167.

*June 25.*—Mons. Gerard, the French Minister, visited us again.

*July 28.*—Three gentlemen from Virginia, one a Washington and nephew of the General's, visited here and at Nazareth, *en route* for camp.

*September 25.*—The British Gen. Phillips arrived, *en route* for New York.

*September 26.*—Baron Riedesel, wife, children and suite came from Philadelphia. Gen. Phillips left to-day. The Baron with his family attended the evening service.

*October 10.*—Baron Riedesel and family returned from Elizabethtown, whither they had gone with an officer, who is to find quarters for them here.

*October 11.*—Gen. Phillips returned to-day. We quartered the whole party in the Tavern. Quarter Master Hooper told us that it is Washington's orders, that they be quartered *only* at Bethlehem or Nazareth.

*November 22.*—Gens. Riedesel and Phillips left for New York by permission of Congress.

### 1780.

*February 16.*—The Lehigh River has been frozen over seven weeks, but a thaw is at hand.

*June 28.*—Some British prisoners on parole visited here.

*July 10.*—Two teams from here and one from Nazareth were pressed into the army for two months service, and our teamster Frederick Beitel with them.

*October 2.*—Joseph Reed, President of the Council, John Bayard, Speaker of the Assembly, and David Rittenhouse, State Treasurer, escorted by 20 Bucks County militia on horseback, came here on a visit from Philadelphia.

*October 3.*—The President attended the services.

*October 5.*—To-day the President spent some hours in the Choir Houses, and inspected the water-works and other objects of interest.

*October 6.*—The President and party left for Reading to-day.

*November 29.*—Major Maibom and other Brunswick officers arrived from Reading on their way to New York.

*December 1.*—To-day the Brunswick officers left for New York.

*December 31.*—The population of Bethlehem is 574.

1782.

*July 25.*—After dinner we had the pleasure to welcome his Excellency Gen. Washington, who is accompanied by two aids and no escort, with our trombones. The Sisters' House was first visited, and next the Single Brethren's House, in the chapel of which the party were refreshed with cake and wine, while Bro. Jacob Van Vleck played on the organ. The oil-mill, water works and other objects of interest were subsequently inspected. Bro. Ettwein waited on and escorted Gen. Washington from place to place, and also kept the evening service, which was attended by the visitors. After the service the church-choir entertained their guests with sacred music, both vocal and instrumental.

*July 26.*—Gen. Washington left for Easton early this morning, and before starting expressed himself as much pleased with the attentions shown him.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During Washington's visit to Alexander Martin, Governor of North Carolina, in May of 1791, he visited the Moravian town of Salem, remaining there overnight. Bishop J. D. Koehler, on behalf of the Church, presented him with an address of welcome, to which he returned the following answer :

“GENTLEMEN :

“I am greatly indebted to your respectful & affectionate expression of personal regard, & I am not less obliged by the patriotic sentiment contained in your address.

“From a society whose governing principles are industry and the love of order much may be expected towards the improvement & prosperity of the country in which their settlements are formed, & experience authorizes the belief that much will be obtained.

“Thanking you with grateful sincerity for your prayers in my behalf, I desire to assure you of my best wishes for your social & individual happiness.

“G. WASHINGTON.”

## A LIST OF THE ISSUES OF THE PRESS IN NEW YORK, 1693-1752.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from Vol. XII. page 482.)

[Books and pamphlets which have come under the personal inspection of the compiler, and of which he has secured full titles and collations with a view to their future publication, are marked with an asterisk (\*). Additions and corrections to this list will be gladly received. The compiler is especially indebted to Messrs. William Kelby and Wilberforce Eames for their assistance.]

	1720.	
Votes of Assembly.		W. Bradford.
	1721.	
Act for better clearing Highways.		do.
“ “ settling the Militia.		do.
* Acts of Assembly.		do.
* Frelinghuisen's Drie Predicatie.		do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1722.		do.
	1722.	
* Acts of Assembly.		do.
Astronomical Diary for 1723.		do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1723.		do.
* New Jersey Court Ordinance.		do.
* New Jersey. Speeches in the Assembly.		do.
Ordinance regulating Fees.		do.
	1723.	
* Acts of Assembly.		do.
Johnson's History of the Pirates.		do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1724.		do.
* New Jersey. Acts of Assembly.		
Ordinance regulating Fees in the Court of Chancery.		do.

Ordinance regulating the Recording of Deeds. W. Bradford.

1724.

- Burling's Remarks. do.  
 \* Burnet's Essay on Scripture Prophecy. do.  
 \* Colden's Papers Relating to the Indian Trade. do.  
 \* Dummond (Evan). Memorial of French Convert. do.  
 Johnson's History of the Pirates, 2d edition. do.  
 \* Journal of Assembly. do.  
 Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1725. do.  
 \* New Jersey. Ordinance regulating Fees. do.  
 \* " " " " " " do.  
 in the Court of Chancery. do.  
 Report on the Indian Trade. do.  
 Stoddard's Sermon. do.  
 \* Votes of Assembly. do.

1725.

- \* Acts of Assembly. do.  
 Extracts from the Minutes of the Council concerning the French Church. do.  
 \* Frilinghausen's Klagte van Eenige Leeden, &c. W. Bradford and J. P. Zenger.  
 History of the Kingdom of Basaruah. W. Bradford.  
 Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1726. do.  
 \* New Jersey. Acts of Assembly. do.  
 \* " Ordinance regulating the Courts. do.  
 New York Gazette. do.  
 \* Papers concerning Mr. Rou's Affair. do.  
 Scotch Psalms. do.  
*Sewell's History of the Quakers.* (Haven's List.) Printed in London.  
 Tate and Brady's Psalms. W. Bradford.  
 Votes of Assembly. do.

1726.

* Acts of Assembly, 1691 to 1725.	W. Bradford.
* " " to June 17.	do.
* " " to Nov. 11.	do.
* Freeman's Verdeediging.	J. P. Zenger.
Interest of the Country in laying Duties.	do.
" " " in laying no Duties.	
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1727.	W. Bradford.
New England Psalms.	do.
New York Gazette.	do.
* Ordinance regulating Fees.	do.
* " " " in the Court of Chancery.	do.
* Ordinance regulating the recording of Deeds.	do.
* Samenspraak over de Klagte der Rari- tanders.	J. P. Zenger.
* True State of Mr. Rou's Case.	W. Bradford.
Two Interests Reconciled.	
Van Driesen's De Aanbiddelyke Wegen Gods.	J. P. Zenger.

1727.

* Acts of Assembly.	W. Bradford.
Birkett's Almanac for 1728.	do.
* Charge to the Grand Jury.	J. P. Zenger.
* Colden's History of the Five Nations.	W. Bradford.
Doings of the Council.	do.
Hughes' Almanac for 1728.	do.
Husbandman's Guide.	do.
Leeds' (F.) Almanac for 1728.	do.
" (T.) " " "	do.
New Jersey. Votes of Assembly.	do.
New York Gazette.	
* Palmer <i>et al.</i> vs. Van Courtland and Philipse.	do.
* Sir, In my former I frankly informed you, &c. [A second letter to A. Philipse.]	J. P. Zenger.
* To the Hon. Adolph Philipse.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	W. Bradford.



1728.

* Acts of Assembly.	W. Bradford.
Berkenmeyer's Herden en Wackter Stem.	J. P. Zenger.
Birkett's Almanac for 1729.	W. Bradford.
* Bradford's Secretary's Guide, 4th edition.	do.
Conductor Generalis.	do.
* Decree in the case of Solomon de Medina.	do.
* Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1729.	do.
New York Gazette.	do.
Pender's Divinity of the Scriptures.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.

1729.

* Acts of Assembly.	do.
Birkett's Almanac for 1730.	do.
* Bradford's Secretary's Guide, 4th edition.	do.
* Dickinson's Remarks on an Overture to the Synod of Philadelphia.	J. P. Zenger.
* Frilinghausen's Een Trouwertig Vertog.	do.
Leeds' (F.) Almanac for 1730.	W. Bradford.
“ (T.) “ “ “	do.
New York Gazette.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.

1730.

* Acts of Assembly.	do.
Berkenmeyer's Consilium in Arena.	
Birkett's Almanac for 1731.	W. Bradford.
* Laws of New York, 1726-30.	do.
* Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1731.	do.
Letter to a Parishioner. (See 1733.)	J. P. Zenger.
New Jersey. Acts of Assembly.	W. Bradford.
New York Gazette.	do.
Vanema's Arithmetica.	J. P. Zenger.
Votes of Assembly.	W. Bradford.
Wetmore's Quakerism.	

1731.

Act of Parliament for the regulation of Seamen.	W. Bradford.
* Acts of Assembly, July, 1729.	do.
*        "                Sept., 1731.	do.
Birkett's Almanac for 1732.	do.
Cook's Sermon on Rev. John Davenport.	J. P. Zenger.
* Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1732.	W. Bradford.
* New York City. Laws and Ordinances of New York Gazette.	do. do.
* Patent for the Oblong or Equivalent Lands. Votes of Assembly.	J. P. Zenger. W. Bradford.

1732.

* Acts of Assembly.	do.
Birkett's Almanac for 1733.	do.
Eccleston's Epistle.	do.
* Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1733.	do.
New Jersey. Acts of Assembly.	do.
New York Gazette.	do.
True Vindication of Alexander Campbell.	J. P. Zenger.
Votes of Assembly.	W. Bradford.

1733.

* Acts of Assembly.	do.
Ambrose's Death's Arrest.	
Birkett's Almanac for 1734.	W. Bradford.
Campbell's Protestation, March 26, 1733.	J. P. Zenger.
De Lancey's Charge to the Grand Jury.	W. Bradford.
Eleutherius Ernervatus.	J. P. Zenger.
Johnson's Letter to a Dissenting Parishioner.	do.
* Journal of Assembly.	W. Bradford.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1734.	do.
New York Gazette.	do.
"                Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.
Opinion, &c., of the Chief Justice on the Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.	do.
The same, 2d edition.	do.

Proceedings of Rip Van Dam.	
Quinby's Correspondence with the Dutch Church.	W. Bradford.
Some Observations on De Lancey's Charge to the Grand Jury.	J. P. Zenger.
1734.	
Account for building 100 Sail of Vessels.	W. Bradford.
* Acts of Assembly.	do.
"                    Nov.	do.
Birkett's Almanac for 1735.	do.
Cosby's (Governor) Speech, April 25.	do.
* De Lancey's Charge to the Grand Jury, July, 1734.	do.
De Lancey's Charge to the Grand Jury, Oct., 1734.	do.
* Harison's Letter to the Corporation of New York City.	do.
* Journal of Assembly to June 22.	do.
* "                    "                    to Nov. 28.	do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1735.	do.
Letter of Timothy Wheelwright.	J. P. Zenger.
New York Gazette.	W. Bradford.
"                    Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.
Opinion on Courts of Justice. (By W. Smith and — Murray.)	W. Bradford.
* Report of a Committee of Council on a letter found in Jas. Alexander's house.	do.
Sydney's Reply to Cosby's Speech.	J. P. Zenger.
* Vindication of J. Alexander and W. Smith.	do.
1735.	
* Acts of Assembly.	W. Bradford.
Alexander (J.) and W. Smith's Complaint.	
Birkett's Almanac for 1736.	W. Bradford.
* Journal of Assembly.	do.
* New York City. Charter of	J. P. Zenger.
"                    Gazette.	W. Bradford.
"                    Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.

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|------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| * Ordinance for regulating Fees.                     | W. Bradford.  |
| Pemberton's Sermon before the Synod at Philadelphia. | J. P. Zenger. |
| * Tennent's Danger of forgetting God.                | do.           |
| * " The Espousals.                                   | do.           |
| * " Necessity of Religious Violence.                 | W. Bradford.  |

1736.

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|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| Albany. Charter of                                    | do.           |
| * Alexander's (James) Disavowal of Gov. Clarke.       | J. P. Zenger. |
| Almanac in Dutch for 1737.                            |               |
| A Sheet Almanac for 1736.                             | W. Bradford.  |
| Beach's Vindication of the Worship of God.            | do.           |
| Birkett's Almanac for 1737.                           | do.           |
| Clarke's (Governor) Speech, Oct. 14, 1736.            | do.           |
| Dickinson's Vanity of Human Understanding.            |               |
| * Hale's Some Necessary and Important Considerations. | W. Bradford.  |
| His Majesty's Commission to Gov. Cosby.               | J. P. Zenger. |
| * Journal of Assembly.                                | W. Bradford.  |
| Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1736.                         | do.           |
| Letter to one of the Members of Assembly.             |               |
| New York Gazette.                                     | W. Bradford.  |
| " Weekly Journal.                                     | J. P. Zenger. |
| Sentiments of a Principal Freeholder.                 | W. Bradford.  |
| Tennent's Sermon at New York.                         | J. P. Zenger. |
| " Two Sermons at Brunswick.                           | W. Bradford.  |
| Truman's Observations on Freeman's Performance.       |               |
| Van Dam's (Rip) Copy of a Letter.                     |               |
| " Protestation.                                       |               |
| Word in Season.                                       | J. P. Zenger. |
| * Zenger's Trial.                                     | do.           |

1737.

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|-----------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| * Acts of Assembly.                                 | W. Bradford.  |
| Almanac in Dutch for 1738.                          |               |
| Birkett's Almanac for 1738.                         | W. Bradford.  |
| Blenman's Remarks on Zenger's Trial.                | do.           |
| The same, 2d edition.                               | do.           |
| Dickinson's Defense of a Sermon preached at Newark. |               |
| * Journal of Assembly to April 28.                  | W. Bradford.  |
| * " " " " Dec. 16.                                  | J. P. Zenger. |
| * Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1737.                     | W. Bradford.  |
| New York Gazette.                                   | do.           |
| " Weekly Journal.                                   | J. P. Zenger. |
| Scheme to encourage the raising of Hemp.            | W. Bradford.  |
| Spiritual Journey Temporized. (See 1741.)           |               |
| * To Governor Clarke. Address from the Council.     | W. Bradford.  |

1738.

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|----------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| * Acts of Assembly.                                | J. P. Zenger. |
| Almanac in Dutch for 1739.                         |               |
| Birkett's Almanac for 1739.                        | W. Bradford.  |
| Haeghoort's Keter der Goddelyke Waarheden.         | J. P. Zenger. |
| * Journal of Assembly.                             | do.           |
| * Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1738.                    | W. Bradford.  |
| Morris' (Lewis) Speech to the New Jersey Assembly. | J. P. Zenger. |
| Military Discipline.                               | W. Bradford.  |
| * New Jersey. Votes of Assembly.                   | J. P. Zenger. |
| New York Gazette.                                  | W. Bradford.  |
| * " Weekly Journal.                                | J. P. Zenger. |

1739.

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|--------------------------------------------|--------------|
| * Acts of Assembly.                        | W. Bradford. |
| Birkett's Almanac for 1740.                | do.          |
| Bradford's Secretary's Guide, 5th edition. | do.          |
| Dickinson's Danger of Schism.              |              |

* Journal of Assembly to April 14.	W. Bradford.
* " " " " Nov. 17.	do.
* Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1739.	do.
* Morris' (Lewis) Speech to the New Jersey Assembly.	do.
New Jersey. Address of the Council to Gov. Morris.	J. P. Zenger.
" Address of the Assembly to Gov. Morris.	do.
New York Gazette.	W. Bradford.
" Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.
* Short Direction for Unregenerate Sinners.	do.
Whitefield's Answer to the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letter.	W. Bradford.
" Letter to some Church Members.	do.?
" Marks of a New Birth.	do.
" Sermon on Intercession.	J. P. Zenger.
1740.	
Birkett's Almanac for 1741.	W. Bradford.
* Dickinson's Call to the Weary.	do.
Douglas' Account of the Throat Distemper.	J. P. Zenger.
Geestelyk died Bequaam on Gesongen, &c.	do.
* Journal of Assembly to May 13.	W. Bradford.
* " " " to July 12.	do.
* " " " to Nov. 3.	do.
* Kort Handleiding.	J. P. Zenger.
* Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1740.	W. Bradford.
New York Gazette.	do.
" " Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.
Quinby's Short History of a Long Journey.	do.
Reasons for writing a scandalous letter to Gov. Cosby.	do.
Whitefield's Voorbidding.	B. Franklin & J. P. Zenger.

(To be continued.)

THE WRECK OF THE SHIP "JOHN" IN DELAWARE BAY, 1732.

[We are indebted to Mr. George Vaux for the following account of the wreck of the ship "John" on the Brown Shoal in Delaware Bay, in December of 1732, written by one of his ancestors who was a passenger on board.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

"I fully intended to have sent thee word by way of New York, for expedition sake, but the ship altering her voyage frustrated my design. In this I purpose to acquaint thee with our unfortunate voyage and the unhappy accident that attended it, with as much brevity as the case will admit of. Which is as follows :

"After many storms and tempests, on the 13th of November, we were beat off the coast by a terrible N.W. wind, succeeded by thunder and lightning in a very surprising manner, insomuch that we could carry no sail the sea beating in upon us to that degree we expected we must unavoidably have foundered, or been beat to pieces, by the violence of the wind and waves. Our Captain, with several of his men, who had used the sea for many years, said they never had been in so violent a storm before. This held us three days and nights successively with little abatement. Thus were we beaten off the coast, and did not make the Capes 'till the 9th of December (which was *exactly* thirteen weeks from the day we set sail from Gravesend) two days before which we espied a sail, and it being calm we had an opportunity to speak with her, the Captain's name, Thomas Ramsey,<sup>1</sup> of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. She was bound for this place and beat off the coast as long as we, and their provisions almost spent; but, however, our

<sup>1</sup> Captain Thomas Ramsey commanded the snow "Speedy," and was unable to enter at the custom-house, Philadelphia, before March 6, 1733, owing to the ice in the river.

Captain desiring to know from whence she came, which was from St. Kitts, and her load consisting of Rum and Sugar, and we having no liquor but water, our Captain desired Ramsey to spare him some Rum, which he readily agreed to, and went on board with four sailors in order to get it, and brought away as much as he thought necessary. By this means our captain became acquainted with Ramsey. But now to return. On the ninth of December about eleven O'Clock in the forenoon, we made the Capes, and got in good anchoring ground. The next business was to get a Pilot. For which purpose our Captain sent his boat with Samuel Neave,<sup>1</sup> Anthony Duché, and Robert Best, passengers, and three sailors. The wind blew fresh when they went off, and in the evening blew hard, so we could not expect them that night; but the next morning being pretty still we fully expected them, with a pilot; not knowing that the Creek they were to go over was frozen so hard occasioned their stay. So we lay four days in expectation of a pilot, but none came off to us, nor was there but one in the place, and he was engaged to another ship. The next morning after we made the Capes, Capt. Ramsey with a passenger of his came to pay our captain a visit. It was a still morning as I hinted before, but towards evening it blew very hard so that they could not get on board their own ship though there was great need of Captain Ramsey, for his ship drove from her anchors, and he was afraid she would drive to sea again. This made his visit very uneasy to him, as well it might: for had his ship gone to sea with so few hands, and hardly any provisions, in all probability she would have been lost, and very likely all that was left on board his have perished for want: but through mercy it was not so, though Capt. Ramsey staid with us till the 3<sup>d</sup> day, not being able to get on board before. In the interval of which time Ramsey

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Neave, for more than a quarter of a century, was a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, being a member of the firm of Neave & Harman, and Neave, Harman & Lewis. In 1760 he joined the Schuylkill Fishing Club, and his autograph will be found among the signers of the Non-Importation Act. He died unmarried in 1774, and bequeathed £500, Pennsylvania currency, to the Pennsylvania Hospital.



had agreed with our Captain that his Boatswain should pilot our ship up, and himself would follow. Our Captain not knowing when a pilot would come off to him, and being both loth to lose time, takes the Boatswain for his pilot, with the recommendation from Ramsey, that he knew the bay these twenty years and had piloted up two ships before. All this was plausible, and all thought recommendation good enough. So the third day morning Ramsey went on board his own ship, for he could not possibly get on board before. When he went off he promised he would weigh anchor and follow us directly, so our Captain agreed to stay for him, and did so, from seven O'Clock in the morning till about ten, but could see no manner of forwardness in Ramsey, from which he concluded that he could not purchase his anchors, nor no likelihood of his overtaking us, and a fine wind springing up at S.W. our Captain began to be impatient, and the pilot very urgent to sail. Orders were given to weigh anchor and make sail directly, our sails were set, our top-sails unreefed, and away we went at the rate of ten miles or knots an hour. The tide being strong drew us very fast. This without doubt was pleasing to us, expecting to be at our port presently not knowing the river was froze over, which occasioned the ships to come back that had made a farther progress than we: but before we had sailed one league our captain spied as he thought his boat coming with his passengers and pilot in her, which indeed it was; but they had not the success to come to us, nor we the happiness to meet them, for the wind blew fresh, and we being some distance from them the pilot did not care to come for fear he should be drove upon the ice. It is true our captain lay-to for them, but, they going back, hastened us to go forward, and so left them to take care of themselves, the captain intending to call for his boat as he came back. We (the passengers) were concerned to think our companions and shipmates should be left behind: but our pilot on board our ship being eager to pursue his prize, who was to have full pilotage, and if he brought us up safe he was promised he should carry her down, for his encouragement; so orders

were given to make sail; but we had not sailed above 7 or 8 leagues<sup>1</sup> before we found to our very great surprise our ship fast aground, upon that sand, the great York a fine ship of five hundred tons was lost, and proving a burying place to many poor creatures on board her as it was to four poor creatures on board us.<sup>2</sup> The thought in relating it really affects my mind with sorrow, but to see the poor creatures perish was enough to pierce one's heart. The name of the sand I cant certainly tell, there being various opinions about it; but most seem to agree that it was the Brown which took its name from one Capt. Brown, of another good ship that was lost there, and ours is now lost makes the third: but not being material what name it is called by aground were we, and everybody was very eager to save their lives which we had no hopes of but our long boat. So we begged and prayed of our captain to hoist it out, but he pleaded with us not to be in a hurry, telling the ill consequences that attended it, and that many times more people have been saved by keeping to a ship than by trusting too much to a long boat. This way of arguing though reasonable could hardly prevail upon us, who looked upon ourselves as dying people. So he gave orders the boat should be got ready, and everybody being willing to save some clothes, as well as their lives, the captain himself setting an example, he permitted every person to put in a bundle, which was no sooner done but the women, and those that could not so readily help themselves, were ordered to get in first for fear they should be left behind. This was done I believe with a good intent on the captain's part, for everybody was ready to get in as fast as possible: but before the boat was hoisted along side it was almost half full of bundles, and seven people went in, but the boat being an old crazy thing, and

<sup>1</sup> The writer is incorrect as to the distance of the Brown Shoal from Lewes.

<sup>2</sup> The *Gazette* of December 12-19, 1732, contains the following notice of the wreck: "The Ship John is ashore upon a Shole about ten miles above Lewes, supposed to be irrecoverably lost, but the People are sav'd; we have however, no perfect Account of her. There are forty Servants on board."

the sailors being in confusion did not stand by their tackling as they ought to do, by which means she went down head-foremost, and stood right on end. The water flowed in immediately and the boat stove along side. Seven people went in, but four came up alive, and one of the four died presently after. This to be sure was a terrible sight indeed, to see four poor creatures perish before our eyes, and all hopes of being saved taken away from us. We had nothing now left us but a cracked ship, which we expected would be beat to pieces with striking so hard upon the sand. It was grievous to behold us in this deplorable condition, but to stand still would not do; so our captain advised us to lighten the ship, in hopes of getting her off. Accordingly we went about it and got out I believe near twenty tons of ballast. The next morning early we cut away our main mast, but all to no purpose, for we could not get her off. This being done our captain looked to see if he could see any sail coming our way, which he spied, and there was no less than six seemed to come pretty near us, which put new life in us all, expecting no less but they would send out their boats and save us, which might easily have been done at that time. They drawing near we made all the signals of distress imaginable, by firing off guns, and making false fires, yet so inhuman were they (although they have confessed they saw us), they would take no notice of us, which we thought barbarous to the highest degree. They laid the fault upon the pilot that went on the first ship. We contrived at last to make a little boat, though we had no tools fit for it, for the carpenter's tools were lost in the long-boat; however they nailed a few boards together, and three people were appointed to go in it—two sailors and a clergyman, who went purely to serve the company and to get relief with a letter from our captain of my writing. These poor creatures were twenty-two hours upon the open sea, in this small thing, and the weather being excessive cold froze the sailor's legs to the boat, and the clergyman, who was not used to such hardships, was froze to death soon after he got to shore, the top of his thumb dropping

off, as they told us, a little before he died. We were very much concerned to hear of his death. He was a good companion and seemed to be a religious man. I with many more, although our number was now reduced, was five days and nights on a wreck in the coldest time in the hard winter, which has been so severe that the inhabitants here say they scarcely ever saw the like, and to be in a cold wrecked ship in the open sea surely it was the greatest of mercies we perished not with cold. We had but little rest all the time we lay down it is true to keep ourselves together, for the ship struck so hard at times that it would drive us from one side to the other.

“Now it is proper to acquaint thee how we came to be delivered, which was by the all-sufficiency of an all wise Being, whose ways are past finding out. On the sixth day of our calamities, when we had given over all thoughts of being saved, for the weather has been so cold, and froze so very hard that we could not expect any ship to come to us for the ice. It happened that day, that a sloop came into the bay, which the inhabitants of Lewestown forced to come and save us: but when they heard our ship belonged to Hudson they did not care to move much about it, for he has a very bad name here, so we sped the worse for his sake: but this sloop was sent to save our lives. As for the goods I cannot give thee an account of what is saved, but certain it is that a great deal is damaged, and some lost, our ship having six foot water in her hold when they went for the goods. The goods that are saved are put on board Ramsey, who intends to come up as soon as the river is open and fit for ships to pass. It has been froze over three months already, & still remains impassable, for ships to come in or go out, which puts a stop to business entirely in this place.

“At Lewestown we landed,—a dismal spectacle to beholders, who seemed to sympathise with us in our affliction; but the inhabitants, those that kept public houses, made us pay severely for what we had. It's a poor little town, but plenty of provisions in this place. I *staid* twelve days, and

by chance or rather by Providence, found a friend or two. (One) would lend me, or Samuel Neave what money we had occasion for, his name Nath<sup>l</sup> Palmer, starch maker, in Philadelphia at whose house we now board and lodge. Thus have I gone through this unfortunate voyage and scene of affliction, for we *was* very hardly dealt by at sea, our captain being a selfish, arbitrary man, but for brevity sake I omit relating his unkind dealing with us, and the poor Palatines especially, who often complained they were almost starved.

“It may not be amiss to give thee some account of our travel by land. Lewestown is 150 or as some say 160 miles from this place. So N. Palmer bought S. Neave & I each a horse to ride to this town, which we accomplished in three days, and about three hours, which was very hard traveling indeed, being short days, and the roads deep with snow, and through woods that for a great many miles we could see no house.

“I have been told by divers persons here that if my goods had come in time, and in good order, they would have come to a very good market, Blankets, wigs and bed-ticks, with duffields, being almost never failing commodities here, and most woolen goods in the fall of the year. So if thou please to send me a parcel of the cheaper sort against next Fall, if thou approves of me staying here so long, it may be a means to set me up again. Thou mayest assure thyself I will use my utmost endeavours to make as good returns and as quick as possible. Though I confess this place is much at a loss for returns, and, their way of trading being by way of truck, there is very little money stirring.”

## WHAT RIGHT HAD A FUGITIVE SLAVE OF SELF-DEFENCE AGAINST HIS MASTER?

The trial of John Read for the murder of Peter Shipley, at the sessions of the Court of Oyer and Terminer held at West Chester, Penna., in November of 1821, from the particular circumstances attending it, excited an unusual degree of interest, even beyond the limits of the State. The accused had been tried in May for the murder of Samuel G. Griffith, and acquitted. The case was tried before Judge Darlington, president, and Judges Ralston and Davis, associates. Counsel for the Commonwealth, Dick (in the place of Dillingham, prosecuting attorney, who, having been Read's counsel in the former trial, was excluded from taking part against him in this), assisted by Barnard and Duer; for the prisoner, Tilghman and Bell.

Read, the prisoner, a negro, two or three years before came into Pennsylvania from Maryland and represented that, although he was free, an attempt had been made to hold him in slavery, frequently declared himself afraid of kidnappers, and often went armed. He married in Pennsylvania and had one child; hired a house in Kennet Township, and worked about in the neighborhood. On the night of the 14th of December, 1820, his wife was from home; he lay down, but felt uneasy and could not sleep, and then got up and made a fire. About midnight he thought he heard persons walking around the house,—one at length rapped smartly at the door. He asked what was wanted; the person answered they had a search-warrant for stolen goods. Read told them to go away; he believed them to be kidnappers, and if they were not, he had no stolen goods, and if they would wait until morning they might search the house. Soon after they began to force the door. He rolled a barrel of cider against it, and told them if they attempted

to come in he would kill them. They pried the door off the hinges, and it fell over the cider-barrel; at the instant he heard the click of a pistol, and called out, "It is life for life!" One of the persons said, "Rush on, Shipley; d—n the nigger, he won't shoot." A person attempted to enter, he shot him; another attempted to come in, he struck him with a club, the man fell on his knees, and as he arose Read struck him once or twice. Seizing his gun he ran to a neighbor's and told him that the kidnappers had attacked his house; that he had killed two, and asked for more powder, as he was afraid they would pursue him. He made no attempt to escape, and was arrested.

When the neighbors came upon the ground in the morning, they found Mr. Griffith lying on the bed in Read's house, dead. Mr. Shipley, the overseer, carried Griffith there, and then went to Mrs. Harvey's, about one hundred yards distant, and prevailed upon her to let him in. There he languished eight days and died. Read's club was found in the house, close by the cider-barrel; two pistols, loaded, one of them cocked, a whip, and a pair of gloves were found at the door; and a pair of handcuffs and a rope were found in the pockets of Mr. Shipley. A third pistol was found on Mr. Griffith. There were but two wounds upon Mr. Shipley.

It appeared sufficiently clear that Read was the child of Muria, formerly an African queen, recently a slave, and no proof of his manumission was shown. He was claimed by Mr. Griffith, from whose service he had absconded. Having ascertained where he was, Mr. Griffith, his overseer, Mr. Shipley, and two assistants, Minner and Pearson, came to the house occupied by Read, about midnight, and made the attempt which resulted in the death of both Griffith and Shipley, as related. The principal points disputed were, 1, Whether Mr. Griffith intended to take Read out of the State without taking him before a judge, in violation of the Act of Assembly; 2, Whether Read knew his master; 3, What right could Read, as a slave, acquire of self-defence in Pennsylvania? 4, Whether he returned, as stated that he

confessed to one witness, from the fence and beat Mr. Shipley. The case was fully and ably argued. Mr. Dick, for the Commonwealth, took up about one hour and a half in an argumentative address. He was followed by Mr. Bell, on behalf of the prisoner, and he by Mr. Tilghman, who spoke from three o'clock until after seven. Mr. Duer, in conclusion, on the part of the Commonwealth, contended that the master had a right under the Act of Congress, at any time and place, and at any hour, by himself or his agent, to seize his slave; that the slave had no right to resist his master; that his house was no protection; that, therefore, the master and the deceased Shipley, his overseer, were in the exercise of a legal right, and Read, in resisting, was perpetrating a wrong; that he must have known his master, and that the killing, in resisting the legal attempt to arrest him, was murder in the first degree.

Judge Darlington then summed up the evidence, and laid down the law in a charge of an hour and a half. He adverted to the delicacy of his situation, having been, on the other trial, attorney for the Commonwealth; but remarked that his regret was considerably diminished by the consideration that the jury were the judges of the law as well as the fact in the case before them. He gave a full and lucid exposition of the whole law on the subject. In respect to the construction of the Act of Assembly of 1820, on which much reliance was placed, he differed from the opinion of Judge Ross, delivered at Norristown. The counsel for the prisoner had contended that by this act the attempt to take any person claimed as a slave out of the State, without taking him before a judge to prove his right, was declared a felony; that from the time and circumstances of the attack, no doubt could exist but that it was the intention of the party to take Read out of the State, in violation of that act; they were, therefore, in the commission of a felony, and Read was justified in resisting unto the death. The counsel for the Commonwealth maintained that this act was intended to prevent kidnapping, or man-stealing; that it did not apply to a master who intended to arrest and reclaim



his runaway slave, whom, by the Act of Congress, he was authorized to arrest, or seize, when and where he could. But Judge Ross had decided that the act had reference to masters' seizing their slaves and taking them out of the State without going before a judge. He was of opinion that such was not the construction, inasmuch as the law so construed inflicted the same penalty (seven years' imprisonment in the penitentiary) upon the acknowledged master, reclaiming his slave and taking him away, as upon the kidnapper who should attempt to carry off a freeman; and this opinion was confirmed by the construction of the Supreme Court of the old Act of Assembly in relation to the same subject. He then examined the evidence and weighed it with great perspicuity and impartiality, expressing his opinion that there was not conclusive proof that Read knew his master or overseer, and intimating very clearly that the witness who testified that the prisoner confessed he returned and beat the deceased until he thought him quite dead, was mistaken.

The jury convicted Read of manslaughter, and he was sentenced to an imprisonment of nine years in the penitentiary.

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AN ACCOUNT OF A NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN  
AN AMERICAN PRIVATEER AND A BRITISH MAN-  
OF-WAR, 1778.

[The *London Chronicle*, October 6-8, 1778, contains the following account of an engagement between an American privateer (brigantine), mounting fourteen guns—4- and 6-pounders—and six coehorns, and the British ship "Minerva," commanded by Edward Morrison, of sixteen guns—6-pounders—and ten coehorns, off the Jersey coast, in lat. 38.40° N., and long. 73° W., in May of 1778.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

"On the evening of May the 25th, we discovered a sail astern, but there being little wind he did not come fast up with us. In the morning of the 26th, saw the vessel still astern, carrying all sail to come up with us. At half past

seven we had a squall, which obliged us to hand our top-gallant sails, and run before it; then we discovered the vessel to be a brigantine of force; we handed our main-sail, and took in most of our small sails. At eight o'clock he came up with us, it blowing then easy, he kept his head toward us, so that we could not see his whole force, and we suspected his attempting to board; on which we fired a cohorn, and hoisted our colours. He still keeping his station, we fired on board of him, and opened our stern ports; on seeing this he run up abreast, and gave us a broadside, hoisting the 13 stripes. We returned his broadside, and the action continued for one hour and 57 minutes, having obliged him to sheer off at ten o'clock. We were in no condition to follow him, 16 of our crew being killed and wounded; our scuppers on both sides running with blood (I may say) of as brave men as ever faced an enemy; our sails and rigging being mostly cut and destroyed, and all our masts very severely wounded. Our greatest distance from the privateer during the engagement, did not exceed the length of our ship; and we were often yard-arm and yard-arm, scarce clearing one another's rigging. Our topmast stay-sail, which continued set during the action, had 180 shot through it; 9 great shot, beside small ones through our ensign; 1 through our pendant; 13 shot in our mizen-mast; our main-mast shot through, and our fore-mast greatly damaged. I believe that the rebel was as much damaged in rigging as ourselves, and his loss of men must have been very considerable, he being quite crowded with them; he carried 6 swivels in his tops, and great quantities of their shot consisted of old iron cut square, old pots, old bolts, &c.

“About the middle of the engagement an alarm was raised that our ship was beginning to sink; on this a number of the men deserted their quarters, and among them the person who was at the helm; the captain rallied them instantly, took the helm himself, and while standing there a ball went through his hat. Such resolution was then shewn that had the ship been in a sinking condition, I am con-

vinced she would have gone to the bottom with the colours standing, every one on board being determined to sell his life as dear as he could. The rebel hailed us to strike but we could spare no time to answer him.

“We steered away in a very distressful situation for the Delaware, as the nearest friendly port; and on the evening of the 27th was off Egg-island, where we came to an anchor, intending to stop till the tide made; but in half an hour two row-gallies came off and viewed us. On hoisting our colours, one of them gave us three shot which we returned, and they left us. Then we hove up and stood across towards Cape Henlopen, and were close in with it in the morning, in hopes of meeting some of his Majesty’s ships, that would assist us with a Surgeon, and see us into a safe port; but we could not fall in with any; and it began to blow so fresh against us, that we could not carry sail, by our masts being wounded, therefore we bore away for New York; and in a few hours the Thames frigate (then commanded by Capt. Halloway) came up with us, from whom we got every assistance; and on the 30th of May we arrived at New York.

“Seven killed; nine wounded. Both the mates are of the wounded.

“P.S.—The report, during the engagement of the *Minerva* being sinking, arose from some of the enemy’s shot having gone through and through, which staved 14 puncheons of rum between decks.”

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Notes.*

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF JOHN ROADES AND HANNAH WILLCOX, 1692.—Whereas John Roades of the County Philadelphia and Hannah Willcox Daughter of Sarah Willcox of Schoolkill in the County aforesaid having declared their Intentione of Takeing Each Other as Husband and Wife before severall Men and Womens Meetings of the People called Quakers whose Proceedings Therein after deliberate Consideration Thereof and Consent of parties and Relations concerned being approved by the said Meetings.

AND alsoe the said John Roades and Hannah Willcox having Published their said Intentions in Writing according to the Lawes of this province Whereby the said Law is fulfilled. . . .

NOW these are to CERTIFIE all Persons whome it may concern that for the full Determination of their said Intentions this tenth day of the Ninth Month in the Yeare One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninty and two, they the said John Roades and Hannah Willcox in an Assembly of the aforesaid people Mett together for that end and purpose at the Dwelling House of Sarah Willcox aforesaid, according to the Example of the primitive Christians Recorded in the Scriptures of Truth did take each Other as Husband and Wife in Manner following (viz) he the said John Roades takeing the said Hannah Willcox by the Hand said friends in the feare of the Lord and Before you his people I take this my friend Hannah Willcox to be my wife promising as the Lord shall Inable mee to be unto her a faithfull and Loving Husband till Death shall part us. . . . AND the said Hannah Willcox in Like Manner takeing the said John Roades by the Hand said friends I Likewise do in the fear of the Lord and in the presence of You his people take John Roades to be my Husband promising to be unto him a faithfull and Loving Wife till Death separate us. . . . AND the said John Roades and Hannah Willcox as a farther Confirmation thereof did then and there to these presents Set their Hand AND wee whose Names are hereunto Subscribed are Witnessses of the same the Day and Yeare abovesaid.

Thomas Duckett	James Kite	Sarah Wilson
Anthony Morris	Thomas Canby	Ann Richardson
Paul Saunders	Job Bunting	Elizabeth Richardson
Griffith Owen	Stephen Wilson	Ann Roades
James ffox	Michael Blunston	John Roades
Joshua ffearne	W <sup>m</sup> Hudson	Hannah Willcox
W <sup>m</sup> Hudson	W <sup>m</sup> Troter	Sarah Willcox
William Powell	Rachell Jones	Joseph Willcox
Sam <sup>l</sup> Carr	Ruth Duckett	Adam Roades
Griffith Jones	Sarah Owen	Esther Willcox
John Brietwen	Elizabeth fox	Ann Willcox
Philip England	Elizabeth luf	Katherine Roades
Joseph Jones	Mary Hudson	Sarah Blunston
Jonathan Duckett	Mary Cotes	Elener Wood
James Coates	Ann Hudson	Rebecka ffearn
Joseph Richardson	Rebeckah Thaach	Sarah Bowne
John Warner	Barbara Peper	

A LIST OF GERMAN EMIGRANTS, 1773.—Rupp's "Collection of Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants to Pennsylvania" gives the arrival at the port of Philadelphia, 18th September, 1773, of the ship "Britannia," James Peter, master, from Rotterdam *via* Cowes, with two hundred and fifty passengers. Of this number one hundred and eighteen names are given. Bradford's *Journal* of 29th September contains the following advertisement:

## "GERMAN PASSENGERS.

"Just arrived in the Ship Britannia, James Peter, Master.

A number of healthy GERMAN PASSENGERS, chiefly young people, whose freights are to be paid to *Joshua Fisher and Sons* or to the Master on board the Ship lying off the Draw-bridge."

Among the recent accessions to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is an original manuscript endorsed: "Germans Landed from on board the Britannia 11 mo: 2<sup>d</sup> 1773," evidently prepared by an employé of Messrs. Joshua Fisher & Sons, which gives the names of fifty-three passengers, with the amount of their passage-money and expenses due. This list is particularly valuable as it gives the names of several males, females, and children not given by Mr. Rupp, and should be compared with his by all interested. We make a *verbatim* copy of the names:

Andreas Keym . . . . .	£26. 7.—	
Lena Bekker, his wife . . . . .	22. 2.—	
Expenses, 16 days . . . . .	1.12.—	£50. 1.—
<hr/>		
Hendrick Soneau . . . . .	20.15.—	
Dorothea, his wife . . . . .	20.11.—	
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	42.18.—
<hr/>		
Johann Fredrick Camerloo . . . . .	23.15.—	
Anna, his wife . . . . .	22. 1.—	
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	47. 8.—
<hr/>		
Simon Martz, Ann, wife, Anna Margareta, daughter. Expenses . . . . .	2. 8.—	
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Augustinus Hess . . . . .	19. 1.—	
Maria, wife . . . . .	18.19.—	
Anna Marg <sup>ta</sup> daughter . . . . .	19. 4.—	
Expenses . . . . .	2. 8.—	59.12.—
<hr/>		
Jacob Schott, } Anna, wife } . . . . .	17. 1.—	
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	18.13.—
<hr/>		
Christophel Schwer, } Anna, wife } . . . . .	50. 7.—	
	1.12.—	51.19.—
<hr/>		
John George Kunkell, } Anna, wife, } Catherina, daughter } . . . . .	41. 5.—	
Expenses . . . . .	3. 4.—	44. 9.—
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Jacob Steyheler . . . . .	£19.19.—	
Catharina, wife . . . . .	17.18.—	
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	£39. 9.—
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Bernard Schmit, } Margaretta, wife, } Turgen, son, } Catharina, daughter }	. . . . .	61. 5.—
Expenses . . . . .	3. 4.—	64. 9.—
<hr/>		
Andreas Otto, } Sophia, wife }	. . . . .	41. 7.—
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	42.19.—
<hr/>		
John Dan <sup>l</sup> Roth, } Anna, wife }	. . . . .	49. 8.—
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	51.
<hr/>		
Jacob Wanner, } Maria, wife }	. . . . .	20.15.—
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	22. 7.—
<hr/>		
Dan <sup>l</sup> Spees, } Anna, wife }	. . . . .	38.17.—
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	40. 9.—
<hr/>		
Dan <sup>l</sup> Spees, Jun <sup>r</sup> , } Anna, wife }	. . . . .	36.17.—
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	38. 9.—
<hr/>		
Christian Habert, } Anna Maria, wife }	. . . . .	43. 4.—
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	44.16.—
<hr/>		
Andreas Kirch, } Anna Maria, wife, } Maria Eliz <sup>a</sup> , daughter }	. . . . .	44. 9.—
Expenses . . . . .	2. 8.—	51.17.—
<hr/>		
Jacob Zwytser, } Johanna Barbara, wife }	. . . . .	42. 7.—
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	43.19.—
<hr/>		
Conrad Foltz, } Susanna, wife, } Maria, daughter }	. . . . .	51.—.—
Expenses . . . . .	2. 8.—	53. 8.—
<hr/>		
William Schwatz, } Anna Maria, wife }	. . . . .	35.16.—
Expenses . . . . .	1.12.—	37. 8.—
<hr/>		
Christian Nell . . . . .	20.—.—	
Expenses . . . . .	16.—	20.16.—
<hr/>		

Johann Jeremiah Snell . . . . .	£24.19.—	
Expenses . . . . .	16.—	£25.15.—
	<hr/>	
Gerrett Benengé . . . . .	23.11.—	
Expenses . . . . .	16.—	24. 7.—
	<hr/>	
Ant <sup>y</sup> Guerin . . . . .	21. 3. 6	
Expenses . . . . .	16.—	21.19. 6
	<hr/>	
Pierie Mullott . . . . .	21.—.—	
Expenses . . . . .	16.—	21.16.—
	<hr/>	
Gerturia Vogelesang . . . . .	17.18.—	
	16.—	18.14.—
	<hr/>	

The following memorandum is appended to the list: "Sund<sup>y</sup> at H. Haines; 1 Frying Pan; 1 large Iron Pot; Scales & Weights; some Flour, ab<sup>t</sup> a week; some salt Beef; some Barley & Rice; a chest belonging to G. Vogelesang. 1 bar<sup>l</sup> Bread will last near 2 weeks."

WASHINGTON IN 1789. A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF HIS RECEPTION IN NEW YORK.—From a communication of Dr. Walter Franklin Atlee to *The Times*, 20th February, 1889, we take the following extracts relating to the reception of President Washington in New York in April of 1789:

"In 1850 I was a resident, as substitute, in the Pennsylvania Hospital. When writing my name in the book kept for that purpose, and writing it as I usually have done,—Walter F.,—the old steward, Friend Allen Clapp, then eighty-two years of age, said, 'Thou must write thy name in full.' When Franklin was written, he exclaimed, 'Walter Franklin! When I was a lad I saw General Washington and Lady Washington come up the river in a boat, and walk on a carpet to Walter Franklin's house, where they were to stay, in New York.' My mother was the daughter of Walter Franklin, and she told me, when I spoke of this to her, that her father's father was Thomas Franklin, who came from New York, and married, in Philadelphia, the daughter of Samuel Rhoads, and the Walter Franklin in whose house General Washington resided in New York was an older brother of Thomas. A few years ago a letter written to Kitty Franklin Wistar, the daughter of Mary Franklin, who was married to Casper Wistar, of Brandywine, giving an account of the preparation of the Franklin house for Washington's reception, at the time of his arrival in New York, was shown to me, and I give here a copy of this part of the letter. It is dated New York, 30th of the Fourth month, 1789.

"Great rejoicing in New York on the arrival of General Washington; an elegant Barge decorated with an awning of Sattin, 12 oarsmen drest in white frocks and blue ribbons, went down to E. Town [Elizabethtown] last Fourth day to bring him up. A stage was erected at the Coffee House wharf covered with a carpet for him to step on, where a company of light horse, one of Artillery, and most of the inhabitants were waiting to receive him. They paraded through Queen Street in great form, while the music, the drums, and ringing of bells were enough to stun one with the noise. Previous to his coming, Uncle Walter's house in Cherry Street was taken for him, and every room furnished in the most elegant manner. Aunt Osgood and Lady Kitty Duer had the whole management of it. I went the morning before the General's ar-

rival to look at it—the best of furniture in every room—and the greatest quantity of plate and china that I ever saw before, the whole of the first and second story is papered and the floors covered with the richest kind of Turkey and Wilton Carpets—the house really did honour to my Aunt and Lady Kitty, they spared no pains nor expense in it. Thou must know that Uncle Osgood and Duer were appointed to procure a house and furnish it, accordingly they pitched on their wives as being likely to do it better. I have not done yet my dear, is thee almost tired? The evening after his Excellency's arrival a general illumination took place, except among friends and those styled Anti-Federalists, the latter's windows suffered some thou may imagine—as soon as the General has sworn in, a grand exhibition of fireworks is to be displayed, which is to be expected will be to-morrow,—there is scarcely anything talked of now but General Washington and the Palace,—and of little else have I told thee yet, tho' have spun my miserable scrawl already to a great length, but thou requested to know all that was going forward.'

“The ‘Uncle Osgood’ of this letter is the person who married Walter Franklin's widow. This, probably, caused the statement in Todd's story of New York that Washington went to the Osgood mansion.”

LETTER OF ZACHARIAH POULSON, JR., to DR. THOMAS PARKE.—The autograph collection of Mr. Charles Roberts contains the following interesting letter of Zachariah Poulson, Jr., librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia, to Dr. Thomas Parke, one of its directors. The latter resided on the west side of Fourth, between Market and Chestnut streets. [Benjamin] Poultney, [William] Rawle, and Richard Wells, who are named in the letter, were also directors of the library.

GERMANTOWN, September 27, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR,

The Anxiety I feel for your Safety has led me to make many Inquiries were seldom answered in a satisfactory manner I am induced to trouble you for the desired Information. I sincerely regret, with you, the loss of those of your Connections, and the many other valuable Citizens, who have fallen victims to the Disorder which is unhappily depopulating our City. Though I have, in some measure, withdrawn myself and family from its baneful Influences, yet, I sincerely lament its Effects and sorrowfully sympathize with those who are left within its reach and hourly behold its ravages. Your Situation is an hazardous one—Every precaution should be taken for your own preservation. For the sake of your dear Family—for the sake of your Friends—be careful of yourself. Let not your benevolence lead you beyond the bounds which Prudence dictates. Several of your Profession have already fallen—their friends and the Community at large have cause now to regret that they ventured too much and are no more in a Situation to be useful. If your numerous avocations will permit you to favor me with a few lines they will be highly acceptable. I stay with my wife's Uncle Jacob Knorr—a little above the seven mile stone.—If they are left with the widow of Reuben Haines, in Market-Street, they will be safely forwarded to me. Previous to my departure from the City I carefully secured the windows and doors of the Library, and directed one of my boys, who declined to leave the city while his parents remained there, to go around it daily—this service, he tells me, he faithfully performs. I was exceedingly anxious of obtaining your approbation of the measure, but I had not the pleasure of finding you at home. I have the hope, however, that the necessity of the Case will justify me to you and the other Directors. I am desirous of returning as soon as it can be done with safety, and, I shall esteem it a



particular favor if you will be pleased to give me an intimation of the happy time as soon as it arrives. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Rawle and family in health yesterday—if you have any Commands to him they may be conveyed to me by the above mentioned Channel and I will deliver them myself. The last time I notified the Directors to attend none came but Mr. Poultney—now, alas, he is no more! He staid with me two hours—our Conversation was, for the most part, serious—and made a deep impression upon me. It is said, That Those who *mourn* shall be *comforted*—We have now many Causes for *mourning*; but when shall we be *comforted*? When will it please the Almighty to remove the great Calamity which destroys our Relatives and Friends? It seems to be the duty of every Individual to unite in addressing the Great Disposer of Human Events to take from us this calamitous Scorge.

A few Persons who came from the City have died of the Disorder at and near Germantown. Doctor Warner of this place has had it above twelve days—it is said he is getting better—It is also reported that Mr. Pragers has it here. The people of this place dread it much—if a person from the City has only a common fever he is immediately forsaken. Two men in the neighborhood, who had the misfortune to lose their wives with the Fever, were necessitated to bury them with the assistance of only one person. I do not know of a house in this place in which a person from the City could get lodgings unless he could prove that he had been some days from the City. There are many Philadelphians here and in the neighbourhood. I had the pleasure of seeing Dr Wistar ride through Germantown—he looks better than I expected, but seems very feeble—He told me that he had handed Mr. Bache his Case for publication.

Next Thursday is the stated time for the Directors to meet; but, as the cause which prevented them from assembling on the fifth of this month still exists, it will be hardly necessary to notify them. Hardie left town before the Library was closed—Pray are any of the Officers and Directors in town beside yourself? Is my good friend S. Coates still with you? I hope our friend R. Wells is out of danger. I am very desirous of knowing how it is with you—do, therefore, favor me with a few Lines. The Bearer waits and I have only time to add, that

I am, with great Respect,  
Your sincere and much obliged  
Friend and Servant

Z. POULSON, JUN<sup>r</sup>.

DOCTOR THOMAS PARKE.

P.S. Mrs. Poulson is looking over my Shoulder and says I must not close this without adding her Compliments to you.

Friday, Three o'Clock in the Afternoon.

God preserve you and yours.

FORT ADAMS, CHICKASAW BLUFFS.—The following letters in the collection of Isaac Craig, Esq., Allegheny, Pennsylvania, determine the name of the fort erected at Chickasaw Bluffs in 1797, and also by whom it was named:

FORT ADAMS, CHICKASAW BLUFFS, October 23<sup>d</sup>, 1797.

SIR.

I had the pleasure to receive your favor of the 9th ultimo, together with dispatches from the Secretary of War, safe on 19th instant, as also a packet of Gazettes, for which I return you my sincere thanks. Mr. Toler will be detained a couple of days longer, as I wish to avail myself

of his return, being a confidential man, to send my dispatches to the General as well as to the War Office, and this will take me some time as it contains a lengthy correspondence. I have engaged a man by the name of Moore to assist Mr. Toler in ascending the river; I have made no agreement with him what sum he is to receive, for his services will be regulated by yourself on Mr. Toler's declaration of his merit. I have been at this place since the 20th of July last, and have erected a Fort which I have called Adams. I shall garrison it, and leave it about the 1st of next month, and repair to Natchez. Any more Gazettes that you may have preserved will at all times be thankfully received. Please to mention me to General and Colonel Neville, and all my friends in your quarter, and believe me, Sir, your

friend and respectful

Humble Servant,

I. GUION, Captain  
in the Army of the U.S.

[Isaac Guion, of New York, appointed captain Third Infantry, 1792; brigade inspector, 1796; major, 1801. He was a surveyor and inspector of revenue at Natchez, Mississippi, 1821, to his death, in February of 1825.]

CHICKASAW BLUFFS, Octbr 26<sup>th</sup>, 1797.

DEAR SIR.

. . . I have no news to give you whatever further than the Dons whom we had near neighbors in their armed galleys for some time were friendly. We have erected a strong Stockade Fort on the Bluff, with the consent of our great friends, the Chickasaws, on which the Flag of the United States was displayed on the 22d inst., and the Fort named Adams, in Honour to the President. I have lived since parting with you constantly in my Boat, which is now more than five months—a very pleasant time you may suppose it has been in this warm climate. . . .

Believe me with regard,

Yours,

JN. HETH.

MAJOR ISAAC CRAIG,  
Pittsburgh.

[Captain John Heth, of Virginia, was appointed ensign, 1790; lieutenant Third Infantry, 1791; captain, 1802.]

THE GENESIS OF THE UNITED STATES: A narrative of the movement in England (1605–1616) which resulted in the plantation of North America by Englishmen, disclosing the contest between England and Spain for the possession of the soil now occupied by the United States of America; the whole set forth through a series of historical manuscripts now first printed, together with a reissue of rare contemporaneous tracts, accompanied by bibliographical memoranda, notes, plans, and portraits, and a comprehensive biographical index, collected, arranged, and edited by Alexander Brown. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889.

From the prospectus of this important contribution to American history we make the following extracts:

“Mr. Brown recognizes the fact that the crucial period of English occupancy of North America was that included between the return of Weymouth to England in July, 1605, and closing with the return of Dale to England in June, 1616. This period witnessed the first foundation of English colonies in Virginia; it saw the moment of impending ruin, and it closed with the irrevocable establishment of the English race

on American soil. The method adopted in setting forth this history is the only one which can satisfy the historical student who desires not so much to know the opinion of an historian as to be furnished with the means of forming his own opinion. Mr. Brown recognizes this, and gives the reader all the contemporary evidence in the case, or bearing on the case, now attainable. He presents the documents, broadsides, and rare tracts in his narrative, in their historic order, as they came to hand in London or in the court of Spain. These documents and reprints are furnished with head-notes, which state explicitly their origin and present location, as well as the events which called them forth; with foot-notes explanatory of difficulties, and with editorial narrative which points out the relation which they bear to each other and to historical development. The whole number of documents contained in the work is three hundred and sixty-five. Of these seventy-one have been published before. The remainder, two hundred and ninety-four, are now for the first time given to the public. They include communications between Virginia and London, and confidential communications between the Spanish Court and its agents in London; agreements, contracts, constitutions, and records. There are petitions to Parliament, letters of Philip III. of Spain to Zuñiga, and from Zuñiga to Philip; from Newport to Salisbury; from Raleigh to Salisbury; from Captain John Smith to the treasurer of the company; from Velasco to the king of Spain; from Digby to James I.; from Gondomar to Philip; from Molino to Gondomar, and a great variety of other illuminating letters; passages from the records of the Grocers, Mercers, Merchant Taylors, Fishmongers, and other companies concerned in the colonizing movement, and a number of relations.

“In collecting and annotating these valuable documents, Mr. Brown has taken occasion to bring together a large collection of valuable prints from contemporary portraits of the prominent figures in the history. All of these are rare, and some possibly unique. The documents included in this work necessarily contain the names of a great number of persons, some of them persons of rank and distinction, many more persons of whom but little is known. Many of those named are the originators of families who are to-day largely represented in the United States. Mr. Brown has spared no pains to obtain every scrap of information which could throw light on the careers of these men, and he has condensed this information into a thorough and comprehensive biographical index, consisting of over one thousand entries. The entire work will be contained in two octavo volumes, of about 450 pages each. The publication will begin as soon as three hundred subscribers have been obtained. The price to them will be \$12 for the two volumes, bound in cloth.”

A HISTORY OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE CONVENTION FOR THE INVESTIGATION, DISCUSSION, AND DECISION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION, AND OF THE OLD NORTH MEETING-HOUSE OF CONCORD. By Joseph B. Walker. Cupples & Burd, Boston, 1888. 12mo, pp. 128. \$2.

Mr. Walker gives a faithful history of the old North Meeting-House, biographical notices of the members of the New Hampshire Convention that ratified the Constitution, and probably all that will ever be known of the debate on that question. The only authentic record of a speech made on the occasion that Mr. Walker has been able to discover is the abstract of that of General John Sullivan, published in the papers of the day. That attributed to Colonel Ebenezer Webster, Mr. Walker says, “was written out from tradition by a hand other than his own,

long after the convention." "The same," he adds, "may perhaps be true of the one credited to the Hon. Joshua Atherton upon the subject of slavery," which cannot be found to exist earlier than 1827, when it was published in the *New Hampshire Statesman*. In connection with the history of the ratification of the Constitution by New Hampshire it may be well to add that there can be little reason to doubt the truth of Madison's assertion that the impoverished condition of the State treasury at first precluded the hope that New Hampshire would send delegates to the Federal Convention. For some time she had allowed herself to be unrepresented in the Continental Congress, and although Madison wrote before the meeting of the Assembly, the only body that could appoint delegates to the Convention, he doubtless echoed the sentiments of the hour. When the Assembly met, and delegates were named, the question of means was settled, not by the authorities, but by public-spirited John Langdon. The evidence of this will be found in the *Independent Gazette* of Philadelphia for July 23, 1787. It reads as follows:

"PORTSMOUTH, July 7<sup>th</sup>

"We hear that his Excellency the late President Langdon will leave this town on Monday to join the Federal Convention. The prayers of the good will follow this distinguished patriot, who, when the public treasury was incapable of furnishing supplies, generously offered to bear the expense of himself and colleague on this important mission."

WILLIAM PENN IN AMERICA: OR AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE FROM THE TIME HE RECEIVED THE GRANT OF PENNSYLVANIA, IN 1681, UNTIL HIS FINAL RETURN TO ENGLAND. By William J. Buck. Philadelphia, 1888. 12mo, 424 pp. Price, \$2.50.

Notwithstanding the numerous biographies of the Founder of Pennsylvania which have been written, Mr. Buck, believing that there was still room for another, compiled the work before us. In it he has given, as far as possible, the daily occurrences and movements of Penn, dating from his first application for the grant of Pennsylvania, to his final return to England and the appointment of Deputy-Governor Evans, a period of upwards of twenty years. In his preface the author states that Penn's character is favorably sustained, that he had no desire to be partial, but to do him that justice to which he is fairly entitled. Neither does he seek to raise him up by reviling his enemies, but permits his actions to speak for themselves. Most of the pecuniary troubles which befell the Founder he attributes not so much to the opposition that he encountered as to his own mismanagement. In the compilation of his book, Mr. Buck has been careful and judicious, drawing largely from the Penn and Logan Correspondence, the Penn Manuscripts, Penn's Private Correspondence, the Claypoole Letter-Book, the Harrison Letters, the Logan Papers, and the Memoirs and Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; from the Records and Minutes of five Monthly and one Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends of Pennsylvania, and from other original sources. The type is neat and clear, the paper good, and an index renders it a useful book of reference. Edition limited to three hundred copies. On sale at Friends' Book Association, southwest corner of Fifteenth and Race Streets.

SAMUEL POWELL, OF PHILADELPHIA, NOT THE SON OF WILLIAM POWELL FROM SOUTHWARK, ENGLAND.—Until lately, Samuel Powell, the noted carpenter and builder of provincial Philadelphia, was considered to be either the son of the William Powell above mentioned, or

else a man the name of whose father was forgotten in the lapse of the last two hundred years. Of the two theories, I followed the former in my answer to "A. S. M." in the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. VIII. p. 120, 1884, because it then seemed the most probable. Since then, however, through investigations made by Mr. Charles Penrose Keith for the Real Estate Title Insurance and Trust Company, it is shown that there is really no proof of the said William being the father of the said Samuel,<sup>1</sup> while from researches made for me among the Quaker records of Somersetshire it appears that, considering said Samuel's age (about 83) at his death, in 1756, he may have been the son of either Gregory Powell or Samuel Powell, both of whom were neighbors in North Curry Hundred, said shire, and had sons named Samuel, between whom it is yet impossible to decide which came to Philadelphia, although the probabilities are in favor of the son of Samuel.

Since the full particulars of the matter would make this communication too long for insertion in this magazine, I have lodged them in manuscript at the Historical Society, where they can be consulted by those interested (*vide* Miscellaneous MSS., Vol. II.).

P. S. P. CONNER.

THE FIRST PRINTED FAMILY RECORD.—Dr. William H. Egle, in *Notes and Queries*, states:

We are in possession of what we consider the first family record published in America. It is a broadside, printed at Ephrata in 1763, of two octavo pages, on one sheet, 10½ by 8¼ inches. It is in German, and we give the following translation:

In the year of Christ, 1728, the 28th of March, was our son Daniel Bollinger born on the Conestoga.

In the year of Christ, 1730, on the 15th–16th of December, was our daughter Magdalena Bollinger born on the Conestoga.

In the year of Christ, 1732, on the 14th of February, was our daughter Anna Bollinger born on the Conestoga.

In the year of Christ, 1734, on the 15th of March, was our daughter Elizabeth Bollinger born on the Conestoga.

In the year of Christ, 1736, the 15th–16th of January, was our daughter Barbara Bollinger born on the Conestoga.

In the year of Christ, 1738, the first of January, was our son Christian Bollinger born on the Conestoga.

In the year of Christ, 1741, the 5th of May, was our daughter Sophia Bollinger born on the Conestoga.

In the year of Christ, 1743, in March, was our daughter Maria Bollinger born on the Conestoga.

In the year of Christ, 1748, the 12th of September, was Hans Rudolph

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Keith says, in his letter to me, "In examining, for the Real Estate Title Insurance and Trust Company, the records concerning William Powell, a first purchaser, and his family, I find no evidence that the Samuel Powell, of Philadelphia, carpenter, who married Abigail Willcox, was his son. Said William, of 'Southwark, Co. Surry, cooper,' was a cooper in Philadelphia County in 1686, having a wife named Christian, and died later than July 12, 1718. He had two sons: John, his heir apparent, who died after April 8, 1710, and who married Ann, daughter of David Harvard, and William, of Philadelphia, cooper, who married, 10th mo. 31, 1700, Elizabeth Kelly, and, 10th mo. 9, 1707, Sarah Armitt, and died about 1732, leaving a son, Samuel, also of Philadelphia, cooper, who married, 9th mo. 1726, Mary Raper, and, about 1730, Sarah, daughter of Thomas Roberts. This last Samuel died about 1750, and his widow married, 11th mo. 9, 1758, Jonathan Miffin."

Bollinger born in the Cocalico, on the Conestoga. The Sun and Mercury are his planets.

In the year of Christ, 1756, the 11th of February, between 7 and 8 o'clock in the morning, was Abraham Bollinger born into the world. The following planets were shining in the Heavens :

The Moon in Gemini.

The Sun in the Waterman.

Saturn in the Waterman.

Jupiter in the Seales.

Mars in the Crabs.

Venus in the Fishes.

Mereury in the Fishes.

LETTER OF DR. JOHN COWELL TO HIS FATHER, 1776.—The writer of the following letter, a surgeon's mate in the Hospital Department of the Continental army, studied his profession under Dr. William Shippen. After the war he removed to Trenton, New Jersey, where he engaged in private praetice, which was largely increased on the death of his brother, Dr. David Cowell. He died there 30th January, 1789, in his thirtieth year, from the lingering effects of fever contracted while in the hospital service.

AMBOY AUG 9th 1776

DEAR AND HONOURED FATHER—

I have just sit down to write you a few lines to let you know that I am well, hoping these few lines may find you in health. I arrived here yesterday after a very tedious and wearisome journey. I have little news to tell at present, there is a deserter that swam over from Staten Island, that brings us intelligence that there are about 14,000 men there fit for duty, and 2000 sick. A few nights before I came there were over 150 men, going over to Staten Island to get intelligence by taking some of their out-guards, but their orders were countermanded just as they were ready to go, and there will be no occasion to go now for they have got all the intelligence they desire by the deserter, it is thought that we shall attack Staten Island in a few days from all quarters. We have about 40 men sick in this Hospital now and expect more every day.

Dr Shippen is gone to Philadelphia, but we expect him back next week, the Hospital is in the house where Charles Pettit, Secretary, lived, it is a very pleasant place near the water, we live very well or at least as well as can be expected. I should be glad if Eunice would send me a gown of any sort; I dont care what it is, if it is but eool, for it is a thing that I want very much, there are none of the mates without them but me—I have nothing more to tell you at present, expect to have more news next time I write so I remain your loving and affectionate son.

JOHN COWELL.

FORM OF INDENTURE OF APPRENTICE, 1745.—This Indenture Witnesseth, that Henry Drinker junior, son of Henry Drinker of the City of Philadelphia, Scrivener, Doth By Virtue of these Presents (with y<sup>e</sup> Advice & Consent of his Father) put himself Apprentice to George James of s<sup>d</sup> City Shopkeeper. With him (or Assignee Provided it be his son Able James) to Live & as an Apprentice to serve from the date hereof Untill the Expiration of Four Years and one month During which Time the s<sup>d</sup> Apprentice his Master, for the Time being, Faithfully shall serve his Seerets keep his Lawful Commands readily obey. He shall not in any Wise damage his said Master, nor Waste his Goods, nor Lend them unlawfully to any. He shall not Buy nor Sell, Nor absent

himself at any Time from his Master's Service without his Leave. But shall diligently & Circumspectly attend his Masters Business of Shop keeping during the aforesaid Term of Four Years and one Month. And the said Master shall Teach or Cause his s<sup>d</sup> apprentice to be Taught & Instructed in the best Method he can of Shop keeping, or Retailing Goods & Bookkeeping. And Learn or Cause him to Learn Arithmetick as far as the Rule of 3 Direct & the Rule of Practice. And shall find & provide for him sufficient Meat Drink, Apparel, Lodging & Washing during the s<sup>d</sup> Term And at y<sup>e</sup> End thereof give him One good New suit of Apparel besides y<sup>e</sup> rest of his Wearing Cloaths. In Witness whereof the said Parties have to these Presents interchangeably set their Hands, & Seals Dated y<sup>e</sup> first Day of the Eleventh Month Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred & forty four/5.

GEO. JAMES [LS]

Sealed & Delivered

In the Presence of

HENRY DRINKER,

WILLIAM BENNETT.

HISTORIC FAMILIES OF KENTUCKY, FIRST SERIES. By Thomas Marshall Green. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati. 8vo, pp. 304. \$2.

Under this title the author has written of the families of McDowell, Logan, and Allen, and those with whom they have intermarried. Many of them had Scotch-Irish ancestors, who found their way to Kentucky from Pennsylvania and the Valley of Virginia. So many of our citizens can trace their origin to this sturdy and energetic race that the book before us should command a host of readers. Among the families spoken of are those of Alexander, Allen, Anderson, Andrews, Ball, Barbour, Bell, Benton, Birney, Blair, Bowman, Brashear, Breckinridge, Brown, Buford, Bullitt, Burden, Butler, Campbell, Carlisle, Corrington, Carson, Caruthers, Carthrae, Chrisman, Christian, Clarke, Clay, Crittenden, Cummings, Dickson, Drake, Duke, Fontaine, Frogg, Hall, Harberson, Hardin, Harvey, Harvie, Hawkins, Helm, Innes, Irvine, Gordon, Jones, Kuth, Kirk, Le Grand, Lewis, Logan, Lake, Lyle, Madison, Marshall, McAlpine, McClure, McClarty, McClung, McDowell, McKnight, McPheeters, Metcalfe, Miller, Moffett, Monroe, Montgomery, Moore, Murray, Neil, Newton, Patton, Parker, Poxton, Pepper, Pickett, Preston, Price, Randolph, Reade, Reed, Reid, Smith, Starling, Stuart, Strother, Taylor, Thornton, Todd, Venable, Warren, Washington, Woodson, Wallace. Besides these the names of many that occur in the narrative.

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF THE MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS, PHILADELPHIA, 9 MO. 25, 1720.—“This meeting being informed that Richard Robinson, a person of our profession, hath lately been guilty of speaking divers slighty and disrespectful words in derogation of the King, which this meeting highly resents, as being repugnant to our known principles and practice, and appoints Hugh Durborrow and John Warder to let the said Richard Robinson know, that if he do not condemn the same, and give such proofs of his allegiance as may be requisite, this meeting will be obliged, as in duty bound, to testify against him, by publickly disowning him to be of our peaceable community.

“10 Mo. 30. The friends appointed to let Richard Robinson know the resentment of this meeting on the report of his speaking slightingly of the king, inform the meeting, that Richard acknowledged himself sorry for what he had said, and expressed a willingness to give any satisfac-

tion friends should reasonably desire, and accordingly sent in a paper condemning his imprudent conduct &c, which paper of condemnation with the minute of the last Monthly Meeting relating to him, this meeting desires Thomas Griffith to read publickly in the close of the morning meeting next first day of the week, and that Richard do attend the meeting, and stand up while the paper is reading."

BEQUESTS TO FUNDS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Through Mr. John Jordan, Jr., executor of the estate of the late William Man, of this city, the Society has received the following bequests, the testator directing that the principal be invested by the trustees and the interest applied to the funds specified :

To the Library Fund . . . . .	\$8,000.00
“ Binding Fund . . . . .	2,000.00
“ General Fund . . . . .	5,000.00
	\$15,000.00

Mr. Man was elected a life-member of the Society 25th April, 1864. He was the youngest son of the late Daniel Man, sea captain and merchant, of this city, and was born 30th September, 1817. After receiving a part of his education at the Moravian school, Nazareth Hall, in this State, he followed for some years his inclination for the sea. Since 1866, Mr. Man has resided in England, where his contributions to various local charities have been liberal. He died 12th October, 1888, at Woodbridge, in Suffolk, the home of his ancestors, where his remains are interred. Notwithstanding his long absence from his native country, Mr. Man always took an interest in the welfare and prosperity of our Society.

A VISIT TO THE BATTLE-FIELD OF NEW ORLEANS.—From a letter dated at New Orleans, 24th December, 1815, and addressed to a gentleman of this city, we take the following extracts :

“ Now to the ground—Six miles from the city is the headquarters of Jackson, and two and a half miles distant, Pakenham’s; between is the battle-ground strewed with shot of all sizes. The burial place is three large square holes; to appearance they were not large enough to contain the whole of their dead, as there are a large number of human skulls and bones unburied—even on the graves the bones are sticking out of the ground. The remains of a great number of cartridge-boxes, knapsacks, red-coats, &c., are still to be seen. I searched a long time for a British soldier-button, but could not find any, so I carried to the ship three shot, a 24, 18, and 9, and when we return to Philadelphia you shall have the choice of either. They were found on the British side, so that you may rely upon their being Jackson’s pills. The ground is entirely barren, occasioned, it is said, by the blood of the killed and wounded heating the ground so as to destroy all the grass. One of my companions brought away a skull, ‘for,’ said he, ‘shot may be got anywhere, but a skull will be indisputable evidence that I have been on the battle-ground at New Orleans.’ ”

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF JOSEPH BURGIN WITH JANE SILVER, 1692.—The following is a certificate of a marriage solemnized in open court at Salem, New Jersey, as recorded in the Minute Book No. 2, on file in the office of the Secretary of State at Trenton, New Jersey :

These may certifie all whom itt may concernc that Joseph burgin of y<sup>e</sup> town of Salem in y<sup>e</sup> province of West Jersey, Carpint, & Jane Silver



of y<sup>e</sup> sd town, Spinst, Did on this twentie third day of March 169½ after due publication of their intentions of marriage according to y<sup>e</sup> laws of this province in y<sup>e</sup> case provided take each y<sup>e</sup> other as man & wife after y<sup>e</sup> manner & forms of y<sup>e</sup> church of England. in witness whereof they have hereunto sett their hands before uss whose names are hereunder written.

Present at y<sup>e</sup> marriage

Jno Worlidge.	Justice
Tho Johnson	Tho York
Jinett Johnson	Joshua Jackson
Sam Hedge	Rebeka baker
Benjamin Acton	Anna Hedge
W <sup>m</sup> Elliot	Mary beere
Jonathan Beere	Grace paine
John Allin	Chrystia Acton
Charles Rowe	Mary York

Recorded y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> of December 1694 by me

SAM HEDGE  
Recorder.

CHRISTOPHER SAUR, JR., LOYALIST.—The following extracts are taken from Davis's "Memoir of Aaron Burr:"

"Chistopher Sower, 1st March, 1779, says,—An association is signing here (New York), according to which the Loyalists are to form themselves into companies of fifty men each; choose their own officers; to have the *disposal* of all prisoners by them taken; to make excursions against the rebels, plunder them, sell the spoil, appoint an agent to receive the moncy, and to divide it among them in equal shares.

"On the back of Mr. Sower's letter Mr. Galloway has made, in his own handwriting, this endorsement: 'Mr. Sower is a German refugee at New York, and a person of the greatest influence among the Germans in Pennsylvania.'" S.

ARCHBISHOP HARSNETT'S SCHOOL.—His Excellency, Governor James A. Beaver, has forwarded to us the circular issued on behalf of the Governors, Masters, and Scholars of Archbishop Harsnett's School, Chigwell, in the County of Essex, England, founded in 1629. It was at this school that the Founder of Pennsylvania received his education, whose name attaches still to one of its dormitories, and the room in which he was taught is still its principal school-room. The reputation of the school is high among the other public schools of England. The Governors propose:

1. "To establish *Penn Scholarships* in the school, so as to attract clever boys to it, or to assist boys in needy circumstances.

2. "To found Exhibitions to the University of Oxford, or of Cambridge, to be called the *Penn Exhibitions*.

3. "To erect *Penn Buildings*, to contain a Gymnasium and Five Courts, a Library and Museum."

"Will you help us," states the circular, "to accomplish one or the other of these objects, to enable us to carry on and develop our work in the memory and to the honor of your distinguished Founder?"

MINVIELLE FAMILY, THEIR ORIGIN AND ARMS.—The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has in a bound volume of manuscripts a deed from which I take the following brief extracts, dated April 9, 1706. "Isabeau Minvielle now living in the City of London Spinster and

lately living at Montauban in France One of the daughters of Peter Minvielle late of Montauban deceased," mentions "my brother David Minvielle merchant now in London." "My uncle Gabrielle Minvielle Late of New Yorke Merchant. Deceased," and speaks of his will 8th March 1697/8. The deed is sealed with an heraldic seal, partly defaced, a tree to the left of the shield, in the field, and some other object. This is, however, sufficient for identification. For a further account of this family see Baird's "Huguenot Emigration to America," Vol. II. pp. 138 to 143. P.

SOCIETY FOR THE RELIEF AND EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR OF  
PHILADELPHIA.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, That Henry Drinker hath contributed Ten pounds to the Relief and Employment of the Poor of the City of *Philadelphia*, District of *Southwark*, Townships of *Moyamensing*, *Passyunk*, and the Northern Liberties; and is thereby become one of the Corporation of Contributors, vested with all the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of a Member thereof, according to An Act of Assembly made to encourage the same.

Witness my Hand, and seal of the said Corporation this Twentieth Day of June 1766.

JERE<sup>th</sup> WARDER  
Trea<sup>r</sup>

[Seal of Corporation.]

HALL AND GIBBS, RECORD OF SURNAMES.—The Rev. Charles H. Hall, rector of Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, New York, sends the following record copied from old manuscripts in his possession: "Lydia Gibbs, born in Boston, January 26, 1669, married October 7, 1692, to Hugh Hall, Esq., of Barbadoes, died Sept. 11, 1699, and buried in a tomb at church-door in Philadelphia, which must have been Christ Church."

### Queries.

"THE CABINET," NEWSPAPER.—While recently examining some old letters of my grandfather, who resided in Washington, D.C., towards the close of the last and beginning of the present century, the following extracts attracted my attention. Where may I find a file of this paper, and what is known of its publisher?

"A Mr. Lyon, son of Matthew Lyon, the spitler, who was presented with a wooden sword by Gen. Gates at Ticonderoga, for deserting his post at Onion River, at this time established a printing office at Georgetown. He published a paper twice a week, called *The Cabinet*. This paper appeared to be more than usually charged with scurrility; his artillery to be leveled chiefly against the President. He copied from the *Aurora* and other despicable papers, all that he could find against Mr. Adams, not being able to originate anything of the kind himself. Mr. Lyon soon received that treatment, which his ignorance and insolence deserved—he was taken at a public house and severely chastised by the foot and rattan as his slanderous abuse merited. He immediately left the city, taking his press with him.

"We may next expect to hear from him in Tennessee, editing *The Cabinet* under the inspiration of his father, who is an old and experienced Democrat and mover of sedition, for which he made trial of the virtues of the gaol in Vermont; and altho' he persevered in the application for six months, yet it is said that he found but little benefit thereby, as he still continues intent upon the disorganizing system. It is hoped, that

if all other prescriptions fail, a specific remedy will be found for him and the whole clan, in the halter and gibbet." J. N. P.  
Albany, N. Y.

MORGAN CONNOR (OR O'CONNOR), LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, COMMANDANT OF THE SEVENTH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT IN THE REVOLUTION.—He was lost at sea in the winter of 1779. Letters of administration in his estate were granted to Dennis McCarthy, September 8, 1780. (Vol. I. p. 31, No. 47, Register of Wills' office, Philadelphia.) Dennis McCarthy, Bryan O'Hara, and Patrick Byrne gave bonds. In the second session of the Eleventh Congress the heirs (names not given) of said Morgan Connor petitioned for arrears of pay, etc., due him (page of Journal, 176). On January 31, 1810, an adverse report was issued. Information is desired regarding the family, parentage, and birthplace of this meritorious officer, with the names of his heirs.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

INFORMATION WANTED.—Can you inform me where Robert Allison, who was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in December term, 1798, was born, and when? Also when and where he died? And any other information in regard to any official position he may have held. The same information is desired of the following other lawyers in Martin's list of the "Bench and Bar," viz.:

William Anderson, admitted about 1785.

George Armstrong, admitted March 8, 1796.

George Ashbrook, admitted December term, 1798.

Samuel Yorke Atlee, admitted March 4, 1829.

Wm. Richardson Atlee, admitted December 15, 1787.

William Ayres, admitted December term, 1798.

Thomas A. Armstrong, admitted April 27, 1816.

Daniel Addis, admitted June 7, 1808.

Edward Allen, admitted about 1785.

John Allston, admitted March 8, 1830.

E. S. S.

SAMPLE OR SEMPLE.—In the "Bench and Bar," p. 308, will be found  
"Admitted to the Phila. Bar.

"Sample, Cunningham, Dec.—1798.

" David, Lancaster, Apl. 10. 1772.

" Steele, " June—1796."

Can you give me any account of the above lawyers? When were they born? when did they die? Were they related to one another? and what important judicial or other position did they occupy? Is the name Sample or Semple?  
J. HILL MARTIN.

NAVAL MEDAL.—Information is requested as to the whereabouts of the silver medal presented to the "nearest male relative of Lieut. William S. Bush, U.S.N.," who was killed in the engagement between the "Constitution" and the "Guerrière," in August of 1812. The medal is two and one-half inches in diameter, bears a relief portrait of Isaac Hull, around which are the words: "Peritos Arte Superat Jul. MDCCCXII. Aug. Certamine Fortes." On the reverse side is the scene of a naval engagement, above which is: "Horæ Momento Victoria;" and below: "Inter Const. Nav. Amer. et Guer. Angl." L. B. J.

COUNTERFEITING COLONIAL MONEY.—Will the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE kindly inform me whether any person was ever hung for counterfeiting Colonial money?  
H.

ROBERTS.—Information is desired about the ancestry and descendants of — Roberts, who came over with William Penn in 1699, and settled in Upper Darby, near Philadelphia. His daughter Martha married Thomas Evans, son of Lot Evans, who emigrated from Wales same time as — Roberts.

M. DE BRULS, ENGRAVER.—Can any one tell me where an engraver, M. De Bruls, lived,—possibly in Philadelphia? I wish to ascertain the date of a book-plate signed by his name. R. B.

MUSSER—PEPPER.—Information is desired of the ancestry and descendants of the Musser and Pepper families, who were settlers of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, early in the last century. West Philadelphia. MOTZER.

SITGREAVES.—Information is wanted concerning the parentage of William Sitgreaves, during the Revolutionary period a noted merchant of Philadelphia; also that of his wife, Susanna. J. B.

CHARLES COXE, OF SIDNEY.—Information is desired concerning the parentage of Charles Coxe, of Sidney, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, who married, 1759, Rebecca Wells, of Philadelphia. R. S.

FOOTMAN.—What is known concerning the parentage of Richard and Eleanor Footman, who resided in this city at the close of the eighteenth century? C. C. T.  
Darby, Pa.

MARKOE.—Information is requested of the ancestry of Abram Markoe, for some time captain of the First City Troop. S. T. D.  
Bristol, Pa.

LIGHT.—Who were the parents of John Light, who settled in Lancaster County prior to the Revolution, and that of his wife, Catherine Britzius? M.  
Reading, Pa.

### *Replies.*

BLACKWELL FAMILY RECORD. (See PENNA. MAG., Vol. XII. p. 497.)—In the Old Episcopal church-yard, Allentown, New Jersey, are two large vaults, side by side, covered with a large slab, on which are these two inscriptions: "Isaac Price Died February 25th 1768 Aged 46 years. Mary Blackwell Died April 7th 1766 Aged 21 Years." As these are on the same slab, a kinship was likely between the Prices and Blackwells. The Rev. Robert Blackwell, minister of St. Mary,—“Old Colcstown Church,”—was made rector, November 19, 1772. He married Rebecca, a daughter of Joseph Harrison, and resided in Haddonfield. During the Revolutionary War he became a chaplain in the army, and the church was again left without regular service. (Clement's "First Settlers in Newtown Township, N. J.," p. 209.) Hinchman and Harrison are well-known Haddonfield families. I think, therefore, these Bible records belong to those of the name in New Jersey. It is also noticeable that the names of four Blackwells occur among the soldiers of the Revolutionary War from Hunterdon County, New Jersey. (See Stryker, p. 509.) W. J. P.

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THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.<sup>1</sup>

BY HAMPTON L. CARSON, ESQ.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

We have assembled to-night for the purpose of commemorating an interesting and important national event. We have met in this beautiful hall, dedicated to the muse of history and adorned with visible reminders of the heroic past, in obedience to the sentiment that no marked event in our national history should be permitted to pass without a gathering of the people, in honor of the deeds of our illustrious sires, and in pious gratitude to God for the blessings of liberty. These commemorative celebrations are of priceless value. They serve to keep alive the recollection of the past; they reanimate the aged; they kindle the enthusiasm of the young; they instruct the ignorant; and promote the careful study of our institutions. They destroy the barriers of local prejudice and sectionalism, and knit in closer bonds of union the members of our great republic. They are

<sup>1</sup> A paper read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April 6, 1889, to commemorate the first meeting of the First Congress of the United States.

occasions upon which we renew our vows of fealty to the Constitution. Eloquence, poetry, and philosophy find in them fresh sources of inspiration. The pulse of the patriot is quickened, the sympathies of statesmen are broadened, while the souls of all true lovers of liberty according to law are lifted up and purified. During the past decade

“What great events have chased the seasons by,  
Like gale-blown waves beneath a thundering sky!”

At Lexington and Bunker Hill, at Philadelphia in 1876, at Saratoga and Trenton, at Brandywine and Germantown, at Valley Forge and Monmouth, at Stony Point and Charleston, Savannah, and Eutaw Springs, we met to commemorate the self-sacrificing struggles of our sires. At Yorktown we celebrated their final triumph and deliverance from bondage. But eighteen months ago the citizens of thirty States met in our city—the city of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution—to applaud the completion of the structure of our government by its architects and builders, and its solemn dedication to the service of the people and mankind. We now stand upon the threshold of the Centenary of their last great act. The inauguration of Washington was their crowning work. Their labors were then ended, and our ship of State, freighted with the rights of men, and floating from her mast-head the banner of constitutional freedom, was launched upon the sea of Time, in which the centuries are but as waves.

I do not intend to anticipate the thoughts appropriate to the celebration of the 30th of April, but to invite your attention to an act which, though less imposing, was none the less important than the inauguration of the President.

We meet to commemorate the first meeting of the First Congress of the United States.

The old Congress of the Confederation, among its last acts, had provided that the First Congress under the Constitution should convene in the city of New York on the 4th of March, 1789. On that day but eight members of the Senate and thirteen of the House of Representatives ap-

peared in their respective halls and took their seats, and both Houses adjourned from day to day until the 1st of April, when, a quorum of the House being present, an organization was effected by the choice of Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, as Speaker, and John Beckley as Clerk, both gentlemen being selected by ballot.<sup>1</sup> It was not until the 6th of April, however, that a quorum of the Senate was present, so that this is the natal day of our National Congress, which, under the Constitution, consists of two bodies, a Senate, in which the States are equally represented, and a House of Representatives, in which the people of the States are represented in proportion to their population. In their aggregate capacity, both are representatives of the people of the United States.

This feature of the Constitution was a novelty. The Continental Congress had consisted of but one body, and the debate in the Federal Convention upon the respective merits of a single chamber, or of the bicameral system, as it was termed by Bentham, had been warmly contested, the ultimate decision being in favor of the latter, although stoutly opposed by Dr. Franklin.

During the first week of its sessions the House had proceeded to the appointment of a Committee upon Rules and Orders of Procedure, and was actually engaged in the consideration of a resolution relating to the form of oath to be taken by its members to support the Constitution of the United States, when, on the morning of the 6th of April, a message was delivered by Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, stating that a quorum of the Senate had been formed, that a President had been elected for the sole purpose of opening the certificates and counting the votes of the electors of the several States, in a choice of a President and Vice-President of the United States, and that the Senate was then ready to proceed in the presence of the House to discharge that duty.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Annals of Congress," compiled by Joseph Gales, Sr., Washington, 1834, Vol. I. pp. 16-946; "History of Congress," Philadelphia, 1834, Vol. I. pp. 9-24.

<sup>2</sup> "Annals of Congress," Vol. I. p. 97.

The House responded through Mr. Boudinot, of New Jersey, that it was ready forthwith to meet the Senate, and the Speaker, accompanied by the members, filed into the Senate chamber in the west wing of Federal Hall, at the junction of Wall and Broad Streets.

It was a solemn hour when John Langdon, of New Hampshire, who twelve years before had pledged private plate and commercial credit to win the battle of Bennington, arose and opened and counted the votes, whereby it appeared that George Washington had been elected President and John Adams Vice-President of the United States of America.

The world had never witnessed such a scene as this. It had contemplated with awe the making of consuls and dictators, the crowning of kings, the proclamation of emperors. But the chariot-wheels of the conqueror had been driven over the necks of the people, and the gilded barges of monarchs had been launched upon the tears of their subjects. The air had been often convulsed with the cry, "The king is dead,—long live the king!" But now a scene of novel yet sublime simplicity was witnessed: a new political character had been created. Henceforth no tyrant, knave, or fool could plead hereditary right to rule; henceforth the ruler was to be the servant of the people, elected by the free ballots of freemen, while the welkin rang with joyous shouts, "Long live the President of the United States; forever live the Constitution and the Union; forever live the liberties of America!"

Thus was the government happily organized. It must have been a profound relief to those earnest patriots who had so long waited in patience for the dawning of day. The years which had succeeded the treaty of peace had been dark indeed. Political independence, it is true, had rewarded the exertions of our arms, but bankruptcy and social disorder, lawlessness and civil paralysis, had seized the State, and the brightest anticipations of those lion-hearted men who had met the dangers of July, '76, had turned like Dead-Sea apples into ashes. The Constitution, which was ordained to provide a remedy, had been adopted only after a



long and bitter struggle, and had encountered the opposition of such men as Patrick Henry, Samuel Chase, and Luther Martin. Gerry, of Massachusetts, and Mason and Randolph, of Virginia, had discredited the instrument by their refusal to sign. The victory had been won by Madison, of Virginia, Wilson, of Pennsylvania, Hamilton and Jay, of New York, and Ellsworth, of Connecticut. When the Constitution was before the people for adoption, and the result was in doubt, Gouverneur Morris wrote to Washington as follows: "I have observed that your name to the Constitution has been of infinite service. Indeed, I am convinced that if you had not attended the Convention, and the same paper had been handed out to the world, it would have met with a colder reception, with fewer and weaker advocates, and with more and more strenuous opponents. As it is, should the idea prevail that you will not accept the Presidency, it will prove fatal in many parts. The truth is, that your great and decided superiority leads men willingly to put you in a place which will not add to your present dignity, nor raise you higher than you already stand."<sup>1</sup>

And when, on the morning of the 4th of March, solemnly appointed by law for the new government to go into operation, Robert Morris and John Langdon saw but six associates present in the Senate, and Fisher Ames and Elbridge Gerry met but ten fellow-members in the House, and the long days darkened into night until a month had passed, it would not have been surprising if gloom and despair reigned in the breasts of those who maintained their vigils and their trust. Surely it was an auspicious omen that the long and distressing delay was broken by the appearance in the Senate, on the 6th of April, of Richard Henry Lee,—the man who, on the 7th of June, 1776, had proposed in Congress: "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States: that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connec-

<sup>1</sup> Gouverneur Morris to Washington, Philadelphia, Oct. 30, 1787; Elliott's "Debates," Vol. I. Appendix, p. 505.

tion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.”

Who were the members of the first Senate of the United States? Among them we note eleven of those who had been members of the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States. There was the ardent and self-sacrificing Langdon. There was Caleb Strong, “a statesman of consummate prudence from the Valley of the Connecticut, a graduate of Harvard, and a fit representative of the country people of Massachusetts.” There too was Oliver Ellsworth,—a giant in the law, the author of the Judiciary Act, and the future Chief-Justice of the United States. At his side sat that accomplished scholar and polished debater, William Samuel Johnson. Beyond was Rufus King,—the man who had inspired the soul if not the language embodied by Nathan Dane in the famous Ordinance of 1787. His colleague was Philip Schuyler, whose military laurels had been unjustly snatched by Gates. New Jersey had sent William Paterson,—the author of the plan in the Federal Convention which bore fruit in the establishment of the Senate and the reserved powers of the States, and subsequently an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Pennsylvania was represented by Robert Morris, whose reputation as a financier can never die, and William Maclay, a sturdy Democrat and witty annalist, from whose “Sketches of Debate in the First Senate of the United States” we derive the most life-like and suggestive portraits. There too was George Read, of Delaware, and Charles Carroll, of Maryland, both signers of the Declaration of Independence. From Virginia came Richard Henry Lee and William Grayson; from Georgia, William Few, a modest but not unimportant member of the Federal Convention; while from South Carolina came Ralph Izard, with blood as “hot as the sands of his native State,” and Pierce Butler, who “flamed like a meteor,” but who, in spite of his foreign birth and aristocratic descent, had written in the midst of the wildest tumult of the Revolution, “I wish I was possessed of power sufficient to enable me to be more serviceable to a

country that is dearer to me than the one I first breathed in.”<sup>1</sup>

In the House of Representatives, which was the arena sought by the rising and vigorous intellects of the country as the appropriate theatre for the display of their powers, stood James Madison,—the Father of the Constitution,—pre-eminently first, debarred by the fears and wiles of Patrick Henry from entering the Senate, but destined to leadership in all the great measures of legislation affecting the revenues, commerce, and finance. Beside him were Roger Sherman, the shoemaker of Connecticut, the only man in the long roll of illustrious names who had signed all four of the most important State papers in American history,—the Articles of Association of the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States; Nicholas Gilman, of New Hampshire,—a stripling in years, but a lawyer of ability; Elbridge Gerry,—a singular admixture of enlightened statesmanship and political cunning; Thomas Fitzsimons,—a Philadelphia merchant, and the stoutest advocate of our first protective tariff; George Clymer and Daniel Carroll,—all of them members of the Federal Convention, and therefore trained in the best school to qualify them for the high and responsible duty of organizing the government. There too were Fisher Ames, the most brilliant orator of that day and the most renowned supporter of the treaty negotiated by Mr. Jay; Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, once President of the Continental Congress; Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, the first Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a galaxy of lesser lights, whose names still glow in our political firmament.

Such were the men who composed the First Congress of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Original autograph letter, never published, in possession of writer.

<sup>2</sup> The complete list is as follows:

*Senate.*

Caleb Strong,	} Massachu-		John Langdon,	} New Hamp-
Tristram Dalton,			setts.	

In reviewing the work of this Congress our attention is first attracted by the effort to establish, or the final estab-

Wm. Saml. Johnson, } Connecticut.	Richard Henry Lee, } Virginia.
Oliver Ellsworth, } cut.	Wm. Grayson, } after 31st March, 1790,
Philip Schuyler, } New York.	John Walker, } 3d session,
Rufus King, } }	James Monroe, } At 3d session.
Jonathan Elmer, } New Jersey.	Samuel Johnston, } North Carolina.
Wm. Paterson, } }	Benjamin Hawkins, } lina.
3d session, } }	Pierce Butler, } South Carolina.
Philemon Dickinson, } }	Ralph Izard, } }
Wm. Maclay, } Pennsylvania.	William Few, } Georgia,
Robert Morris, } }	James Gunn, } At the 3d session.
Richard Bassett, } Delaware.	Joseph Stanton, Jr., } Rhode Island.
George Read, } }	Theodore Foster, } }
Charles Carroll, } Maryland.	
John Henry, } }	

*Representatives.*

Abiel Foster, } New Hampshire.	John Vining, } Delaware.
Nicholas Gilman, } }	
Samuel Livermore, } }	
George Thatcher, } Massachusetts.	Daniel Carroll, } Maryland.
Fisher Ames, } }	Benjamin Contee, } }
George Leonard, } }	George Gale, } }
Elbridge Gerry, } }	Joshua Seney, } }
Benjamin Goodhue, } }	William Smith, } }
Jonathan Grout, } Connecticut.	Michael Jenifer Stone, } }
George Partridge, } }	
Theodore Sedgwick, } }	
Benjamin Huntington, } Connecticut.	Theodoric Bland, } Virginia.
Roger Sherman, } }	John Brown, } }
Jonathan Sturges, } }	Isaac Coles, } }
Jonathan Trumbull, } }	Samuel Griffin, } }
Jeremiah Wadsworth, } }	Richard Bland Lee, } }
Egbert Benson, } New York.	James Madison, Jr., } }
William Floyd, } }	Andrew Moore, } }
John Hathorn, } }	John Page, } }
Jeremiah Van Rensselaer, } }	Alexander White, } }
John Lawrence, } }	Josiah Parker, } }
Peter Sylvester, } New Jersey.	Edanus Burke, } South Carolina.
Elias Boudinot, } }	Daniel Huger, } }
Lambert Cadwalader, } }	William Smith, } }
James Shureman, } }	Thomas Sumter, } }
Thomas Sinnickson, } }	Thomas Tudor Tucker, } }
George Clymer, } Pennsylvania.	
Thomas Fitzsimons, } }	
Thomas Hartley, } }	
Daniel Heister, } }	
F. A. Muhlenberg, } }	
Peter Muhlenberg, } Georgia.	Abraham Baldwin, } }
Thomas Scott, } }	James Jackson, } }
Henry Wynkoop, } }	George Mathews, } }

lishment, of certain customs and ceremonies which have long since ceased to exist.

On the 21st of April, the Vice-President, Mr. Adams, was introduced to the Senate by Mr. Langdon, and delivered an address, in which he congratulated the country upon the successful formation of the Federal Union, upon the adoption of the Constitution, and the auspicious circumstances under which the new government came into operation under the Presidency of him who had led the American armies to victory, and conducted by those who had contributed to achieve independence.

Two days later an animated debate arose upon the question, What titles shall be annexed to the office of President and Vice-President? and a committee, consisting of Mr. Lee, Mr. Izard, and Mr. Dalton, was appointed to consider and report thereon. The matter had been suggested by Mr. Adams, who, from his experience and knowledge of foreign Courts, and an exalted notion of the dignity of his office, declared himself in favor of titles.<sup>1</sup> He was warmly opposed by Mr. Maclay, of Pennsylvania, who based his objections upon the language of the Constitution, forbidding titles of nobility. On the 9th of May the committee reported in favor of "His Highness, the President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties." Mr. Lee was warm in its support. He declared that all "the world, civilized and savage, called for titles. There must be something in human nature that occasioned this general consent; therefore he conceived it was right." He read a list of all the

At the third session of the First Congress the following additional members attended:

Benjamin Bourn,	}	Rhode Island.
John Baptist Ashe,		
Timothy Bloodworth,	}	North Carolina.
John Sevier,		
John Steele,		
Hugh Williamson,		

<sup>1</sup> See "History of Congress," Vol. I.; "Annals of Congress," Vol. I.; Benton's "Abridgment of the Debates," Vol. I.; "Sketches of Debates in the First Senate of the United States," by William Maclay, a Senator from Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, 1880.

princes and potentates of the earth, where the word Highness occurred. The Grand Turk had it. All the princes of Germany had it. The sons and daughters of crowned heads had it. Venice and Genoa gave titles, and France and Spain. Mr. Izard followed in the same strain, but favored the words "His Excellency." Paterson rose, but "there was no knowing which mind he was of." Lee considered him against him and answered him; but Paterson finally voted with Lee. Ellsworth declared that the appellation of President was common. It put him in mind that there were presidents of fire companies and cricket clubs. On the other side were arrayed Charles Carroll and William Maclay. They denounced kings and royal governments, and all their "faulty finery, expensive trappings, and brilliant scenes." They preferred the simple language of the Constitution, and declared that no additional words could add to the dignity of offices, or to the character of the men who held them. In the mean time the House, at the instance of Mr. Maclay, who had suggested to the Speaker and other friends that the Senate displayed a disposition to erect pompous and lordly distinctions between them, established a precedent by addressing the President by his constitutional name, without title, and the matter culminated in a resolution to conform to the position of the House for the sake of harmony.

Once again was the serenity of the atmosphere disturbed. The President was to address the Senate. How should the Vice-President behave? How should the Senate receive the address? Should it be standing or sitting? Mr. Lee declared that he had been in the House of Commons, and that the Lords sat, while the Commons stood on the delivery of the King's speech. Mr. Izard made the "sagacious discovery that the Commons stood because they had no seats to sit in on being arrived at the House of Lords. It was discovered too, after some time, that the King sat and had his robes and crown on." The Vice-President declared that he could not say how it was, as there "was always a crowd and ladies along." Mr. Carroll exclaimed it was of no consequence how it was in Great Britain; they were no rule to

us.<sup>1</sup> In the mean time the President arrived and advanced between the Senators and Representatives, bowing to each, and, after taking the oath of office upon the gallery opposite the middle window of the Senate chamber, in the presence of the people who were congregated in the street below, returned, and all arose as he addressed them.

A few days later the Senate and the House separately waited upon the President at his residence, presented an answer to his address, and received his reply, everything being conducted with stately and formal ceremony.

On the 21st of August a committee was appointed by the Senate to wait upon the President and confer with him as to the proper mode of communication to be observed between them when carrying out that clause in the Constitution which required the advice and consent of the Senate in the matter of treaties and appointments to office. It was resolved that the President should attend in the Senate chamber, and that the Vice-President should yield his chair to the President and take a seat upon the floor, reserving his right, however, as presiding officer of the Senate, to put all questions, whether in the presence or absence of the President. The resolution was acted upon but once, when the President, attended by General Knox, his Secretary of War, conferred with the Senate in relation to the treaty with the Creek and Cherokee Indians. The practice was then discontinued, and communication by message established. The change has been deprecated by Senator Benton as greatly to the prejudice of the free and independent action of the Senate in such cases. Important and unusual treaties, even those with foreign powers, are now negotiated in secret, and then laid before the Senate for ratification as an administration measure, and the Senate is coerced by the weight of Executive influence and the inconveniences of rejection, amounting to moral duress, into an abdication of its right to independent judgment and action.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Sketches of Debates in the First Senate of the United States," by William Maclay, a Senator from Pennsylvania, pp. 42, 48, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Benton's "Abridgment of the Debates in Congress," Vol. I. p. 18.

A singular illustration of the practice prevailing in relation to appointments occurred in the case of Colonel Fishbourne. That gallant and well-known soldier had been nominated by the President for the place of naval officer of Savannah. The Senate refused to confirm him. The President sent a letter nominating Lachlan McIntosh in his stead, stating that he was persuaded that whatever reasons the Senate had for its dissent must be presumed to be sufficient, but suggesting that in the future it would be expedient for that body, in case of a difference of judgment, to listen to the reasons which had governed the choice of the Executive, and setting forth in strong terms the merits and qualifications of Colonel Fishbourne.<sup>1</sup> This message, says Benton, is an instance of the deference of the President to the Senate, in thus yielding, upon their objections, the nomination of a citizen whom he knew to be fit and worthy. It is an instance also of the deference of the Senate to the individual views of the Senators of the State directly interested in the nomination, and constitutes the first case on record of what is now known as "Senatorial Courtesy," Colonel Fishbourne having been rejected simply because the Senators from Georgia preferred some one else. During all this time the Senate sat with closed doors, both in its legislative and executive capacities, a custom which was maintained until the 20th of February, 1794, when the doors were opened during legislative sessions.

While the Senate was thus engaged in settling questions of etiquette, the House was actively at work upon important and necessary legislation. It first turned its attention to the regulation of oaths of office, a subject which produced the earliest though not a serious collision between the Federalists and those who subsequently became the ardent advocates of State Rights. As it had been provided that the Constitution should be the supreme law of the land, and that Senators and Representatives, and the members of the several State Legislatures and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and the several States, should

<sup>1</sup> Benton's "Abridgment," Vol. I. p. 17.



be bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution, a bill was brought in for this purpose. It was suggested that it was inexpedient to interfere with the States or their officers, as it might produce jealousy of Federal power. The adopting States had pledged themselves to conform to the Constitution, and it was better to trust to State action. Connecticut had already acted. Massachusetts was in doubt, and all congressional interference might produce resentments. The Senate, after some discussion, adopted an amendment of the House bill by which State officers were obliged to take the oath; it being argued with great force and earnestness by Langdon, Ellsworth, Izard, and Lee that the supremacy of the new government was of the first importance, and that all officials, whether Federal or State, should be compelled to recognize it.

As early as the 8th of April the House, having resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, entered into a discussion of duties on imports. The subject had been introduced by Mr. Madison, who proceeded in the parliamentary form common at that day, but since abandoned, of first discussing and agreeing to a measure, and then appointing a committee to bring in a bill according to what had been agreed upon, thus giving scope to the intelligence of the whole House before the subject had taken a form difficult to alter and certain to be objected to when brought in by a committee as a specific bill.<sup>1</sup>

In opening the debate, Mr. Madison pursued a moderate course, declaring that the plan he wished the committee to adopt was similar to propositions made on the subject by the Congress of 1783, which were well calculated to form the basis of a temporary system: that the main object was

<sup>1</sup> The authorities from which the following account of the proceedings of Congress is drawn are the "Annals of Congress," "The History of Congress," Benton's "Abridgment of the Debates," Maclay's "Sketches of Debates in the First Senate of the United States," "The Laws of the United States," in three volumes, published by authority, imprinted in Philadelphia in 1796, "The Life and Works of John Adams," Vol. III., edited by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 1851, "The Writings of Madison," Vol. I., Philadelphia, 1865.

to provide a revenue in order to meet the deficiency in the Treasury, and that the methods to be resorted to should be as little oppressive to constituents as possible, as "commerce ought to be as free as the policy of nations will admit." He was supported by Mr. Boudinot and Mr. White and Mr. Lawrence. Upon the second day, Mr. Fitzsimons, a merchant of Philadelphia, of ample experience and great personal influence, aware that the table of Congress was loaded with petitions from the business men of the leading cities of the Union from Boston to Charleston, portraying the ruinous effects of foreign competition upon the manufacturing and other interests of the country, gave the debate a new direction and a stronger impetus by declaring that he had prepared an additional list of articles to be subjected to duties, among which were some calculated "to encourage the productions of our country and protect our infant manufactures; besides others tending to operate as sumptuary restrictions upon articles which are often termed those of luxury." The same idea was clearly expressed by Mr. Hartley, also of Pennsylvania, who said, "If we consult the history of the ancient world, we shall see that they have thought proper for a long time past to give great encouragement to the establishment of manufactories, by laying such partial duties on the importation of foreign goods, as to give the home manufactures a considerable advantage in the price when brought to market. It is also well known to this committee that there are many articles that will bear a higher duty than others, which are to remain in the common mass, and be taxed with a certain impost *ad valorem*. From this view of the subject I think it both politic and just that the fostering hand of the general government should extend to all those manufactures which will tend to national utility."

Thus early in our history were the doctrines of a protective tariff announced, and it is a matter of no little pride to us that it was the voice of Pennsylvania which first spoke in their behalf. The effect of these views is plainly traceable throughout the debate, which continued with but little inter-

ruption until the middle of May. Even Mr. Madison shifted his ground, and in a letter to Edmund Randolph, wrote: "Opinions are divided upon the point whether the first plan shall be a hasty and temporary essay, or be digested into a form as little imperfect as the work of experience will admit. There are plausible arguments on both sides. The former loses ground daily, from the apparent impracticability of reaping the spring harvest from importations."<sup>1</sup> Upon the floor he declared that he hoped gentlemen would not infer that he thought the encouragement held out by the bill to the manufacturers improper. Far from it: he was glad to see their growing consequence, and was disposed to give them every aid in his power.

In the Senate the bill was debated with spirit; Morris, Maclay, Ellsworth, and Langdon contending with Lee, Izard, Johnson, and Butler, the latter of whom denounced the measure proposed as oppressive to South Carolina. His State "would live free or die glorious." The result was a bill which became a law by the signature of the President on the 4th of July, 1789, imposing duties on goods, wares, and merchandise imported; this being "necessary," as the preamble alleged, "for the payment of the debts of the United States and the encouragement and protection of manufactures." The duties imposed were low, measured even by the standard of those days, when the cost of transportation was great. At the second session of this Congress the President reminded them that "the safety and interest of the people require that they should promote such manufactures as would tend to render them independent of others for essential (particularly military) supplies." A second and much more protective tariff was adopted in August, 1790, after Hamilton had been asked to "report a plan, conformably to the recommendation of the President." At the next and last session, in October, 1791, Hamilton made his famous "Treasury Report" on the subject, in which he dwelt with masterly emphasis upon the new era upon which

<sup>1</sup> Letter, dated New York, April 12, 1789, Madison's "Writings," Vol. I. p. 463.

industry was entering, through the use of machinery and division of labor; on the advantages that would be lost to the nation who fell behind in this advance; on the interdependence of all the material interests of the country; and on the relation of a diversified industry to national prosperity.

The second great subject to which the attention of Congress was directed was the judiciary department. The Constitution had vested the judicial power of the United States "in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." In defining the extent of the judicial power, the Constitution had declared that it "shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects." The original jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was expressly limited to cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those to which a State shall be a party. In all the other cases mentioned the jurisdiction was appellate only.

Here then was a vast field—new and untrodden—a *terra incognita*—into which the boldest and best-equipped lawyer might well enter with hesitation and foreboding. The Senate first grappled with the subject, and appointed a committee, of which Mr. Ellsworth was chairman, with Paterson, Maclay, Strong, Lee, Bassett, Few, and Wingate as associates. The debate that ensued upon their report was long and able, in which all the lawyers participated, displaying abundant learning and professional ingenuity.

The result was a bill, concurred in by the House, and ap-

proved by the President on the 24th of September, 1789. It was provided that the Supreme Court should consist of a Chief-Justice and five Associate Justices, any four of whom should be a quorum, and that they should hold two sessions annually at the seat of government. The United States were divided into thirteen districts, and a District Court was established in each. These districts were divided into three circuits, and a Circuit Court was established in each. The jurisdiction of each court, whether original or appellate, whether exclusive or concurrent, was carefully defined. Ample powers were bestowed both at law and in equity, and proceedings were regulated. Attorneys, marshals, and clerks were provided for, and finally it was enacted "that in all Courts of the United States, the parties may plead and manage their own causes personally, or by the assistance of such counsel or attorneys at law as by the rules of the said Courts respectively shall be permitted to manage and conduct causes therein."<sup>1</sup>

No feature of the Constitution is more likely to kindle the enthusiastic admiration of the philosophical student of our institutions than the establishment of a judicial department independent in character, beyond the reach of prejudice and passion, dispensing with calm voice the blessings of the government, armed with authority to overturn improvident or unjust legislation by a State directed against the contracts, the currency, or the intercourse of the people, and restricting congressional action to constitutional bounds. The conception of the Supreme Court with its appellate powers was the greatest creation of the Constitution. It embodied the loftiest ideas of moral and legal power. Its novelty was sublime. It was entirely original. Its prototype existed nowhere. No system of government known to earth ever approached it in grandeur. It is the court of last resort. It is absolute in authority. It is above the Execu-

<sup>1</sup> An Act to establish the Judicial Courts of the United States; "Laws of the United States," Vol. I. p. 47. The jurisdiction bestowed was by no means coextensive with that defined in the Constitution, and has been enlarged from time to time.

tive, it is above the Legislature. It is subordinate to no other department. Its decree is law. From its mandates there is no appeal. It is the august representative of the wisdom and justice and conscience of the whole people. "It is the peaceful and venerable arbitrator between the citizens in all questions touching the extent and sway of constitutional power. It is the great moral substitute for force in controversies between the people, the States, and the Union."

The Congress then organized the Executive Departments of Foreign Affairs, of War, of the Treasury, and the Land Office; provided for the temporary establishment of the Post-Office; fixed the salaries of all members of the government; imposed duties on tonnage; regulated the coasting trade, and the registering and clearing of vessels; established light-houses, beacons, buoys, and public piers; settled the accounts between the United States and individual States; provided for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River; and adapted the military establishment to the new order of affairs.

During the passage of the bill relating to the Department of Foreign Affairs, the question was agitated of the President's constitutional power of removing from office. Mr. Madison had added to his resolution the words, "and to be removable by the President." A heated discussion followed. Mr. Bland proposed to add "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." But his motion failed, and the language objected to was retained by a large majority. The question was reopened and introduced in a new form, when the acknowledgment of the power as conferred by the Constitution upon the President was sustained by thirty votes against eighteen in the negative. The bill went to the Senate, which was equally divided, and the matter was settled by the casting vote of the Vice-President in favor of the exclusive power of the President. The country acquiesced in the decision, and the power of absolute removal has been exercised by the President ever since, except during a brief period beginning in Johnson's administration.

The question of the permanent seat of the government

was then introduced. Some wished it upon the Potomac, others upon the Delaware, and others again upon the Susquehanna; Wright's Ferry, Yorktown, Harrisburg, and Peach Bottom were mentioned. Some wished a centre of territory, others a centre of population, others again a centre of wealth. Where were these points and were they likely to be stable? The Pennsylvania Senators were divided, and it is probable that, owing to this disagreement, the national capital was lost to this State. Mr. Maclay contended for the Susquehanna; Mr. Morris was at first in favor of the Falls of the Delaware, but failing in this, endeavored to have it established in Germantown, contending that it ought to be near a commercial place. The Susquehanna measure passed the House and was agreed to in the Senate, but Germantown was afterwards substituted in the Senate through the pertinacious efforts of Mr. Morris. It was subsequently agreed to in the House, but, at the instance of Mr. Madison, an amendment was made providing for the operation of the laws of Pennsylvania in the district until supplied or altered by Congress. This amendment rendered necessary the return of the bill to the Senate, where a majority appeared against Germantown, and on the 28th of September, the question still being open, the bill was postponed. It was in vain that Mr. Maclay raised his prophetic voice that if the Susquehanna was yielded the seat of government would be fixed on the Potomac. His prophecy was verified. At the next session, while the funding bill was under debate, Mr. Hamilton secured its passage by yielding the capital to the Southern States, and the permanent seat of the government was fixed in the District of Columbia.

The question of amendments to the Constitution was then taken up and disposed of. It will be remembered that several of the States, notably Massachusetts and Virginia, had proposed amendments, embodying a Bill of Rights, as the conditions of their ratification of the Constitution. The subject was discussed at some length, and finally the ten first amendments as they now exist were adopted, and pre-

sented by Congress to the States for action. Mr. Madison's position was explained by him in a letter to Mr. Eve.<sup>1</sup> He writes: "I freely own that I have never seen in the Constitution, as it now stands, those serious dangers which have alarmed many respectable citizens. Accordingly, whilst it remained unratified, and it was necessary to unite the States in some one plan, I opposed all *previous* alterations as calculated to throw the States into dangerous contentions, and to furnish the secret enemies of the Union with an opportunity of promoting its dissolution. Circumstances are now changed. The Constitution is established on the ratifications of eleven States and a very great majority of the people of America, and amendments, if pursued with a proper moderation, and in a proper mode, will be not only safe but may serve the double purpose of satisfying the mind of well-meaning opponents, and of providing additional safeguards in favor of liberty."

Such were the acts of the First Congress during its first session, which was held in the city of New York, beginning on the 1st of April and terminating on the 29th day of September, 1789. The second session was held at the same place, beginning on January 4, 1790, and terminating on the 12th of August of that year.

After providing for the taking of the first census and establishing a rule of naturalization, the Congress proceeded to the consideration of the public credit,—a matter which provoked a prolonged discussion, one which will remain forever memorable in our annals. It was the genius of Hamilton that inspired that great debate. It was he who originated policies, breathed life into statutes, gave reputation and stability to the administration, rescued the nation from bankruptcy, adjusted the claims of creditors, and developed theories into vigorous principles of constitutional law. Amid a bewildering variety of business, he found time to evolve a great financial policy, broad, comprehensive, and minute, which he laid before the House in a report upon the public credit. He had divided the debt into three parts,

<sup>1</sup> Dated 2d January, 1789, Madison's "Writings," Vol. I. p. 446.



—the foreign debt, the domestic debt, and the debts of the States incurred in the cause of the Union during the war of the Revolution. To the first there was no objection; to the second all were agreed, but differences of opinion arose as to how and to whom the payment should be made. To the assumption of State debts there was strenuous opposition. For the first time, the lines of division between the two great parties became distinctly visible, and as time went on these became more and more strongly marked. Jackson, Livermore, Scott, Sedgwick, and Ames threw themselves into the arena: the former in attack, the latter in defence of the bill. For the first time in his career Mr. Madison parted company with Washington, and drifted slowly into opposition. He moved to discriminate between original creditors and present holders, so as to pay claims in full to the former, the highest market price to the assignee, and the remainder to the original creditor. With great astuteness and plausibility he urged his views. He was answered by Boudinot, who said that the gentleman from Virginia had not scrutinized the subject with his usual accuracy. He was led away by the dictates of his heart and his sympathy with the misfortunes of those who were the prey of avarice. But the real question was, Is the debt due, and if any of our first creditors has assigned his claim are we to disavow the act of the party himself? The same reasoning would require us to go further and investigate every claim of those who had received Continental money, which they afterwards parted with for ten, forty, or one hundred for one. For days the contest raged. Then Madison proposed a compromise which was finally lost. Assumption was carried by an overwhelming vote, the result, it has been said, of “a little talk and a little dinner,” where Hamilton agreed to secure votes for a Southern capital and Jefferson promised to do the same for assumption.

The passions of the House were also aroused upon the subject of slavery. The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery had presented a memorial for the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage and for

the improvement of the condition of the African race. It was signed by the venerable Benjamin Franklin as president, and was introduced by Mr. Hartley, of Pennsylvania. It was instantly attacked by Mr. Tucker, of South Carolina, as having for its object to engage Congress in an unconstitutional measure. Mr. Burke and Mr. Jackson followed in the same strain, and were replied to by Mr. Scott and Mr. Sherman. Upon the question of commitment, however, the votes stood forty-three to fourteen. The flames were smothered for a time, but again broke forth when the report of the committee was presented. Mr. Burke, of South Carolina, made a violent attack upon the Quakers. He denied that they were friends of freedom; asserted that during the late war they were for bringing the country under a foreign yoke; that they descended to the character of spies; had supplied the enemy with provisions; and had acted as guides to their armies. Mr. Smith, from the same State, followed in a long and bitter speech. Mr. Boudinot replied with great spirit. He resented the attack upon the Quakers, and cited instance after instance of their humanity to prisoners, and of the aid and comfort they had given during the war. The attack he denounced as an indiscriminate charge. "Where was the denomination," he asked, "that did not furnish opposers to our glorious Revolution? Were not hundreds of Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and almost of every other denomination, among our enemies? What denominations formed the thousands of new levies that endeavored to deluge our country in blood? On the other hand, were not a Greene and a Mifflin furnished from the society of Quakers?" The report of the special committee was finally received by a vote of twenty-nine to twenty-five, and the philanthropic society, of which Dr. Franklin was president, was informed that "Congress had no right to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or their treatment in any of the States."

When Congress next met, it was in the city of Philadelphia, the third session being held in the old building, erected in 1787, at the southeast corner of Sixth and Chestnut

Streets. There John Adams presided over the Senate. There Madison and Fisher Ames contended with each other upon the bill to establish a National Bank. There Washington was inaugurated for his second term. There John Adams was inducted into the Presidential office. In a similar building, at the southwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, sat the Supreme Court of the United States. There Jay and Rutledge and Ellsworth presided as Chief-Justices. There Lewis and Dallas, Ingersoll and Tilghman, Rawle, Dexter, and Harper appeared to argue their causes. Between them stands the Hall, sacred to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Where, in America, can be found a similar group of historic buildings? Quaint in their simplicity, solid in their structure, thrilling in their associations, they speak each hour to the Americans of to-day. They recall the plainness, the strength, the endurance, the patriotism, the heroism, and the sacrifices of our early days. Invested with a charm that clings not to the mouldering ruins of feudal castles, or the frowning prisons of the Doge, they speak not of tyranny, but of liberty. They are shrines and places of baptism where our fathers knelt and dedicated themselves and their children to the service of mankind. Let no rage for modern improvement demand their removal. Let no thoughtless spirit of progress lay ruthless hands upon their holy walls.

The third and last session of the Congress opened on the 6th of December, 1790, and terminated on the 3d of March, 1791. Besides a discussion upon the address of the President, particularly in relation to the treaty with the Creek Indians, debates arose upon duties on spirits, the public lands, and a vacancy in the Presidency. But the subject which engaged almost exclusively the attention, and taxed to the utmost the abilities, of both parties, was the famous debate upon the Bill to Establish the Bank of the United States. The plan originated with Hamilton, and was adopted in the Senate with but little difficulty. Mr. Madison led the opposition in the House, and Mr. Ames made a brilliant reply. It was doubted whether Congress had the constitu-

tional power to establish a National Bank; it was dreaded as an engine of tyranny and faction. It was thought to be in derogation of the rights of the States, and was viewed with distrust and alarm. To this it was answered that the bank was an instrument which was necessary and proper for carrying into effect the powers vested in the government. It was to be created for national purposes, and would be the great instrument by which the fiscal operations of the government would be conducted. Upon the final vote the yeas and nays were called, and it was found that thirty-nine were in favor of the measure and twenty against it. It was a great victory for the Federalists. The division took place almost upon geographical lines,—the North sustaining the administration, the South, with but three exceptions, appearing in opposition.

On the 3d of March, 1791, the First Congress adjourned.

In this imperfect review I have contented myself with alluding to leading measures, in which we have a general outline of the government of the United States. It has been the work of later years to fill in the details, to work out new problems, to apply the principles of the Constitution to new conditions, to bind contending sections in stronger and holier bonds of alliance. The picture upon which we look in retrospect could not have been perceived even in dim and distant adumbration by the most piercing gaze of those men of eagle eyes. They knew little of what the future had in store. They could not have dreamed of our magnificent expansion, our growth in power, in influence, in grandeur, in wealth; and yet, so well and wisely did they toil, and so marvellous was the work of their hands, that the mantle of the Constitution has been “spread without stretching” from commonwealth to commonwealth, until forty-two States are now enveloped in its still ample folds, and more than sixty millions of people repose beneath the *ægis* of its protection. Sustained in our high hopes of the future by our experience of the past, we may confidently exclaim,—

How many ages hence shall this  
Our lofty scene be acted o'er  
In lands unknown, and accents yet unborn?

A NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS, IMPRISONMENT, AND SUFFERINGS OF JOHN CONNOLLY, AN AMERICAN LOYALIST AND LIEUT.-COL. IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE.

(Continued from page 70.)

Nothing can have a greater appearance of dispassionate candour, if we except the expression Tories, than this report; yet nothing was ever more abundant in chicane and deceit. On the 17th of May, the date of our letter, the gaol was exactly, literally, in the state we represented it to be: on the 23d of the same month it was what their report affirms. But, in the interim, so industrious were they to give their proceedings every appearance of truth, as well as of humanity, one hundred and fifty privates had been sent away, some of the sick removed, the gaol-yard thoroughly cleaned, and our rooms whitewashed. They then, with an ostentatious formality, examined the prison, and made their report. But was it probable, was it possible, that men could have the temerity, knowing themselves in the power of an unforgiving enemy, or the audacity, making pretension to the character of gentlemen, to affirm such direct falsehoods as their report made our letter to contain? Or if one were so spleen-ridden, as to magnify his miseries so excessively, would five other gentlemen have written their names, and disgraced themselves in attestation of his visions? No: Rouzed by a retrospection of things that could not be justified, and irritated that men should dare to speak the plain truth, they remove, in some measure, the cause of the complaint, and then affirm it never existed: they are afraid the tale should be told to their confusion, therefore resolve to tell it first themselves. No other excuse can be adduced to plead for the duplicity of their conduct, but the often reiter-

ated one of political necessity. This, perhaps, may justify them to themselves, and to the world, as politicians, but will not invalidate my claim to distinction from the nation in whose cause I suffered. It will, likewise, if admitted, be a melancholy proof, that politics and justice are things, in their own nature, very distinct and heterogeneous.

There are other things in this report which I would wish should be particularly noticed. Retaliation, and *other* reasons of *policy* and *prudence*, are there assigned as the causes of my continued imprisonment. I hope this will be remembered, because very different motives are given hereafter. It is likewise there asserted, I had sundry times behaved amiss while on parole: this, upon the word and honour of a gentleman, I totally deny. I must, likewise, remark, that their other reasons of policy and prudence were evidently the conviction they had of my determination to leave nothing unessayed to serve his Majesty. They knew me to be an enterprizing, and, as may be adduced from the former part of this narrative, a dangerous enemy; and, therefore, would not suffer me to escape. These were reasons of policy and prudence.

Another effort is made to impugn my veracity, by saying, that Dr. Shippen, when he visited me, found my situation directly opposite to my representation: that my indisposition was slight, and merely of a hypochondriac nature. To this I answer, that when this visitation was made, I had lost my appetite: had an incessant watchfulness; was reduced to a skeleton; had blisters upon my neck; was incapable of walking across the room; and, for the two preceding nights, my brother officers had very humanely sat up with me. That melancholy and hypochondria should be generated in such a situation is not to be wondered at; but surely these were indications of something more than a slight indisposition.

Here, that is, in York-Town gaol, I remained till the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army; when, just before the return of Congress to that city, I was informed, officially, that a general exchange had taken place,

and that I, amongst others, was exchanged: but before the final departure of Congress, this information, though from the Board of War, was contradicted. Towards the latter end of July, a still stronger assurance of approaching liberty arrived. A letter from the American Commissary General of Prisoners came to York-Town, wherein it was required that I, with my brother officers, should be immediately forwarded to Elizabeth Town, to be exchanged. I was now admitted to my parole (be pleased to observe) *as a prisoner of war*, and obtained a passport for myself and servant to Philadelphia, when I waited on the Deputy Commissary of Prisoners, and shewed him my passport. He informed me, I should proceed in a day or two, took my address, and recommended me to keep within my lodgings. I was punctual in waiting upon him at the time mentioned, when to my utter surprize and chagrine, he told me, I was by order of Congress, to be again confined, for a few days, in the new gaol, until that body had more properly considered of the admission of my exchange, whither he had an officer in waiting to convey me. To have gained my parole, to be thus far advanced on my way, and afterwards, without the least cause, to be so cruelly and vexatiously again imprisoned, disturbed me so much, that I wrote to the President of Congress, complaining bitterly of the length of my confinement, and evidently studied cruelty of my treatment, to which I received no answer. I then addressed myself to General Washington, and stated the peculiarity of my case, who wrote me a short reply to this purport; "That he had transmitted my letter to the President of Congress, but could extend no relief to me, as I was the immediate prisoner of that body."

It was on the 5th of August, 1778, that I, for the third time, became an inhabitant of this prison, at which time I became acquainted with Captain Hawker, a Gentleman of great philanthropy and liberality of sentiment, and to whom I owe every acknowledgment, for his polite attentions and civilities while he remained.

My irritation of mind was now so great, that a dismal

train of nervous disorders, established in my habit by former sufferings, were revived with such force, that sleep and appetite again forsook me, and I fell into the last stage of despondency. I wrote, however, on the 12th of October, to Congress, informed them of my ungenerous usage, and claimed the treatment of a prisoner of war. I ultimately demanded a personal audience of a Committee of Congress, in order to know wherefore I was refused to be exchanged, or on what pretence I had been subjected to such unparalleled injustice and indignities. The officers who signed the before recited remonstrance, were Provincial, not British officers, born and bred in America; and they, as well as many more in the same predicament, had been exchanged, therefore my country could be no impediment. Mr. Cameron, who had been taken with me at Hagar's Town, had been so also of course. I was upon that ground equally eligible. I therefore declared I was utterly incapable of accounting, by any mode of reasoning, for my peculiar detention, and required to receive personal and authentic information.

For once I was gratified, and brought before a committee, where having briefly recapitulated my causes of complaint, the chairman replied to the following purport:

That it had been for some time past his opinion, which he had not scrupled to communicate to Congress, that I should be kept in close custody, until Sir John Johnson was delivered up to them, who, he asserted, had broken his sacred parole given to General Scuyler, and joined the enemy; since which time he had been committing ravages upon the northern frontiers, with a body of light troops and Indians, as he supposed I intended to do.

To this I answered, that a parole or honorary obligation, I presumed, was of modern date, calculated to alleviate the horrors of war; that no Gentleman could be answerable for any but himself; that I had been admitted to my parole above a year ago, when my conduct was irreproachable, and that I was again, without the least cause on my part, thrown into prison, and there continued for another year; that



much had been said about the infraction of my parole, which I utterly denied to have been the case.

To this they replied, I certainly had not adhered to the spirit of it, for that I had spoken against their proceedings, and had frequently attempted to turn them into ridicule.

I answered, the spirit of my parole was so indefinite a phrase, that it carried no accusation; that it was impossible to produce an instance, and that nothing of this nature could be affirmed, except in vague and general terms.

The final objection they made to my exchange, turned upon the impropriety of my being considered as a prisoner of war. They said, I had not been taken at the head of any armed troops, but privately making my way through the country; and one of them asserted, I might be considered as amenable to law martial, as a spy; but at the same time he observed, there was no intention of treating me as such.

This was an accusation of so strange and novel a nature, that it excited both my surprise and indignation; and I answered it, recapitulating, that I had been now almost three years a prisoner, in which space I had been three times admitted to my parole on their own authority; that I had repeatedly complained to them of the harshness of my treatment, and the length of my imprisonment, but that they never before had alledged this crime against me in their justification; nor was it, I said, possible, with even a shadow of truth. I was the King's commissioned officer, taken in the execution of my duty, to a sovereign, at that time, acknowledged by themselves. America was not a separate state; no independency was declared; no penal laws promulgated. Neither was there anything to spy. I was perfectly acquainted with the country, and there were no armed troops, fortifications, or intrenchments, to be inspected; nay, more, themselves knew my business was not to give intelligence, but to act, which had been publicly declared in their proceedings concerning me, in which I had been acknowledged a prisoner of war.

The committee at length promised to consider and report my case to Congress, and as my health was so exceedingly and visibly impaired, gave me an intimation, that if I were not exchanged, I should be enlarged on parole. I was then re-conducted to prison.

As the sole end and purport of this narrative is to show, that I was, from the commencement to the last moment, firm and active in my loyalty; that had I been at liberty, I had *the power* as well as *the will* to serve my sovereign and my country; that Congress were conscious of this, and therefore resolved to detain me, which they did in an extraordinary manner, and quite distinct from any other Loyalist, during the whole contest; I therefore hope my prolixities will be forgiven, and my endeavours to exhibit myself and sufferings such as they really were, considered not as the effusions of vanity, but a strict and literal representation of facts, in order to obtain justice: that I shall be indulged with a patient hearing, while I contrast the assertions, and shew the incongruities of the opposite party; and that, while I “extenuate nought, nor aught set down in malice,” I shall not be thought guilty of magnifying my own misfortunes, or the political injuries of my enemies.

Permit me then to remark, that in the report of the 23d of May, retaliation for the sufferings of American prisoners, and other reasons of policy and prudence, were assigned for the causes of my imprisonment; but since that, having been more closely pressed for my release, and having no good reason to alledge why I should not be exchanged as well as others, they answered, for the first time, that I *might* be considered as amenable to law martial *as a Spy*, but graciously gave me to understand, they would not *totally* proceed to such extremities. They had still a further subterfuge. The following note was sent me a few days after the above hearing from the committee:

The committee appointed to take into consideration the application of Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, request that gentleman will inform them of his reasons for not producing

and pleading his commission, at the time he was first taken, and for a considerable time afterwards.

*Thursday 12 o'clock.*

It appears really astonishing, to think that a body of men could suffer such a note to escape them, when my papers had several times, and my commission among the rest, been examined; but the fact was, they wanted to publish something to the world, that should, in my case, have at least the semblance and plausibility of justice. However, I made them so cautious an answer, that they were obliged to drop this plea, and once again take refuge under the Spy. Accordingly, in about two months after this committee first gave me a hearing, and pretended to examine into the true state of the business, the following report and resolve of Congress were published:

CONGRESS, Nov. 12, 1778. -

The committee, to whom was referred a letter from John Beatty, Commissary of Prisoners, dated September 15th, 1778, together with two letters from Joshua Loring, Esq.; of the 1st of September and 28th of October, and sundry letters from John Connolly, report the following state of facts:

That Doctor John Connolly (now stiling himself Lieutenant-Colonel in the British service) was, in the latter end of November, 1775, apprehended in Frederick county, in Maryland, in company with a certain Allen Cameron, and John Smyth, by the Committee of Inspection of that county. That at the time he was taken, he was not in arms, or at the head of any party of men in arms, but was clandestinely making his way to Detroit, in order to join, give intelligence to, and otherwise aid the garrison at that place, as appears by his own intercepted letters of the 16th of December, 1775.

That a number of officers in the British service, who were made prisoners, long after the said John Connolly was apprehended, have been exchanged in course; and no demand has been made (till within these few months past)

by any British General, for the release or exchange of the officer last-mentioned.

With respect to the treatment of the said Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, the Committee report :

That at the time when he was first apprehended, he was confined under guard, by the Committee of Inspection in the town of Frederick, in an apartment separate from his associates, without any circumstance to aggravate his captivity, except the being debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper : That, notwithstanding this restraint, he contrived to write several letters of intelligence to the British officers commanding at the posts of Detroit and Kuskuskis, which letters were found on the person of Dr. Smyth, one of his associates, who, having escaped from the town of Frederick, was again apprehended :

That by the resolution of Congress, of the 8th of December, 1775, he was ordered to be confined in prison at Philadelphia; that being brought to that city, he was confined in the new gaol, wherein he continued till about the month of November, 1776, when he was permitted, on account of a declining state of health, to reside on his parole, at the house of his brother-in-law, on the river Susquehannah, where he continued for about two months; when, on information being given to the Council of Safety, of the State of Pennsylvania, of certain suspicious circumstances relative to him, he was remanded to his former place of confinement, in which he continued till about the spring, 1777, when he was again permitted on his parole, and the security of his brother-in-law, to return to his former place of residence on the river Susquehannah :

That during these periods of his confinement in the new gaol, he had, for the greatest part of the time, a separate apartment to himself, the privilege of walking in the yard, a person allowed to attend him in his apartment, and his own servant permitted to fetch him such necessaries as he chose to order.

That during the short period, when he had not a separate apartment, there were never more than two persons in the

same room, seldom more than one, and those, some of his associates, or in consequence of his particular request :

That during these periods of time, he made two attempts to escape, in which he was detected :

That on authentic information being given to Congress, at York-Town, that the said Lieut. Col. John Connolly, was acting in a manner not consistent with the spirit of his parole, and the frontiers being threatened with a barbarous war, in which there was reason to apprehend he was designed as an instrument, he was ordered into confinement in the gaol at York-Town on the 13th of October :

That on the 17th of May, the said J. Connolly, with several others confined in said gaol, made a representation to Congress, setting forth in the strongest colouring, the hardships and cruelties which they declared they were then suffering :

That on the result of a strict enquiry, and after the gaol had been visited by Colonel Pickering, one of the members to the Board of War, it appeared, that the suggestions contained in the said representation, were scandalous and groundless; and the report of the Board of War, was, on the 23d day of May, ordered to be published :

That since the evacuation of Philadelphia, the said J. Connolly was remanded to the new gaol in that city, where (excepting the space of about fourteen days, when two persons were necessarily obliged to sleep in the same room) he has had a separate and commodious apartment of his own choice, the privilege of his own servant to attend him constantly, and to bring him whatever he may require, and the unrestrained use of a spacious yard to take the air in, during the day :

That in his letter of the 12th of October, 1778, the said J. Connolly declared, "That the common rights of humanity are denied to him," and paints his situation in such terms, as would tend to induce a belief, that the most wanton cruelties and restraints are imposed upon him :

That in consequence of a request of J. Connolly, to be heard in person by Committee of Congress, this Committee

have complied with this request, when he declared, in presence of your Committee, "that, excepting the restraint of his person, under the limits above-mentioned, which, however indulgent they might appear, he conceived unfavourable to his state of health, he experienced every other relief which could be extended to a person in confinement:"

That Joshua Loring, Esq; British Commissary of prisoners, in his letter to Mr. Beatty of the first of September, 1778, threatens to retaliate on an American prisoner at war, of equal rank with Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, for the sufferings which, it is pretended that officer endures."

*Whereupon, Resolved,* That Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly, cannot of right, claim to be considered and treated as a prisoner of war; but that he was, at the time he was apprehended, and still is, *amenable to the law martial, as a spy and emissary from the British army:* . . . that the repeated representations made by Lieut. Col. John Connolly, of the grievances he undergoes, are not founded on facts: . . . That General Washington be directed to transmit the foregoing resolutions and state of facts, to the Commander in Chief of his Britanic Majesty's forces in New-York; and to inform the said officer, that if, under the pretext of retaliating for the pretended sufferings of a person, who, by the law of nations, has no right to be considered as a prisoner of war, any American officer, entitled to be considered and treated as a prisoner of war, shall undergo any extraordinary restraints or sufferings, Congress are determined to retaliate on the person of an officer of the first rank in their possession, for every species of hardship or restraint on such account inflicted.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

Though the inconsistencies of this paper are, I hope, evident from the facts before related, yet as they may not strike a mind less interested with the same force, I beg to be indulged while I point out a few of them.

They make it one of my crimes, that although I was de-

barred the use of pen, ink, and paper, I, notwithstanding, contrived to write several letters of intelligence to British officers. This is ridiculous; for, certainly, if I had the means, it was as much my duty to aid my Sovereign when in prison, as when at liberty, I not having given, by parole, any promise to the contrary.

Another of my sins is, that I made two attempts to escape!

Sometimes they call me Doctor, sometimes Lieutenant-Colonel, and sometimes John Connolly; but when they speak of the *lex talionis*, they threaten to retaliate on the person of an officer of the *first rank* in their possession.

Another part of their report is contrary to truth: after the evacuation of Philadelphia, they say I was *remanded* back to the new gaol in that city. The fact is as before related; I was going from York-Town to Elizabeth-Town, on my parole, to be exchanged, and was stopped at Philadelphia; but it did not suit their purpose to state it in this light.

They say no demand has been made, till within these few months past, by any British General for my release, or exchange. This is an equivocation which must be explained in justice to Sir William Howe. I had come down to Philadelphia, in consequence of a *general* exchange of prisoners; which, previous thereto, could never be settled, owing to the impediments inseparable from a state of warfare in a rebellion. It could not, therefore, militate against that commander, as inattentive to the condition of a loyal American. I must likewise acknowledge, with the warmest gratitude, the zeal with which Sir Henry Clinton insisted upon my release, although this equitable and generous interference had nearly effected my destruction; for finding themselves, when they made the above resolve, in possession of General Phillips, and other officers of rank, the Congress was determined to keep me; and the threat of retaliation, however disguised, was palpably levelled at the last-mentioned General, and was, in fact, a plain declaration to Sir Henry Clinton, that I *should not then be exchanged*.

I owe, indeed, every obligation to Sir Henry's attention;

for when the report, which the emissaries of Congress had propagated that I was not commissioned, reached the British lines; to obviate immediately that pretence, and all undue advantages that might be taken, had my commission been lost by any accident, or out of my power to produce, he instantly caused the following certificate to be transmitted to Philadelphia :

INSPECTOR GENERAL'S OFFICE, New York,  
November 27, 1778.

This is to certify, that John Connolly, Esq; was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in his Majesty's service, by his Excellency Lord Dunmore; and said Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly is now confined in prison by the enemy, in Philadelphia; and I further certify, that I have received Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly's full subsistence, up to the 25th December, 1778, by order of his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America.

H. ROOK,  
*D. I. G. P. forces.*

*(Copy from the original.)*

I shall forbear to reason upon, or take any further notice of that part of their report, where they endeavour to shew I had not endured any peculiar hardships in my imprisonment, or of their treating me as a spy in their resolve, having before spoken to those points, but shall proceed with my narrative.

Some time after this, Doctor Berkenhout arrived at Philadelphia from New York, and was imprisoned on some suspicions, by which accident I became acquainted with that Gentleman, and much conversation passed between us concerning the most probable means of my obtaining my liberty. Shortly after he was delivered from his confinement, an order of Congress, under the signature of their Secretary, came to the keeper to lock me up in my room (I having then the privilege of walking in the gaol yard), place a centinel at my door, and allow no person whatever to converse with me. The complexion of the times, the formality of



the order, coming immediately too from Congress, and the strictness with which it was enforced, gave me reason to believe that the last tragic act was now to take place, and that I should be released from my sufferings by execution; and in such a state were both my mind and body, that this imagination gave far more pleasure than pain. I remained in this suspense for six weeks, when my door was again thrown open, and I was allowed to walk in the yard.

It afterwards appeared, that Mr. Silas Deane, in his defence of his public transactions while Ambassador to the Court of France, had affirmed, he had discovered, by means of his emissaries at New York, that Dr. Berkenhout had made a proposition to the British General, to suspend all exchange of American officers till I was admitted to be exchanged, and that I was then to be sent to the northward, to carry on a predatory war, whence he asserted, he had saved the inhabitants of the United States from the horrors of Indian hostilities. This, absurd as it was, and calculated on private views only, was the cause of my above close confinement.

Soon afterwards I was suddenly attacked by a cholera morbus, and continued in so languishing a state, that in the beginning of April, 1779, a certificate of my infirmities was signed by two of the most eminent physicians in Philadelphia, and sent by them to Congress, wherein they declared, that unless I was allowed the open air, I must fall a victim to imprisonment, on which I was allowed to ride four hours a day, within the limits of about two miles, but on my parole, obliged to return every night to confinement. It was intimated likewise, I should soon be sent to Reading and exchanged; but even the indulgence of riding in the open air, was presently prohibited, and I again shut up in prison.

Thus I continued till the 17th of November, at which time, in consequence of the return of General Sullivan, from his expedition against Colonel Butler and the Indian auxiliaries, in which he was supposed to have greatly intimidated those people; and as it was evident, that my

health was in a manner irreparably impaired, and the future of the war more favourable to Congress, they came to the following resolve :

In Congress.

Read a report from the Board of War.

Whereupon resolved,

That the Commissary-General of prisoners be authorized to exchange Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly, for any Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the United States, now a prisoner with the enemy.

By order of Congress,

Signed

CHARLES THOMPSON, *Secretary.*

I was quickly after sent to German Town on parole, and on the 4th of July, 1780, allowed to go to New-York on the following conditions :

*Philadelphia.*

His Excellency General Washington having granted me permission to repair to the City of New-York on parole, for the purpose of negotiating my exchange for that of Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay, I do promise, on my word of honour and faith as a gentleman, that I will pass from here on the direct road to the said City of New-York, by the way of Elizabeth Town, and that I will return to captivity at the expiration of one month from this day, unless within that time the above-mentioned exchange is effected.

I do, in like manner, pledge my word and sacred honour, that I will not, directly nor indirectly, say or do any thing injurious to the United States of America, or the armies thereof; but that I will in all things conduct myself as a prisoner of war ought and should do, under the indulgence granted me.

It is worthy of remark, that, in the resolve, Congress authorized me to be exchanged for *any* Lieutenant-Colonel

in the service of the United States ; but in the strange parole, which they obliged me to give, they insist upon a particular person, a favourite Colonel. However, that all necessity of my return to Philadelphia might be totally superseded, the Commander in Chief allowed Colonel Ramsay to set off on his parole immediately, and the final adjustment of the matter was deferred till the 25th of October, 1780, at which time, after suffering what I have related, in an imprisonment of almost five years, I congratulated myself on a restoration to liberty.

(To be concluded.)

## OWEN OF MERION.

BY THOMAS ALLEN GLENN.

I. Owen ap Evan, of Fron Gôch,<sup>1</sup> near Bala, in the comot of Penllyn, Merionethshire, Wales, was born probably prior to his father's removal from Rhiwlas, which event may have occurred subsequent to 1636. He was the son of Evan Robert Lewis, of Fron Gôch, a Welsh gentleman of small fortune, but "of an ancient and honourable family," who was born circa 1585,<sup>2</sup> and is described as "a sober honest man." Owen ap Evan had several brothers, of whom John ap Evan was father of William John, of Gwynedd, and of Griffith John,<sup>3</sup> of Merion, early settlers of Pennsylvania. Further on it will be noticed that Robert Owen in his will mentions his "cousin Griffith John," thus confirming the account given in the old manuscript from which the above statement is partly taken. Evan ap Evan, another son of Evan Robert Lewis, was father of the Evans brothers who settled at Gwynedd, for a detailed account of whose descendants see H. M. Jenkins's "Historical Collections of Gwynedd." The children of Griffith John called themselves "Griffiths," and those of William, "Williams." The descendants of Owen ap Evan assumed the surname of Owen. Owen ap Evan died at Fron Gôch prior to 1678. From records extant it appears that his wife's name was Gainor John, and that she was probably living until 1682. Owen and Gainor had issue,—five children:

<sup>1</sup> Called also Vron and Tron Gôch, the Red Slope.

<sup>2</sup> Old manuscript pedigree. Dwnn Visit. Wales, 1601 (Meyrick).

<sup>3</sup> Described in Welsh documents as "Griffith John de Gwervol;" he came with Robert Owen in 1690. His certificate was from the Quarterly Meeting of Friends at Tyddyn y Garreg, Merionethshire, and bears the same date as that of his relative.

1. Robert, b. circa 1657; m. Rebecca Owen.
2. Owen, supposed to have d. s. p.
3. Evan, living 1690.
4. Jane, m. Hugh Roberts.
5. Ellin, m. Cadwalader Thomas ap Hugh.

II. Robert Owen,<sup>1</sup> son of Owen ap Evan, of Fron Gôch, and Gainor, born at Fron Gôch, Merionethshire, Wales, circa 1657; died in Merion Township, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, 10th mo. 8th, 1697, and was buried in the ground of the Merion Friends' Meeting on the 10th of same month. His brother-in-law, Hugh Roberts, says of him: "He was one that feared the Lord from his youth, being convinced of the truth when about seventeen years of age . . . travelling several times through his native country, Wales, where he was of good service. In 1690 he came into Pennsylvania, where he lived about seven years, visiting this and the adjacent provinces, and was also very useful in the meeting where he resided . . . a man of peace, hating all appearance of contention, endued with wisdom and authority, yet merciful unto the least appearance of good in such as he had to do withal."

Regarding his earlier life in Merionethshire many particulars have been obtained. The following from "Besse's Sufferings of Friends," Vol. I. p. 755, is the first mention we have of him as a Quaker: "Anno 1674, on the 3d day of the month called May, John David, Robert David, Robert Owen, Cadwallader Thomas, and Hugh Roberts were taken by the Sheriff with a process and committed to Dolgelly Goale, being indicted at sessions some time before for their being absent from National Worship." "Robert

<sup>1</sup> There was another Robert Owen and Jane, his wife, of Dolsereu, near Dolgelly, Merionethshire, who came to Pennsylvania in 1684, on the "Vine," and settled on Duck Creek, New Castle (now Delaware), where a son, Edward Owen, had previously located. Robert and Jane died in 1685. They had nine sons, all of age before their arrival here, of whom I can name only Lewis, who came with them, but returned to Wales; Dr. Griffith Owen, who accompanied them, and died in Philadelphia; Edward, who remained on Duck Creek and left descendants.

Owen, of Vron Gôch," was one of those Quakers fined for meeting at Llwyn y Braner, in the parish of Llanvawr, May 16, 1675 (PENNA. MAG., Vol. V. p. 359), together with his two sisters, Elin, who afterwards married Cadwalader Thomas ap Hugh, and Jane, wife of Hugh Roberts. His younger brother, "Evan Owen ye son of a widdow called Gainor, whose late husband was Owen ap Evan of Vron Gôch," was also present at a meeting, "though but 9 or 10 years old."

Robert was appointed one of the overseers of the will of John Thomas, of Llaithgwm, which document is dated 9th February, 1682,<sup>1</sup> and was executed in Wales, but probated in Pennsylvania in the year 1688. He is described therein as "Robert Owen late of fron goch neer Bala in the County of Merionyth." Subsequent to this date I find him a resident of the parish of Llanddervel in Merionethshire.<sup>2</sup> On the 8th day of the 6th month (August), 1690, the Quarterly Meeting of Friends held at Tyddyn y Garreg, Merionethshire, granted a certificate of removal to this Robert Owen. This certificate is of record in Book 1st, pp. 286-87 of the Merion, Radnor and Haverford Meeting, and is as follows :

To o° Friends & Brothers in the Province of Pennsylvania.

These are to certifie, as occasion shall require, unto whom it may concern in the behalf of o° dearly beloved friende & Brother Robt. Owen & Rebecca his wife & their dear & tender children. That they are faithfull & beloved friends, well known to be serviceable unto Friends & brethren since they have (become convinced), of a Savory & Blameless conversation. Alsoe are psons Dearly beloved & Respected of all sorts. His testimony sweet & tender, reaching to the quicking seed of life, of a meek, quiet & gentle Behavior; we cannot alsoe but bemoan the want of his company, being

<sup>1</sup> Will Book A, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> He appears as a witness to sundry deeds executed in Merionethshire in 1682, and recorded in Philadelphia, 1684, in Deed Book C I, for land in Pennsylvania, viz. : "John Thomas, of Llaethgwm, Merioneth, yeoman," to "Edward Jones, of Bala Chyrurgeon," dated 1st April. "Edward Jones, of Bala, to Hugh Roberts, of the township of Ciltalgarth, yeoman," dated the last day of February.

he was near and dear unto us & seasonable in intention for Pennsylvania many months before his removal, now seeing it remaineth still on his mind, & in order therein unto finding his way clear & freedom in the truth according to the measure manifested unto him, we thought it o° duty to commend him unto you as o° dear & faithfull friend & brother, and hereby desiring their faithfull services in the truth may increase & abound among you to their endless joy without end.

Att o° quarty. Meeting att Tyddyn y Garreg in Merionethshire the eight of the sixe month in the year 1690.

Ellis Morris	David Jones
Hugh David	Evan Owen
Rowland Ellis	Regnald (Rowland?) Humphrey
Jn. Evan	
Hugh Rees	Margaret David
Rowland Owen	Jonett Johnes
Lewis Owen	Elizabeth Jones
Owen Lewis	Ellin Ellis
Griffitt Robt.	Jane Robt.
Evan Rees	Margaret Robt.
Robert Vaughan	Ann Rowland
Rees Thomas	Gainor Jones.
Rees Evan	

Some time before this, about 1678, Robert Owen had married, according to Friends' ceremony, Rebecca Owen, daughter of Owen Humphrey (or Humphreys), Esquire, a gentleman who "had a good and indefeisible estate of inheritance" called Llwyn-du, in the township of Llwyngwrill and parish of Llangelynin, Talybont, Merionethshire, which he had succeeded to in or about 1646. The agreement concerning a marriage settlement was executed on the 6th of 1st month, 1678, between Gainor John, mother of Robert Owen, and Owen Humphrey. The bond of this contract, "Owin Humphrey de Llwundu" to "Rob<sup>t</sup> Owen de vron goch com<sup>t</sup> Penllin, gener." (gentleman), dated as above, is extant. The witnesses were, Rowland Ellis, Edward Vaughan, John

Thomas, Owen Thomas, Hugh Robert, Rowland Owen, and Humphrey Owen; the last two were brothers of Rebecca, as were John and Joshua Owen, who afterwards removed to Pennsylvania and lived with Robert Owen or with their uncle, John Humphreys. After his coming to Pennsylvania his name is of continual occurrence as executor, administrator, or trustee, or as a party to some agreement. He is described in one of these documents, dated 30th May, 1696, as "Robert Owen, of Merioneth, in the County of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Yeoman," and is grantee in a deed from Thomas Lloyd,<sup>1</sup> dated "the fifth day of the sixth month, Anno Dom. 1691," for a tract of land containing four hundred and forty-two acres, situate in "the Township of Merion" in Philadelphia County, the consideration being one hundred pounds. This "plantation," as it was then called, lay west of the present Wynnewood Station, on the Pennsylvania Railroad, and extended to near the present village of Ardmore. It was confirmed to Evan Owen, eldest son and heir of Robert, by patent<sup>2</sup> from Penn's Commissioner, dated 8th February, 1704, "Together with the Messuage or Tenement, Plantation, . . . Houses, Barns, Buildings, Gardens, Orchards, Woods, Underwoods, Ways, Waters, Meadows, Water-courses, Fishings, Fowlings, Hawkings, Huntings, Rights, Liberties." By a deed dated 31st December, 1707,<sup>3</sup> "Evan Owen, of the Township of Merion, in the County of Philadelphia, and Province of Pennsylvania, yeoman, son and heir of Robert Owen, late of Merion, yeoman, deceased," conveyed this farm, devised to him by his father, to his brother-in-law, "Jonathan Jones, of Merion, yeoman." A manuscript by Owen Jones, grandson of Robert Owen, says,<sup>4</sup> "He purchased a large tract of land about nine miles from the city of Philadelphia, in the township of Lower Merion. Here he built a large commodious dwelling-house, and resided in it during the remain-

<sup>1</sup> Deed Book E2, Vol. V. p. 174, etc., Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Book A, Vol. III. p. 241, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

<sup>3</sup> Deed Book E4, Vol. VII. p. 40, etc., Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> "Memoir of Charles J. Wister."



der of his life. He had children, viz., Gainor, Evan, Owen, Elizabeth, John, and Robert, some of whom were born in Wales." This house is yet standing, and compares favorably with many of the modern dwellings erected near it. The date is carved upon a corner-stone, "1695." Robert Owen was a justice of the peace for Merion, and by 1695 had, says this old manuscript, "gained the confidence of the people in general, which they manifested by making choice of him to represent them in the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania (elected again, 1697) . . . which position he filled with much reputation. It pleased Divine Providence to remove his beloved wife in the year 1697 (died 8th mo. 23d, buried 25th), which severe trial he survived but a few weeks."

Robert, as already stated, outlived his wife—whom he had loved long and tenderly—but a short time, and was buried beside her. Among the eminent Friends whose bones lie near his, scarcely one has left a more stainless, and none a more honored, name. His will, dated "10th mo. 2d day, 1697," was probated May 16, 1705.<sup>1</sup> He left his plantation in Merion to his eldest son, Evan Owen, and speaks of his other children without mentioning their names. He appoints as overseers John Humphreys, Hugh Roberts, John Roberts, Griffith John, Robert Jones, Robert Roberts, Robert Lloyd, and Rowland Ellis, and appoints his "cousin Griffith John above named" as sole executor. The witnesses were Joshua Owen, Robert Jones, and Rowland Ellis. John Owen, described elsewhere as "ye 2nd son of Owen Humphreys of Llwyn-du," in Merionethshire, and brother to Joshua, above named, subsequently acted as an appraiser. Robert Owen's important services as a minister among Friends must not be overlooked. He was one of the founders of the Merion Meeting, and a trustee thereof, as appears by a deed dated 20th 6th mo., 1695, Edward Rees, of Merion, yeoman, to Robert Owen, Edward Jones, Cadwallader Morgan, and Thomas Jones, of Merion, yeomen, in trust, for one-half acre of land in Merion, "for the purposes of the Merion

<sup>1</sup> Register of Wills' Office, Philadelphia.

Meeting.” As early as 28th June, 1692, Robert Owen, with Thomas Lloyd, Nicholas Waln, Dr. Griffith Owen, Hugh Roberts, John Symcock, William Byles, and others, the then ministers at or near Philadelphia, signed the communication of the Meeting of Friends in Philadelphia, to the Monthly Meetings of Friends in Pennsylvania, and East and West Jersey, setting forth their displeasure and sorrow at the action of Keith, who was making himself obnoxious to Friends about this time. Perhaps the last documents, executed the year of his death, 1697, that in any way concerned Robert, are an agreement of his with one Evan Harry concerning the estate of Cadwallader Lewis, deceased, of which Robert Owen was appointed by the court administrator, “Letters of Attorney,<sup>1</sup> Richard Davies of Cloddie Cochion, Welchpoole (Montgomeryshire), gentleman,” to Robert Owen *et al.*, his “true and lawful attys.,” dated 1st mo. 8th, 1696/7, and a letter from him to Hugh Roberts, then traveling in Wales, dated 24th of 2d mo., 1697. So far as can be ascertained at this late day, Robert and Rebecca Owen had but eight children; or, if there were others, their early decease in Wales renders their existence of little interest. Of these eight, the first four—Evan, Gainor, Elizabeth, and Jane—were born in Merionethshire, and are the “tender children” mentioned in the certificate of removal. The rest were born in Merion Township, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, as appears by the record of their births in the “Book of Births” of the Radnor Monthly Meeting, and there mentioned as children “of Robert and Rebeckah Owen.” Their births are also noted in records of said Meeting as “Births in Merion Meeting.” The eight were :

1. Evan, b. circa 1682; m. Mary Hoskins.
2. Gainor, m. Jonathan Jones.
3. Elizabeth, m. David Evans.
4. Jane.
5. Owen, b. 12 mo. 21st, 1690; m. Anne Wood.
6. John, b. 12 mo. 26th, 1692; m. Hannah Maris.
7. Robert, b. 7 mo. 27th, 1695; m. Susanna Hudson.

<sup>1</sup> Exemplification Book 4, p. 677, Philadelphia.

8. Rebecca, b. 1 mo. 14th, 1697; d. inft.; buried 9 mo. 21st, 1697.<sup>1</sup>

II. Jane, daughter of Owen ap Evan, of Fron Gôch, and Gainor, born at Fron Gôch, 1653/4; died in Merion Township, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, 7th mo. 1st, 1686, and buried 3d of same month. She married, in Merionethshire, 1672/3, "Hugh Roberts, of the township of Kiltalgarth, parish of Llanvawr, Merionethshire, yeoman." He was a prominent minister among Friends, and afterwards a Provincial Councillor of Pennsylvania. Their certificate of removal from the comot of Penllyn, is dated "ye 2nd of 5 mo., 1683," and they settled upon about six hundred acres of land in Merion. All of their children, except Elizabeth, were born in the township of Kiltalgarth, but a record of their births has been preserved in the archives of the Merion, Pennsylvania, Monthly Meeting of Friends. They were as follows:

1. Robert, b. 11 mo. 7th, 1673; m. 1st Catharine Jones; 2ndly, Priscilla Johnes.

2. Ellin, b. 10 mo. 4th, 1675.

3. Owen, b. 10 mo. 1st, 1677; m. Ann Bevan.

4. Edward, b. 2 mo. 4th, 1680; m. 1st Susannah Painter; 2ndly, Martha Hoskins; 3dly Maria Cox.

5. William, b. 3 mo. 26th, 1682; d. 1697 in Penna.

6. Elizabeth, b. 12 mo. 24th, 1683.

II. Ellin, second daughter of Owen ap Evan, of Fron Gôch, and Gainor, born at Fron Gôch, circa 1660; died in Merionethshire prior to 1697. She married, subsequent to 16th May, 1675, Cadwalader Thômas ap Hugh, of the township of Kiltalgarth, in Llanvawr, Merionethshire. He was the son of Thomas ap Hugh, ap Evan, ap Rees Gôch, ap Tudor, ap Rees, ap Evan Coch, of Bryammer, in the parish of Gerrig y drudion, Denbighshire, derived from Marchwerthian, Lord of Issallt, who bore Gules, a lion rampt.,

<sup>1</sup> "Burials at Merion Meeting," in Records of Radnor Monthly Meeting of Friends.

arg., armed, and langued azure. Cadwalader Thomas died prior to 9th February, 1682, as appears by the will of his brother, John Thomas, of Laithgwm, "gentleman," dated as above, and proved in Philadelphia, 1688. Cadwalader had issue by Elin, two sons :

1. Thomas Cadwalader, living 9th Feb., 1682.

2. John Cadwalader, born prior to 1682; removed to Pennsylvania and became ancestor to the Cadwalader family of Philadelphia. He was a member of the Provincial Assembly, and his son, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, was a Councillor.

III. Evan Owen, eldest son and heir of Robert and Rebecca, born in Merionethshire, Wales, 1682/3; died at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1727. Letters were granted on his estate to Mary, his widow, 27th October, that year. He married, 10th mo. 11th, 1711, Mary, daughter of Dr. Richard Hoskins. The record of their marriage says, "Evan Owen, son of Robert, of Merion Township, Philadelphia County, yeoman, deceased, and Mary Hoskins, daughter of Richard, practitioner of physick, deceased. . . . Philadelphia Meeting." The witnesses were Owen, John and Robert Owen, Gainor Jones, John and Martha Cadwalader, and forty-seven others. Evan Owen, having sold his Merion land to his brother-in-law, Jonathan Jones, removed to Philadelphia, and was admitted to the freedom of the city in April, 1717; neither he nor his brother Robert, who was admitted with him, gave any occupation. He (Evan) became a member of Common Council, 1717, and was appointed a justice of the peace of the Philadelphia County Courts, 1723, serving until his decease. He was justice of Court of Common Pleas, Quarter Sessions, and Orphans' Court, commissioned 18th February, 1723. Became associate justice of the City Court and alderman, 6th October, 1724. Justice of Orphans' Court from 5th December, 1724; was a master of the Court of Equity, 1725; treasurer of Philadelphia County from 1724 to his death. Became a member of the Provincial Assembly, 1725, and Provincial Councillor of Pennsylvania,

1726, being a justice of the Court of Chancery the same year. While serving as a member of the Assembly, Evan Owen was, as we have seen, called to the Provincial Council, the lieutenant-governor expressing a desire to have another Quaker at the board, and Preston and Fishbourne, whose advice was asked, recommended him. He asked to be excused until the expiration of the sessions of the Assembly, but appears to have qualified, as there is a note to the minutes of the first meeting he afterwards attended, which was during Gordon's term, that he had qualified in Keith's time. Perhaps Evan's most important trust was as a trustee of the Society of Free-Traders, who had purchased several thousand acres in Pennsylvania. The records of the Arch Street, Philadelphia, Monthly Meeting show the births of four children of Evan and Mary, and the death of one. They were :

1. Robert, d. 10 mo. 9th, 1712.
2. Robert, b. 10 mo. 12th, 1712; d. s. p.
3. Martha, b. 4 mo. 12th, 1714.
4. Esther, b. 9 mo. 18th, 1716; m., 1743, William Davis.<sup>1</sup>
5. Aurelius, b. 1 mo. 1st, 1718; d. 5 mo. 2d, 1721.

III. Gainor Owen, daughter of Robert and Rebeeca, born in Merionethshire, died in Pennsylvania. She married, 8th mo. 4th, 1706, Jonathan, son of Dr. Edward Jones, of Merion, by Mary, daughter of Dr. Thomas Wynne, of Bronvedog, near Calwys, Flintshire. Gainor is described as being "much beloved by her neighbours, a friend to the poor." They had eleven children; surname Jones :

1. Mary, b. 14th 5 mo., 1707; m. Benjamin Hayes.
2. Edward, b. 7th 7 mo., 1708; d. unm.
3. Rebecca, b. 20th 12 mo., 1709; m. John Roberts.
4. Owen,<sup>2</sup> b. 19th 9 mo., 1711; m. Ann Evans.
5. Ezekiel Jones, supposed by his father to have d. s. p.
6. Jacob, b. 14th 5 mo., 1713; m. Mary Lawrence.
7. Jonathan, b. 29th 4 mo., 1715; m. Sarah Jones.

<sup>1</sup> Register of Christ Church, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> He was colonial treasurer of Pennsylvania.

8. Elizabeth, m., 1758, Jesse George.
9. Martha, b. 6th 3 mo., 1717.
10. Hannah, b. 28th 11 mo., 1718/9.
11. Charity, b. 4th 8 mo., 1720.

III. Elizabeth Owen, daughter of Robert and Rebecca, born in Merionethshire, Wales; died at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 22d 10th mo., 1753. She married David Evans, of Philadelphia, "gentleman," deputy sheriff of Philadelphia, 1714-21. His will is dated Sept. 27, 1745. They had six children; surname Evans:

1. Evan, d. prior to 1762; issue, Sidney, David, Rebecca.
2. Rebecca, d. unm.
3. Sidney, m. 4 mo. 26th, 1759, Joseph Howell, of Chester.
4. Sarah, d. unm. Will d. 14 July, 1762; proved 21 Dec.
5. David, d. 11 mo. 18th, 1725.
6. Margaret, d. unm. 4 mo. 12th, 1734.

III. Owen Owen, second son of Robert and Rebecca, born in the township of Merion, Philadelphia County, 21st 12th mo., 1690; died at Philadelphia, 5th 8th mo., 1741. Will dated 4th 5th mo., 1741; proved 11th August, 1741. He married, 13th 3d mo., 1714, Anne Wood, who died 2d mo. 4th, 1743. He was high sheriff of Philadelphia from 4th October, 1726, and coroner, 1729 to 1741. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 6, 1741, says, "Yesterday died after a long illness, Owen Owen, Esquire; formerly High Sheriff, and for many years Coroner of this city and county." Owen and Anne had five children:

1. Robert.
2. Jane, m., 1760, Dr. Cadwallader Evans, who d. s. p., 1773.
3. Sarah, m. John Biddle; d. 1 mo. 1st, 1773.
4. Tacey, m., 1744, Daniel Morris, of Upper Dublin, Pa.
5. Rebecca, d. unm., 10th Dec., 1755.

III. John Owen, third son of Robert and Rebecca, born in Merion Township, Philadelphia County, 12th mo. 26th,

1692; died in Chester County, 1752. Will proved 23d January that year. He removed from Philadelphia to Chester in 1718. He married, 8th mo. 22d, 1719, Hannah, daughter of George Maris, Provincial Councillor and a colonial justice of Pennsylvania, the marriage being recorded as follows in the books of the Chester Monthly Meeting of Friends: "John Owen, son of Robert, of Merion, Philadelphia County, yeoman, deceased, and Hannah Maris, daughter of George of Chester, yeoman." The witnesses were Evan, Robert and Owen Owen, George Maris, Sr., and forty-four others.

John Owen was high sheriff for the county of Chester, 4th October, 1729-31; 3d October, 1735-37; 4th October, 1743-45; 8th October, 1749-51. He was elected a member of the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania at periods extending from 1733-1748; was collector of excise for Chester, 1733-37, and for many years one of the trustees of the Loan Office of Pennsylvania. He had issue by Hannah, his wife,—five children:<sup>1</sup>

1. Jane, m. Joseph West.
2. George, m., 1751, Rebecca Hains; d. at Philada. s. p., 1764. Will proved 28th Sept. that year.
3. Elizabeth, m. James Rhoads.
4. Rebecca, m. 8 mo. 22d, 1754, Jesse Maris.
5. Susanna, m. Josiah Hibbard.

III. Robert Owen, fourth son of Robert and Rebecca, born in Merion Township, Philadelphia County, 7th mo. 27th, 1695; died circa 1730. He married, 11th mo. 10th, 1716/17, Susanna, daughter of William Hudson, mayor of Philadelphia and a justice of the Orphans' Court, by Mary, his first wife, daughter of Samuel Richardson, Provincial Councillor and a justice of Pennsylvania. The following is an abstract of the original record of their marriage certificate:<sup>2</sup> "Robert Owen, son of Robert, late of Merion,

<sup>1</sup> For descendants, see "History of Maris Family of Pennsylvania."

<sup>2</sup> Philadelphia (Arch Street) Friends' Monthly Meeting Records, Book A, p. 91, No. 188.

Philadelphia County, yeoman, deceased, and Susanna Hudson, daughter of William, of the city of Philadelphia, . . . at Philadelphia Meeting." The witnesses were William, Hannah, Samuel, William, Jr., John, Hannah, and Rachel Hudson, Evan, Mary, John, and Owen Owen, and fifty others.

Along with his brother Evan, the Councillor, Robert Owen was admitted to the "freedom of the city" in April, 1717, and continued to reside there until his decease. His widow married, 3d mo. 2d, 1734,<sup>1</sup> John Burr, of Northampton, Burlington County, New Jersey, and died at Philadelphia, 3d mo. 4th, 1757.<sup>2</sup>

Robert Owen is grantee in a deed<sup>3</sup> dated "24th May, in 4th year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George, King of Great Britain, and in the year of our Lord 1718," for a lot of ground "fronting 28 feet on Walnut St., and in length to formly the 30 foot cartway under the bank of the Delaware, called King Street, 58 feet" and "with North and West, the Smithshop & ground of Robert Jones, Eastward by Samuel Carpenter's Warehouse."

Robert and Susanna had three daughters, whose births are thus noted in the original book of record of the Arch Street, Philadelphia, Monthly Meeting of Friends:

1. "Mary Owen, daughter of Robert & Susanna Owen, was born in Philadelphia ye 3d day of ye  $\frac{3}{mo}$ : 1719." She d. young.

2. "Hannah Owen, daughter of Robert & Susanna Owen, was born in Philadelphia ye 16th day of ye  $\frac{3}{mo}$ : 1720." She m. 1st, John Ogden; 2ndly, Joseph Wharton.

3. "Rachel Owen, daughter of Robert & Susanna Owen, was born in Philadelphia ye 19th day of ye  $\frac{6}{mo}$ : 1724." Living unm. 1740.

IV. Mary, first daughter of Jonathan and Gainor Jones, born in Merion Township, 14th 5th mo., 1707; married at

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia (Arch Street) Friends' Monthly Meeting Records, Book A, p. 131, No. 259.

<sup>2</sup> She was born 12th mo. 17th, 1698/9.

<sup>3</sup> Deed Book F1, p. 251, etc., Philadelphia.



Merion Meeting, 10th mo. 2d, 1737, Benjamin Hayes, son of Richard, of Haverford, "yeoman." They had one child: Elizabeth, b. 7th mo. 16th, 1738.

IV. Rebecca, second daughter of Jonathan and Gainor Jones, born in Merion Township, 20th 12th mo., 1709; married at Merion Meeting, 3d mo. 4th, 1733, John Roberts, son of Robert Roberts, of Merion. They had ten children; surname Roberts:

1. Jonathan, b. 1 mo. 30th, 1734.
2. Gainor, b. 11 mo. 30th, 1735/6.
3. Alban, b. 7 mo. 7th, 1738.
4. Elizabeth, b. 6 mo. 18th, 1740.
5. Mary, b. 5 mo. 3d, 1742; d. unm. Will proved 1771.
6. Tacey, b. 7 mo. 2d, 1744.
7. John, b. 9 mo. 16th, 1747.
8. Robert, b. 10 mo. 8th, 1749.
9. Algernon, b. 11 mo. 24th, 1750/1.
10. Franklin, b. 11 mo. 27th, 1752.

IV. Jonathan Jones, fifth son of Jonathan and Gainor, born in Merion Township, 29th 4th mo., 1715; married at Merion Meeting, 11th mo. 8th, 1742, Sarah, daughter of "Thomas Jones, of Merion, deceased, yeoman," son of John Thomas, of Llaithgwm, Merionethshire, Wales, descended from Evan Coch, of Bryammer, Denbighshire. (See PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV.) They had three daughters:

1. Mary, b. 11 mo. 23d, 1744/5.
2. Gainor, b. 8 mo. 4th, 1742.
3. Katharine, m. Lewis Jones, of Blockley.

IV. Hannah Owen, second daughter of Robert and Susanna, born in Philadelphia, 3d mo. 16th, 1720; died January, 1791, in said city. Will dated 28th November, 1786; probate January, 1791.<sup>1</sup> She married first, 8th mo. 23d,

<sup>1</sup> Will Book W, p. 65, Philadelphia.

1740,<sup>1</sup> John Ogden, of Philadelphia (widower), son of David Ogden, of Chester. John Ogden died 6th February, 1742, being then of the "Township of Myamensing and Passyunct, Philadelphia County." Will dated 31st January, 1742; probate 12th February, same year.<sup>2</sup>

Hannah married secondly, 6th mo. 7th, 1754, Joseph Wharton, of Walnut Grove, Southwark, Philadelphia. In her will, dated as above, Hannah leaves to her "son William Ogden," among other bequests, "my Silver Tankard," and directs that her executors "sell my Charriott, and apply the Amount of the same toward payment of my debts." She also mentions her grandfather, William Hudson, and her children by her second husband, Wharton. By her first husband, John Ogden, she had one son :

William Ogden, b. prior to 31st January, 1742; m. 1st, Marie Pinniard, 2ndly, Tacey David.

By her second husband, Joseph Wharton, she had a large family, the most distinguished of whom was Robert Wharton, mayor of Philadelphia, captain of the City Troop, etc. For an account of them and their descendants, see "History of Wharton Family," in PENNA. MAG., Vol. II.

V. William Ogden,<sup>3</sup> only son of John, by Hannah Owen (his second wife), born in Philadelphia County prior to 31st January, 1742; died in Camden, New Jersey, 13th May, 1818. He married first, 1st mo. 11th, 1769, Marie Pinniard, of French descent. She died 7th mo. 14th, 1775, aged twenty-three years. He married secondly, Tacey David, daughter of Benjamin and Ann David; the latter daughter of Hugh Evans, of Gwynedd. She died 11th September, 1809. William Ogden had by his first wife two children :

1. Hannah, b. Dec., 1770; m. 1st Captain William Duer; 2dly, Samuel Cuthbert.

<sup>1</sup> Philadelphia (Arch Street) Friends' Monthly Meeting Records, Book A, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Will-Book G, p. 31, Philadelphia.

<sup>3</sup> He was commissioned notary public for the State of New Jersey subsequent to 1801.

2. Joseph, b. 7 mo., 1775 ; d. 10 mo. 20th, 1778.

He had by his second wife two children :

1. Ann, m. Hezekiah Niles, of Baltimore.
2. Robert Wharton, of Camden.

VI. Hannah Ogden, eldest daughter of William by Marie (his first wife), born in Philadelphia County, December, 1770 ; died at Philadelphia, 29th July, 1827 ; buried in the ground of the Third Presbyterian Church, Pine Street, said city. She married first, in Christ Church, 10th April, 1795, Captain William Duer, who was lost at sea, 1800/1.<sup>1</sup> She married, secondly, in Christ Church, 27th January, 1810, Samuel Cuthbert, "gentleman," son of Thomas. He died January, 1839. Hannah had by Captain Duer three children :

1. Harriet, b. 1796 ; d. unm. at Phila. 7th May, 1851.

2. Mary Ann, b. 1798 ; m. 5th May, 1825, Lewis Washington Glenn, son of James, of Maryland, and had issue,—William Duer, d. s. p. in Cairo, Egypt, 1876 ; Edward, of Ardmore, Lower Merion ; Hannah Cuthbert, m. A. W. North, who d. s. p.

3. William, d. at Phila., 25th March, 1802.

By Samuel Cuthbert she had two daughters :

1. Frances Duer, d. infant.
2. Elizabeth Frances, d. unm.

<sup>1</sup> Letters of administration granted on his estate, 25th November, 1801, to Hannah Duer. Sureties, William Ogden, "gentleman," and Robert Ralston, "merchant."

FREDERICK AUGUSTUS CONRAD MUHLENBERG,  
SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
IN THE FIRST CONGRESS, 1789.<sup>1</sup>

BY OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER.

The same poetic justice which, at the close of the great drama, bestowed on the hero of the Revolution the civic crown in the very city that had, in 1776, witnessed his discomfiture, appears to have shaped also the destiny of the first Speaker of Congress, Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg. He, too, left New York, 1776, in distress, then a young preacher of pronounced rebel principles, cautioned by his friends to seek shelter outside of the doomed city, and he, too, returned in 1789, sent by the great State of Pennsylvania as one of her representatives, soon to be raised by his colleagues to the highest honor they could bestow,—the office of Speaker of the House.

His father was Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, a man of rare endowments, who, amid untold difficulties, with endurance and noble self-sacrifice, carried out his great mission-work, earning for himself the honorable title of “Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America.”

Having received a call from the three congregations,—Philadelphia, Trappe, and New Hanover (the two latter situated in what is now Montgomery County),—he arrived in Philadelphia November 25, 1742, and soon after settled at the Trappe. On April 22, 1745, he married Anna Maria Weiser, a daughter of the famous Indian interpreter Conrad Weiser. This union was blessed with three sons and four daughters. The three sons have all left their mark in the life-work they carved out for themselves.

<sup>1</sup> For much information on the subject of this paper, drawn from original sources, the writer is indebted to Rev. F. A. Muhlenberg, D.D., and Rev. W. J. Mann, D.D., both of Philadelphia.

In obedience to the wishes of their father they entered the ministry, but only one remained faithful to his vocation. The eldest, Peter Gabriel, bore a conspicuous part in the war for independence; the second, the subject of this paper, Frederick Augustus, entered the service of the State, and became distinguished in the halls of legislation; Henry Ernest remained a clergyman, at the same time he was one of the pioneer botanists of America, and his labors in this field are held in grateful remembrance.

Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg was born at the Trappe, January 2, 1750. The Trappe is a German settlement where the German language has been preserved down to our day. The name is supposed to be a corruption of the German word *Treppe*, meaning staircase. This idea is brought out in a quaint manner on the monument erected there to Governor F. R. Shunk, which is surmounted by some steps, with the allegorical inscription, "I mount."

The three sons grew up under the care of their father, who devoted as much time to their instruction as his official duties would allow. He was, however, aware that, with the best intentions, he could not do justice to the requirements of a proper course of education. Nor did Philadelphia, to which place he removed in 1761, afford the desired facilities.<sup>1</sup> Hence he concluded to send his sons to Halle, in Germany, where, after the completion of his studies in Göttingen, he had pursued a practical course of preparation for the ministry under the guidance of Director Dr. Francke.

All arrangements having been completed, the three young German-Americans embarked April 27, 1763. They reached London June 15, and after some sojourn there arrived in Halle September 1. At that time Peter was fifteen, Frederick thirteen, and Henry eleven years old. The eldest did not remain long at Halle, but was indentured to Mr. L. H. Niemeyer,

<sup>1</sup> In a humorous letter to his brother Henry, written in 1780, Frederick Augustus speaks of the marvellous progress of his little son Henry, who could decline Latin nouns, *hic, hæc, hoc*, and even conjugate *amo*. "Brother," he adds, "if we had known as much when we went to Halle, what might have become of us?"

a merchant in Lübeck. The other two pursued their school and university studies for nearly seven years in a manner entirely satisfactory to their teachers. In 1770 they returned to the land of their birth, accompanied by their brother-in-law, Rev. John Christian Kunze. Before an examining board in Reading they gave sufficient proof of their qualifications (having among other things to translate Hebrew into Latin), and were—though not yet of age—ordained to the ministry October 25, 1770. The young Americans had become thoroughly imbued with German thought and feeling during their stay in Germany, and on their return they spoke German more fluently than English. As late as 1772, Frederick expresses, in a letter to his father, his regret that he did not master the English language as fully as he desired. German was, however, just then more necessary to him than English, as he had to conduct the service in the German language.

Near the end of 1770, Frederick, then twenty years of age, became assistant to his brother-in-law, Rev. Christian Emanuel Schulze, in Tulpehocken, Berks County, and also served the congregation in Shaeferstown. A few years later we find traces of his ministry in Salem Church, Lebanon.<sup>1</sup>

What adventures and hardships would at that time occasionally fall to the lot of country parsons in the pursuit of their good calling cannot be better illustrated than by some extracts from Frederick Muhlenberg's account of a trip from Tulpehocken to Shamokin in the summer of 1771. (*Hallsche Nachrichten*, p. 1385-1393.) There was at the latter place a little flock of German Lutherans without a church and without a minister, who, however, were not lost sight of, and, at times, provided with spiritual comfort. On such an errand our young minister set out upon his long and lonely ride through the wilds of the Blue Mountains and beyond.

<sup>1</sup> The following is an entry on the title-page of the Church records: "Church-book of the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Lebanon, Lancaster County, containing the record of baptisms, etc., begun by Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, at this time minister here. Lebanon, May 1st, 1773."

He had one companion, though,—young Conrad Weiser, the son of Frederick, and grandson of Conrad Weiser, the interpreter. Leaving Tulpehocken on the 25th of June, 1771, they passed near the foot of the first ridge, Fort Henry, then in a quite dilapidated condition; many graves reminded them of the terrible times fifteen years ago. The steepness of the road, which resembled a mountain staircase, compelled them to dismount. Arriving by hard climbing at the top of the ridge, they were delighted with the beautiful outlook upon a wide tract of country; they could see Tulpehocken, Heidelberg, Mühlbach, and many other places. Descending, they found the road even more impracticable than before. At one o'clock of the first day they reached the bottom of the valley, and stopped at a miserable hovel, used as an inn. "Now," says Muhlenberg "the real wilderness began, for this was the last human habitation until we came to Shamokin." They crossed the Swatara three times, keeping upon an Indian path. At one of the most dangerous places, called the "Capes," the road, threading upon a rocky shelf of the mountain, had hardly the breadth of eighteen inches, being barred on the right by huge boulders and on the left by the steep bank of the Swatara. After having crossed the second ridge, also called the "Broad Mountains," with a good deal of difficulty and at some places with fear and trembling, they entered a dense forest of lofty pines, the property of a Philadelphian by the name of Flowers. It was 10 o'clock P.M. when they stopped to rest from their first day's journey. In the midst of a thick forest they let the horses graze where they pleased, after fastening bells to their necks, then built a fire to cook their supper and keep off the host of mosquitoes and the wolves that howled uncomfortably near them.

Continuing their journey the next morning, they were happy enough to find a breakfast waiting for them on the road. The carcass of a stag, that had been recently killed, hung fastened to a large wooden spit over a smouldering fire. It was then the common custom of travellers who had killed some game, to leave as much of it as they did not con-

sume themselves for the use of others, either in a cool stream near the road or fastened on a spit over a slow fire. Muhlenberg and Weiser helped themselves to a good piece and put the rest back in its place. At 11 o'clock A.M. they came to a spring of delicious water, which the Moravians had named Jacob's Well.

Having crossed the Mahanoy Mountain they arrived at the bank of the Susquehanna near Shamokin. On the opposite side was Caspar Reid's house, but no one happened to be in sight or within hearing to answer their call. At last a canoe rowed by two little girls came over; they put their baggage and the saddles in, and followed at first on horseback, and when that became impracticable, by swimming. The following night they spent at Caspar Reid's, a publican of the most liberal principles, who refused neither man nor dog the privilege of his only room. As a consequence of this indiscriminate hospitality, hosts of unbidden guests infested the unsuspecting sleepers, and the young minister had at dawn to strike for the woods in order to rid himself of the pest. Soon after they arrived at Benjamin Weiser's, the terminus of their journey. He lived on an island of about eight hundred acres, formed by the Susquehanna and Middle Creek. On the 28th, Muhlenberg visited a mountain near the Mahanoy River, where the Conestoga and Delaware Indians had suffered a defeat by the Six Nations. Many bones still lay scattered around. On the 30th of June a large crowd, consisting mainly of Lutherans, gathered for divine service. The porch of the house served as pulpit; the congregation assembled in front of it was protected from the heat of the sun by a number of saplings that were cut and stuck in the ground. Before the sermon Muhlenberg baptized eighteen children. The service in this wilderness—the motley crowd seated upon the ground and rising for prayer, their devout demeanor and chant—had a solemnity of its own, which much impressed the young preacher. Sixty persons took part in the communion. On the 2d of July the travellers returned to Tulpehocken.

Another incident of more permanent importance to the



subject of this memoir transpired during the same year. While on a visit to Philadelphia, Frederick had formed the acquaintance of Catharine, the youngest daughter of David Schäfer, a sugar refiner and elder of Zion's Church. Mutual affection led to a union for life. They were married October 15, 1771.

In the summer of 1773 the congregation of Conococheague, in Maryland, invited Frederick Muhlenberg through the Lutheran Ministerium to become their pastor. The request was not granted; in the same year, however, he accepted a call from a German congregation in New York, which had seceded from the old German Trinity Church (southwest corner of Broadway and Rector Street) and worshipped at the northwest corner of Frankford and William Streets. Their church was known as Christ or Swamp Church, and had been dedicated May 1, 1767.

The talented and eloquent Bernhard Michael Hausihl was at that time pastor of Trinity and, although a native of Germany, preached in English, while our Muhlenberg, born in this country, held divine services in German. At the outbreak of the Revolution another difference between the two men, destined to affect the whole tenor of their lives, manifested itself. Hausihl espoused the cause of the Tories, as his congregation did. His evil day came after the evacuation of New York. Frederick Muhlenberg, on the contrary, sided with the friends of freedom and gave full vent to the expression of his sentiments. His congregation were in perfect accord with him, and when he left, under the stress of the times, they insisted that he should return as soon as the storm blew over. When it became evident that the enemy contemplated to seize the city, his friends advised him to seek a place of safety for himself and family. In consequence he sent, in May, 1776, his wife to her parents in Philadelphia, where their third child was born. He followed July 2, two days before independence was declared.

What effect this great event had upon his mind, what thoughts and dreams of the future may have arisen within him, whether an inner voice whispered to him that he too

should be called to tender a hand in raising the temple of freedom, *quien sabe?* His elder brother, Peter Gabriel, had at that time already chosen his part. In January, 1776, he entered the pulpit in Woodstock, Virginia, for the last time, and, taking leave of his congregation, exchanged the clerical gown for the uniform of a colonel. At the head of his brave German regiment he had already, before the Declaration of Independence, received the baptism of fire on Sullivan's Island.

For Frederick, however, the time had not yet come. At present he was only a parson without a charge, the father of a family without the means of support, and his prospects were anything but cheering. He removed to his aged parents at the Trappe, where he arrived August 16. On the evening of the 23d, before a company of soldiers recruited in New Hanover, under command of Captain Richards, he preached a parting sermon on the text, "Be not ye afraid of them; remember the Lord, which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons, and your daughters, your wives, and your houses." (Nehemiah iv. 14.)

While assisting his father in his pastoral duties, he occasionally visited Philadelphia on horseback. Thus it happened that towards the end of the year 1776, when the cause of the Americans looked very dark, he was the bearer of the glad tidings to the Trappe of the surprise at Trenton. But in the following year the course of events took a most unfortunate turn. The enemy entered Pennsylvania, the battle of Brandywine was lost, and Philadelphia fell. Those were dark and anxious days for old Muhlenberg, his son, and their families. The din of war no longer was heard at a distance, but in the immediate neighborhood. On their retreat, after the battle of Brandywine, a part of the American army occupied the peaceful Trappe, a regiment of militia taking up their quarters in the church and school-house. When the enemy approached Philadelphia, Frederick hastened thither to convey his parents-in-law to the country, for David Schäfer had shown himself a stout friend of the Revolutionary party, and could expect no mercy from the

English. Among the many buildings wantonly destroyed during the occupation was also his sugar refinery.

Frederick Muhlenberg had during the year 1777 removed to the neighboring New Hanover (also called Falkner's Swamp), where he took charge of the Lutheran Church, and did good service in quelling dissensions of the congregation, which, by the way, was the oldest German Lutheran congregation in America, dating back to the beginning of the last century. From there he ministered to congregations in the hilly country of Oley, New Goshenhoppen, and for a time in Reading, until the church of the latter place was occupied for hospital purposes. A letter of Muhlenberg to his brother-in-law, Pastor Schulze, in Tulpehocken, bearing date New Hanover, September 30, 1777, gives a vivid picture of his situation.

After congratulations on the birth of a son, he says, "Our general (Peter Muhlenberg) is well. Yesterday Burckhard, Schäfer, and I slept with him in camp. The army stands ten miles distant from here, and three miles from the Trappe. All news, particularly the capture of Ticonderoga and Burgoyne's defeat, you will hear from the bearer. During the year I had untold trouble because of the army being here, and my house being filled with Philadelphians. I am still overrun with strangers. Our affairs will shortly wear a better aspect. Howe will probably not remain in Philadelphia a long time. As soon as I can I shall come to Tulpehocken. Papa and Mama are well. They are also overrun with people, as the Militia and a part of Lord Sterling's division lie encamped at the Trappe. However, thus far they have suffered no material losses."

From an entry in the elder Muhlenberg's diary we learn more exactly how many persons found lodgings in Frederick's small house. He writes, October 11, 1777, as follows: "My son F. came from New Hanover, but is very much discouraged, as he himself is a fugitive with wife, three children, maid and nurse, his brother's wife and child and Swaine and wife, make all eleven persons in one small house and with increasing scarcity of money and provisions."

Before Frederick Muhlenberg entered his thirtieth year he seriously considered the question of his future career. For nine years he had faithfully served in the ministry and yet not risen above depressing cares and petty concerns of life. Should his life be a failure? Should the powers of which he was conscious run to waste? The whole of his vigorous manhood lay yet before him, and now was the time to come to a decision, if he was to venture upon a new departure.

He took counsel with his good father, who could not, however, reconcile himself to the idea that his second son also should forsake the calling which in his eyes was the noblest and worthiest of all. But it was perhaps the very example which Peter had set that led Frederick to think of changing his profession. He, too, was anxious to serve his country, which had not yet emerged from its struggle for national and political liberty, and to devote himself to a career that satisfied his aspirations and tested his capabilities. His friends, particularly his father-in-law, were favorably inclined to further his plans, and to aid him in the pursuit of a laudable ambition. Thus, early in the year 1779, Muhlenberg concluded to resign his ministerial office and to enter political life.

The first step he took in this direction was to accept the candidacy as member to Congress. The Assembly of Pennsylvania had to fill three vacancies, and elected, on March 2, 1779, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, Henry Wynkoop, and J. McCleane. The term of the whole delegation expiring in the same year, an election was held in November, which resulted in the choice of Muhlenberg, James Searle, John Armstrong, James McCleane, and William Shippen, who took their seats on the 13th of November. On the same day Muhlenberg was put on the Committee on the Treasury, which goes to show that during the few months of his novitiate he had won the esteem and confidence of his colleagues. He now plunged with a will into the turbulent sea of politics, keeping all the time a calm head and an honest heart. He was not spared, as we shall see, sharp collisions and

bitter disappointments. Some of his experiences he details in letters to his younger brother Henry, then minister in Lancaster.<sup>1</sup> They are all written in German, dashed off in an easy, confidential style, sometimes with a tinge of frolicking humor and again "talking out of meeting" in terms that would be used only *sub rosa*. The first on hand is dated October 11, 1780, a time when Arnold's treason was the great sensation of the day. In it he says,—

"I received your last through Mr. Wirz, Jr., and will now answer the points of your letter, as far as I remember them, for I am writing in Congress. It is true, Arnold, the arch-villain, formerly had quite a number of friends in Congress, but their support was mainly due to the fact that he was against Pennsylvania. Moreover, New York hoped to employ him as Commander-in-chief against Vermont, the newly set-up State in their State. That is the reason why they supported him, though his speculating principles were detested. In spite of your misgivings I am pretty sure that the aspect of affairs is not exactly as you think. Nobody thought that he would go so far astray, though there was reason enough to detest his cursed avarice. As far as Pennsylvania is concerned, we were all the time intensely opposed to him. For this we were much blamed, now we stand justified. I hope, however, before the war is over, we shall get him into our hands, and give him his due as much as to Major André. Your remarks about the *yellow whigs* I fully endorse. I have never thought of supporting 'suspect,' moderate men, but the principle of the *yellow whigs*, to allow none that is not of their own stripe, to show his head, I take exception to, especially as they are more noisy than inclined to do real service. They care more for the

<sup>1</sup> They were kindly placed at the disposal of the writer by the Rev. F. A. Muhlenberg, a grandson of Henry E. Muhlenberg. Among these papers there is also a burlesque German poem in doggerel verse, congratulating Henry with mock solemnity upon the honorary degree of A.M. conferred upon him by the University of Pennsylvania, on July 4, 1780. The prose introduction is in Latin. The text is full of allusions to the "high old times" they had in Halle, and is followed by ludicrous footnotes, mimicking the style of learned commentaries to classic writers.

emoluments than the welfare of the country. In general, it is sad to see that public spirit and virtue are more and more on the decline, while avarice, dissipation, and luxury are gaining the upper hand. Only our brave soldiers form an exception. With all their hardships, hunger, cold, and fatigue they remain steadfast and deserve all that is due to brave men. . . . Yesterday we had an election for Assemblymen, which brought out a strong vote, and this morning the result became known. Those chosen are Samuel Morris, by 870 votes; F. Muhlenberg, by 869; Robert Morris, by 649; Sharp Delany, 615; and John Steinmetz, 531. Dr. Hutchinson, Gurney and Kämmerer, who ran against us, had only between 2 and 300. Colonel Will is Sheriff. You may judge how much the Constitutionals are disappointed that their ticket has been such a failure. At first they even wanted to fall back upon their former men, but that would not do at all. However, they have to be satisfied, and I hope, if the new Assembly will prove earnest, our internal affairs will soon be in better shape. Morris alone is able by his credit to appreciate our State money.

“But I am getting into a wide subject and must break off, especially as, at this moment, an important debate is going on in the house and I can hardly keep my mind on what I am writing. I shall keep my seat in Congress until the new Assembly will meet. We are quite anxious to learn how matters have gone with you. No question, the others have pushed the cart so deep into the mire that we shall have infinite trouble to move it back, and shall, in the effort, be much bespattered with dirt. The coffers are empty, the taxes almost unendurable, the people in bad humor, the money discredited, the army magazines exhausted, and the prospects to replenish them poor; the soldiers are badly clad, winter is coming, the enemy by no means to be despised, especially since the arrival of Rodney. Taking this and other things into account, public service might appear undesirable. However, let us once more take cheer and be steadfast, rely on God and our own strength, and endure courageously, then we shall after all be sure of

reaching our goal. The present Congress, believe me, consists of honest, brave, and—excepting myself—wise men, but the difficulties are innumerable and their power is by far too limited. I have often heard the present Congress compared with that of 1776 to the disadvantage of the former, but, at that time, it was no hard task; if they needed money, the sinews of war, the press had to keep silence, taxes were not imposed, and the country was not drained. If the same men were in our place, they would have to whistle to another tune. I have reasons to think that the Confederation will soon be ratified by the signing of Maryland, and then the outlook will be better.

“ Our foreign affairs look very well. We have as one of the belligerent powers acceded to the proposals of the Emperor of Russia about the commerce of neutral powers, and our minister in France has received full powers to that end. Of this we expect, with good reason, considerable advantages. Again we are about to lay an impost on all imports and exports, likewise on prize-goods, so as to establish a permanent fund for hard money, aside of the tobacco which Virginia and Maryland must furnish. This falls upon the mercantile class, the poor will not feel it much. You see now in which way we expect to give credit to our new money, a part of the funds, which the several States establish, and how we hereafter intend to redeem the certificates. This will be done, the value being determined by the scale adopted by Congress, either in specie or in new money, at the option of the holder. At present we have, to be sure, no means to pay interest, for we can hardly raise money enough for the army and not so much as members of Congress coming from elsewhere need for their maintenance, but provision will be made within a short time and then you can get yours. I don't know whether you will understand my letter: I listen to the debate, make anglicisms, and often write incoherently. Of such things I should prefer to write in English, if I were not afraid that the letter might fall into wrong hands.

“ It just occurs to me that Father had a little conference at

the Trappe. Kurz, Voigt, Röller, Schmidt, and Ernst were there. The latter, I think, is ordained and will go to Easton. I should have liked to attend, but could not go. I have no horse, nor can I afford to keep one; moreover, I had no time. Believe me, I am not so well off now as when I left the Swamp [New Hanover], and if I had not been induced by the urgent appeals of the Germans to accept membership in the Assembly, a resolution in which the large majority of votes I received further confirmed me, I might have been tempted to take again to the apostolate. But I am here not my own master, and must be satisfied to serve where my fellow-citizens want me."

Among the charges intrusted to Frederick Muhlenberg in Congress was also that of chairman of the Medical Committee, by no means a sinecure; for, as he writes to his brother (September 6, 1780), he had to perform all the duties of the Director-General of the military hospitals.

Yielding to the pressure of his numerous friends, he had, as we have seen by the foregoing letter, accepted candidacy for the Assembly and been elected. It must have been owing to the good record he had made in Congress and to the great confidence which his character and his ability inspired that, though a new member and only thirty years of age, he was at the opening of the session (November 3, 1780) elected Speaker. To the same responsible position he was called by the two succeeding Assemblies (November 9, 1781, and October 31, 1782).

The final blow which virtually ended the attempts of the English to conquer and recover their former colonies, the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, inspired Frederick, as we may expect, with most joyous feelings.

In a letter to his venerable father, who had followed the course of events with painful anxiety, he writes under date of October 24, 1781,—

"With heartfelt joy, with the utmost gratitude to the Almighty for his divine interposition, I do most sincerely congratulate you on the capture of Lord Cornwallis with his whole Army, amounting to 5500 land forces, 110 vessels, and



a prodigious quantity of Artillery, and this without much blood being spilled. I am, at present, in too great a hurry and confusion to give you the particulars, but shall do so by the first opportunity. Just now Congress, Assembly, and Council are about to proceed to our Zion's Church to return thanks to the Lord for this singular mark of interposition in our favor. Oh, may all the people rejoice in the Lord and return the most unfeigned and sincere thanks! In the next papers all the particulars will be given, as Col. Tilghman, of the General's Aides, arrived two hours ago."

This great achievement, with its magnificent results, did not, however, remove all difficulties, relieve all sores, or stop factional rancor. Bitter reproaches were launched against the Assembly, and hints thrown out that it harbored sinister designs. Frederick Muhlenberg took up the pen to expose and refute these slanderous insinuations, but, at the same time, a longing after the peace and tranquillity of private life appears for a while to have gained upon him. Of this mood a letter to his brother Henry testifies, from which some extracts are given here. It is dated February 20, 1782:

"I am glad that you like my articles.<sup>1</sup> The one in English was perhaps too studied; it was not written for everybody, but only for those who can judge of our political affairs. *Merks* has this week come out against me in a rather pig-gish reply, but I shall answer politely, and hereafter decline further discussion, if he continues throwing dirt. Do you know, it is Leuthäuser and Kämmerer? Sometimes my phlegmatic temper becomes a little ruffled, when I think of those asses; but mindful of Solomon's proverb I let the fools alone.

"I am now much wrapped up in politics, the more one is concerned with them, the deeper he is drawn in. But it is a comfort to think that this will be my last year and that, if my life is spared, I shall next year be released of public ser-

<sup>1</sup>The German articles of Muhlenberg appeared in the *Gemeinnützige Philadelphische Correspondenz* of February 13, February 20, and March 13, 1782. They are signed "Ein Deutscher." The English articles have not been discovered.

vice. It is settled that I go to the Trappe in April, where I expect to recuperate in the solitude and quiet of rural life. For, believe me, I have become faint in body and soul. Take my remark as you please, I assure you, I aim at nothing but the welfare of my country. Popularity I do not seek. The fool's praise or censure I do not mind."

In another letter, written a few months later (May 15, 1782), he expresses himself exceedingly well pleased with the first taste of the coveted retirement.

" . . . Yesterday I came down [from Trappe] to buy some goods. Now only, dear brother, I enjoy my life; it is true, in the sweat of my brow, yet far from the noise of the City and of the restless political life. Here I am not troubled with clients, petitioners, and the hundred other curious inquirers with whom my house in the City was all the time swarming; but I can comfortably attend to my work in the garden, the field, or the store,—my constitution begins to improve in the wholesome air. Next autumn there will be an end of my public office and then hail to me! Zachæus!<sup>1</sup>

We do not know what induced him to reconsider this resolution and to forego the surcease of public cares so longingly wished for. At all events, in the fall of 1782, he was re-elected into the Assembly, took his seat, and was at once again invested with the Speaker's office. Before his term had expired he was elected into the Board of Censors, a sort of grand jury on all matters pertaining to the government, the laws, and finance of the Commonwealth. He must have established a remarkably good record as presiding officer, for the Board of Censors also called him to the chair.

<sup>1</sup> Since 1781, Frederick Muhlenberg had a business interest both in Philadelphia and the Trappe. In Philadelphia, the firm Muhlenberg & Wegman, dealers in colonial goods, had their store in Second Street between Arch and Race. At the Trappe, Frederick Muhlenberg bought, in 1781, for eight hundred pounds, of Hermann Ried, a stone house and fifty acres of land. In 1791, if not earlier, he went into partnership with Jacob L. Lawersweiler to carry on a sugar refinery, 80 and 82 (O. N.) North Second Street. The firm existed until about 1800, when it failed.

Their sessions lasted from November 10, 1783, to September 25, 1784.

Upon some questions which then agitated the public mind, —*e.g.*, the expediency of calling a convention to change the Constitution of Pennsylvania, on equal representation, etc., —Frederick Muhlenberg expresses himself with refreshing unreserve in a letter to his brother, dated June 28, 1784, from which we give the following extracts :

“As to our political affairs, it is true the racket is over, but, as you say, the ‘boil is not ripe.’ The blind passion and mad party spirit of the common crowd, who, after all, cannot judge for themselves, are so strong and bitter that they would rather put up with three times as many defeats of the constitution than with a convention. But is this not a real aristocracy, when a few leaders of the party, by untiring effort manage to withhold from the people, of whom their power is derived, the people’s own power? Do they not betray a ridiculous fear that in a convention, based upon equal representation of the people (for such does not exist in Council), the people might alter the constitution? But the rascals know well enough, if the intelligent part of the people, and I assert also, if the majority of the people, were properly and equitably represented in the convention that a change would be the consequence and they be unhorsed.”

Muhlenberg continues in English :

“The principle of representation, which the constitution calls *the only and just* one, is the *Number* of taxables, without respect to property. I admire and fully approve of the principle as just, equal, and good. And it has been adopted by the State as far as respects the Assembly,—of course, every 700 Taxables, rich or poor, have one Representative in Assembly; for instance, Westmoreland County having 1500 Taxables, has two members in Assembly; Lancaster County, having near 8000 Taxables, has eleven Representatives in Assembly.

“But if the principle for Representation is good, which we admit, why did it not come into the wise noddles of those great framers of the Convention, to let that principle hold

good throughout every public body,—*e.g.*, why not in the Executive Council, and the Council of Censors? Is it just that 1500 Taxables in Washington, Bedford, Westmoreland, or other back counties, who, by the way have paid little or no Tax during this revolution, should have as much to say in the Council of Censors as 8000 from Lancaster, or 7000 from Philadelphia who bear the burthen of the State? All those back counties, although the number of Taxables is so inconsiderable, still have two members in our Council,—if this is not an absurdity in the Constitution, there never was one. Take the real number of Taxables each member of our Council represents and you have a great majority of the good people of the State for a Convention. And had Mr. W. from your county not displayed a double face, and spoke otherwise before the election than he does since, I know full well he never would have had a seat here.”

What follows is again German in the original :

“But what am I about? I just thought I was arguing with an Englishman in Lancaster,—and I confess on the subject of politics English comes easier to me than German,—and here I almost fall into a passion about my countrymen when I think of their dreadful credulity, envy, lack of sense, and hence their foolish peasant conceit. . . . If I had looked more to my own interest than to theirs, had I danced to their stupid whistling without consulting my judgment and my conscience, I might be a fogleman among them. . . .

“Whether we are going to make a new code? I do not think so. They have now the majority. Miles has resigned, and the City, the great, rich, populous City, has allowed Geo. Bryan, an archpartisan and brawler to be elected in his place. In these minor elections a culpable indifference prevails here. Bryan is one of the chief justices who by the Constitution is not to sit in Assembly or Council, receive no fee nor perquisite of any kind, etc., etc.; he was long time Vice-President, has not a farthing of real or personal property, lives in the Country, not in the City, and has nevertheless been elected Censor for the City. And such men are to investigate whether the Constitution has been kept invio-

late, whether the taxes have been properly imposed and collected, whether the laws have been properly executed!

“*Eheu! risum teneatis*,—in brief, the whole thing is a farce, costs the State five thousand or six thousand dollars, keeps the people in a ferment, and is not worth a farthing. I am ashamed to be a member, and if it might not be said, you forsook the vessel in the storm or you are afraid to weather it out, I would have resigned long ere this; perhaps I shall do so yet, for I can neither before God nor the world answer for thus wasting my precious time, robbing the State, and doing only mischief. The fellows from the back counties now hope to stay here till next October, to draw their 17/6, and to return home with a well filled purse; some of them will get at the end of the session more money than they ever had in their life. In short, dear brother, I am losing patience and draw a deep sigh at the corrupt political condition of our State.

“ . . . Nevertheless, to prove to you how readily the sentiments of the people change, imagine, in spite of all the calumnies and abuse behind my back, even here in Philadelphia County, the three districts of the County have applied to me with the inquiry, whether I would not serve them next year in the Assembly, but I have flatly refused. Henceforward I shall have nothing to do with public office. I am justice of the peace and can be serviceable to my neighbors. My store is doing well and is in good running order.

“ One more question. Tell me your sincere opinion about ‘*Die freymüthigen Gedanken*,’ etc. [frank thoughts]. Will it be worth while, to have a few more of such pieces printed? To be sure, what is the use? The asses won’t understand it, though you figure it out to them ever so plainly, etc.”

Had Muhlenberg been inclined to return to the ministry, he would have had an opportunity in 1783, when the Lutheran congregation at Ebenezer, near Savannah, Georgia, consisting of Salzburg refugees and their descendants, offered him the pulpit that had been vacated by the death of Rev. Christian Rabenhorst. But his heart was set on returning once more to the localities endeared to him

in early childhood, to his beloved Trappe, the abode of his aged parents and of near relatives. The employment which his store, his farm, and his garden gave him left him still sufficient leisure to attend to several responsible but in no way harassing offices. On March 19, 1784, the Executive Council commissioned him justice of the peace for the district composed of Skippach, Perkiomen, Providence, and Limerick townships (he resigned January 14, 1789). When Montgomery County was erected, in autumn, 1784, the Assembly appointed him Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds (September 21, 1784). At the first court that was held in Montgomery County (September 28, 1784) he presided. Thus several years passed to him quiet and uneventful.

In the mean time, the political aspect of the country entered into an entirely new phase. The foundation on which the government of the United States had been constructed proved weak and unsafe; the Articles of Confederation were replaced by the Constitution, which Congress submitted to the several States for ratification. To the Convention which Pennsylvania called for this purpose, F. A. Muhlenberg was elected member. In view of the passionate opposition threatened to undo the work of patriotism and wisdom, and holding firm convictions on the subject, he deemed it his duty to accept the important trust. The Convention met at Philadelphia, September 21, 1787, and its first business was the election of a presiding officer. By the sixty votes cast, Muhlenberg received thirty, Judge McKean twenty-nine, and Mr. Gray one. The question whether one-half of the votes constituted a majority was waived by passing the resolution to conduct Muhlenberg to the chair. Both he and his brother Peter, then Vice-President of Pennsylvania, exerted themselves earnestly in behalf of ratification. The Constitution having been accepted by a sufficient number of States, the new form of federal government went into operation. Under it Pennsylvania was entitled to eight representatives to the lower House. Among those elected with goodly majorities were Frederick and Peter Muhlenberg.

On March 4, 1789, the day set for the meeting of Congress in New York, no quorum was present, and it was not till April 1 that an organization of the House could be effected. Such was the prestige which attached to Muhlenberg's name that he was chosen Speaker. The respect and confidence thus shown him by the representatives of eleven States of the Union could not but be highly gratifying to him; at the same time his present position, under so wonderful a change of the surroundings, must, by contrast, have reminded him of the time when, as a fugitive, he left New York a marked man on account of his republican principles.

He was also a member of the House of the Second, Third, and Fourth Congresses. In the Third Congress he was again elected Speaker—this time as candidate of the Antifederalists or Democrats (then called Republicans)—over Sedgwick, the Federalist candidate. He took part in a debate on the taxation of sugar refined in the United States, upon which an excise of two cents per pound was to be laid. Muhlenberg strenuously opposed this measure as a blow against domestic industry, but in vain.

In the Fourth Congress, Jay's treaty became the subject of a very animated discussion; the Senate, however, ratified it on June 24, 1795, and it received the President's approval. Again very hot and protracted debates ensued in the House of Representatives when the resolution was offered to grant an appropriation for carrying out the provisions of the treaty. The President was requested by a resolution to place before the House all instructions, correspondence, etc., which had reference to the treaty, because there was an impression afloat that the branch of Congress representing the rights of the people had been ignored. Washington replied politely but firmly, declining to grant this request, as the House of Representatives had nothing to do with the conclusion of treaties. This news was handed over to the Committee of the Whole, of which Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg was the chairman. After a long and stormy

debate, the vote was taken, April 29, 1796, on the resolution of granting the appropriation. There were forty-nine votes for and as many against it. Upon Muhlenberg now rested the very responsible duty of giving the deciding vote, and although not perfectly satisfied with the treaty as it had been expressed, he cast it in the affirmative. Had he voted differently serious complications might have resulted. The question now came before the House, and was favorably acted upon by a vote of fifty-one against forty-eight.

The acceptance of Jay's treaty was denounced by its adversaries as a base surrender of American interests to the arrogant and wily foe. But Muhlenberg, in deciding as he did, was guided solely by the considerations of the statesman who looks to the welfare of his country. When, soon afterwards, the party lines were drawn between the Federalists, who were charged with servility to England, and the Republicans or Democrats, who sympathized with revolutionary France, Frederick Muhlenberg, as well as his brother Peter, stood on the side of the latter. Both used their influence in favor of the Democratic party, as John Adams, not without some bitterness, remarks, "These two Muhlenbergs addressed the public with their names, both in English and in German, with invectives against the administration and warm recommendations of Mr. Jefferson."

After the adjournment of the Fourth Congress, Muhlenberg withdrew from active political life. In the autumn of 1799 the place of Collector-General of the Pennsylvania Land Office became vacant by the removal of the incumbent for malfeasance. Muhlenberg was appointed to this place by the recently-elected governor, Thomas McKean, in the beginning of the year 1800. He removed to Lancaster, which in 1799 had become the seat of the State government. Once more in a position to enjoy the genial company of his beloved brother Henry, minister at the Lutheran church in Lancaster, he, no doubt, looked forward to a happy and comparatively quiet life. But he was not long granted this boon. Death ended his earthly career on June 4, 1801, before he had completed his fifty-second year.



The fact that Frederick Muhlenberg was on so many occasions chosen to preside over deliberating bodies to which the people had elected him may be taken as evidence of his readily discerned and proven fitness, in which his character and temper as well as his abilities had a share. Also in other walks of life he was sought as a safe and judicious counsellor. The University of Pennsylvania he served as trustee from 1779 till 1786. The Rev. John Christian Hardwick (Hartwig) appointed him by his last will trustee and president of a society for the propagation of the gospel, to be founded according to the provisions of the will,—a charge he could not carry out because he died before the difficulties that retarded the execution of the will were overcome. The German Society of Pennsylvania, of which he became a member in 1778, elected him their president in 1789 and again in the years following till 1797, when, on account of removal from the city, he declined a renomination. The society also expressed to him in a formal manner their thanks for help rendered in procuring their charter in 1781, when he was Speaker of the Assembly. Altogether, the Germans of Pennsylvania looked upon Frederick Muhlenberg as one of their own people, and a leader they might be proud of, while he never stooped to improper methods to curry their favor. Of the great power that he and his brother had over them, John Adams querulously says, “These two Germans, who had been long in public affairs and in high offices, were the great leaders and oracles of the whole German interest in Pennsylvania and the neighboring States. . . . The Muhlenbergs turned the whole body of the Germans, great numbers of the Irish, and many of the English, and in this manner introduced the total change that followed in both Houses of the legislature, and in all the executive departments of the national government. Upon such slender threads did our elections then depend!”

A personal description of the man, his ways and bearing, is not at hand. The portrait which accompanies this sketch gives the impression of firmness, dignity, and a calm, well-

balanced mind. But it hardly betrays the vein of humor he possessed, of which his letters bear unmistakable evidence.

We close with a short notice of his family. That he was married to Catharine Schäfer, daughter of the sugar refiner, David Schäfer, has already been mentioned. His children were: Maria, married to John S. Heister; Henry William, married to Mary Sheaff; Elizabeth, married to John H. Irwin; Margareth, married to Jacob Sperry; P. David, married to Rachel Evans, daughter of Oliver Evans, Esq.; and Catharine, married to George Sheaff.

A LIST OF THE ISSUES OF THE PRESS IN NEW  
YORK, 1693-1752.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from page 98.)

1741.

* Acts of Assembly, Nov. 3, 1740.	W. Bradford.
* " " " " 27, 1741.	do.
Birkett's Almanac for 1742.	do.
* Journal of Assembly to June 13.	do.
" " " " Nov. 27.	do.
Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1741.	do.
Letter from Capt. Peter Lawrence.	J. P. Zenger.
Nederduitsche Almanack voor 1742.	do.
New York Gazette.	W. Bradford.
" " Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.
Spiritual Journey Temporized.	do.
The Quietists.	do.

1742.

* Acts of Assembly.	W. Bradford.
* " " " " Nov.	do.
Almanac for 1743.	do.
Garden's Two Sermons.	J. P. Zenger.
* Leeds' (T.) Almanac for 1742.	W. Bradford.
New York Gazette.	do.
New York Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.
Plea for Pure Religion.	
Tennent's (John) Essay on Pleurisy.	
Votes of Assembly.	J. Parker.

## 1743.

* Acts of Assembly.	J. Parker.
* Birkett's Almanac for 1743.	W. Bradford.
Dickinson's Nature and Necessity of Resignation.	
Nederduitsche Almanack voor 1743.	J. P. Zenger.
New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy.	J. Parker.
"    Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.
Pemberton's Sermon on Dr. Nichol.	J. Parker.
Shepherd's Sincere Convert.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.

## 1744.

Act of Assembly for regulating the Militia.	do.
"    "    " the relief of insolvent debtors.	do.
* Acts of Assembly.	do.
Drelincourt's Christian's Defence.	do.
* Duyckinck's Short Account of the Moravians.	H. De Forest.
* Horsmanden's Journal of the Detection of the Conspiracy.	J. Parker.
Life of the Rev. Peter Vine.	H. De Forest.
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1745.	do.
* New Year Verses of the Weekly Post Boy.	J. Parker.
* New York Almanac for 1745.	H. De Forest.
"    Evening Post.	do.
"    Gazette and Weekly Post Boy.	J. Parker.
"    Weekly Journal.	J. P. Zenger.
Prime's Sermon at Mrs. Wilmot's Funeral.	J. Parker.
Richardson's Pamela.	do.
Rules of the Scots Society in New York.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
Wetmore. Letter on Dickinson's Remarks.	

1745.

- \* Acts of Assembly. J. Parker.  
\* " " " do.  
Advertisement. Notice to delinquent purchasers at Romopock, N. J. J. P. Zenger.  
" of a reward for Solomon Hays.  
Beach's Sermon on Eternal Life. J. Parker.  
Berkeley's Treatise on Tar Water.  
Burr's Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Bostwick.  
\* Clinton's Speech to the Council and Assembly, June 25, 1745. J. Parker.  
\* Clinton's Speech dissolving the Assembly, May 14, 1745. do.  
Colden's Explication of the First Causes. do.  
" On Yellow Fever.  
Leslie's Short and Easy Method with Deists. H. De Foreest.  
More's American Country Almanac for 1746. J. Parker.  
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1746. H. De Foreest.  
New Complete Guide to the English Tongue. J. Parker.  
New York Almanac for 1746. H. De Foreest.  
" Gazette. J. Parker.  
" Weekly Journal. J. P. Zenger.  
Notice to bidders for farming the Excise. J. Parker.  
Strange Relation of an Old Woman who was drowned. H. De Foreest.  
Votes of Assembly. J. Parker.

1746.

- Acts of Assembly to May ? J. Parker.  
\* " " to July 15. do.

Anderson's Chronicles of the Duke of Cumberland.	
Blakeney's New Manual Exercises.	J. Parker.
* Clinton's Speech to the Council and Assembly.	do.
Dickinson's Brief Illustration of the Rights of Infant Baptism.	
* Jenkin's Brief Vindication.	J. Zenger, Jr.
* More's American Country Almanac for 1747.	J. Parker.
Nathan's Almanac for 1747.	C. Zenger.
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1747.	H. De Foreest.
* New York Almanac for 1747.	do.
"    Evening Post.	do.
"    Gazette.	J. Parker.
"    Primer.	H. De Foreest.
"    Weekly Journal.	J. P. & C. Zenger.
* Pemberton's Sermon, July 31.	J. Parker.
Proclamation, Jan. 20, 1745/6.	do.
"    Feb. 3,    "	do.
"    June 7, 1746.	do.
Publication (First) of the Council of Proprietors of East Jersey, March 25, 1746.	do.
* To his Excellency Geo. Clinton, the Humble Representation of the Council.	do.
* Treaty with the Six Nations.	do.
Votes of Assembly, June 25, 1745, to May 3, 1746.	do.
"    "    to July 15, 1746.	do.
"    "    to Dec. 6, 1746.	do.
1747.	
Account of the Apparition of Lord Kilmarnock.	do.
Acts of Assembly.	do.
* Answer to the Council of Proprietors of East New Jersey.	C. Zenger.
* Bill in the Chancery of New Jersey.	J. Parker.

Burgh's Britain's Remembrancer.	J. Parker.
Candid Account of the Behavior of Lord Lovat on the day of his execution.	do.
* Clinton's Speech to the Council and Assembly, March 25, 1747.	do.
Countryman's Help and Indian's Friend.	
Guide to Vestrymen of New York City.	J. Parker.
Infallible Scheme for reducing Canada.	do.
Journal of Assembly to Sept. 22, 1747.	do.
Letter from the Representatives.	do.
Livingston's Philosophic Solitude.	do.
Merchant's History of the Rebellion in Great Britain.	do.
* More's American Country Almanac for 1748.	do.
Nathan's Almanac for 1748.	C. Zenger.
Nature, &c., of Oaths and Juries.	J. Parker.
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1748.	H. De Foreest.
* New York Almanac for 1748.	do.
"    Evening Post.	do.
"    Gazette.	J. Parker.
"    Weekly Journal.	C. Zenger.
Proclamation, April 30, 1747.	J. Parker.
Publication of the Council of Proprietors of East Jersey, Sept. 14, 1747.	do.
Ray's Acts of the Rebels.	do.
Representation of the Assembly to the Governor.	do.
Second Publication of the Council of Proprietors of East Jersey, March 25, 1747.	do.
Shirley's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle.	do.
Votes of Assembly to Nov. 25, 1747.	do.
Watts' Divine Songs.	H. De Foreest.
Yorkshire Wonder.	do.
	1748.
Acts of Assembly.	J. Parker.
Congress between the Beasts.	

Cries of the Oppressed.	
Doctrine of Universal Free Grace proved from the Scriptures.	H. De Foreest.
Dutch Reformed Church Forms and Liturgy.	do.
Frilinghausen's Jeugd-oeffening.	W. Weyman.
* Funeral Sermon on Michael Morin.	J. Parker.
Heidelburgh Catechism.	H. De Foreest.
Just Vengeance of Heaven Exemplified.	J. Parker.
More's American Country Almanac for 1749.	do.
* Nathan's Almanac for 1749.	C. Zenger.
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1749.	H. De Foreest.
New York Almanac for 1749.	do.
“ Evening Post.	do.
“ Gazette.	J. Parker.
“ Weekly Journal.	C. Zenger.
Pierson's Sermon on the Death of Jona- than Dickinson.	J. Parker.
Pocket Almanac for 1749.	do.
Proclamation, Oct. 4, 1748.	do.
Towgood's Dissenting Gentleman's Answer.	
Votes of Assembly.	J. Parker.
	1749.
Acts of Assembly.	do.
Burgh's Britain's Remembrancer.	
* Cheever's Introduction to Latin, 6th edi- tion.	J. Parker.
Conductor Generalis.	
* More's American Country Almanac for 1750.	J. Parker.
Nathan's Almanac for 1750.	C. Zenger.
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1750.	H. De Foreest.
New York Almanac for 1750.	do.
“ City. Laws and Ordinances of	J. Parker.
“ “ The Carmen's Law.	do.
“ Evening Post.	H. De Foreest.
“ Gazette.	J. Parker.



New York Weekly Journal.	J. Zenger.
Pocket Almanac for 1750.	J. Parker.
Proclamation, Feb. 28, 1748/9.	do.
"    April 29,    "	do.
* Sherman's Almanac for 1750.	H. De Foreest.
Some Serious Thoughts on erecting a College in New York.	
Votes of Assembly.	J. Parker.
1750.	
An Act to prevent the exportation of un- merchantable flour.	do.
An Act to regulate the gauging of Rum, &c.	do.
Acts of Assembly.	do.
* Arthur's Sermon at Mr. Thane's Ordina- tion.	do.
Colden's History of the Five Nations. (Haven's List.)	
Doomsday, a Discourse on the Resurrec- tion.	H. De Foreest.
Gentle Shepherd.	J. Parker.
Graham's Sermon at his son's Ordination.	
Kennedy's Observations on the importance of the Northern Colonies.	do.
King (The) and the Miller of Mansfield.	do.
Letter from a Gentleman in New York.	
* Lloyd's Meditations on Divine Subjects.	J. Parker.
Manner of receiving a Freemason.	H. De Foreest.
Merry Piper, or the Friar and the Boy.	J. Parker.
More's (R.) Poor Roger's Almanac for 1751.	do.
* More's (T.) American Country Almanac for 1751.	do.
Nathan's Almanac for 1751.	J. Zenger.
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1751.	H. De Foreest.
New Memorandum Book, 3d edition.	
* New Year Verses of the New York Ga- zette.	J. Parker.

New York Almanac for 1751.	H. De Foreest.
“ Evening Post.	do.
“ Gazette.	J. Parker.
“ Primer Enlarged.	H. De Foreest.
“ Weekly Journal.	J. Zenger.
Palmer’s Serious Address.	
Proclamation, Jan. 6, 1749/50.	J. Parker.
Reply to a Letter from a Gentleman in New York.	
Sherman’s Almanac for 1751.	H. De Foreest.
* Some Animadversions on a Reply to a Letter from a Gentleman in New York.	J. Parker.
Toy Shop (The), a Dramatic Satire.	do.
Twenty-four Songs of Robin Hood.	do.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
	1751.
Acts of Assembly.	do.
Art of Pleading.	
Dodsley’s Economy of Human Life, 6th edition.	J. Parker.
Gay’s Beggar’s Opera.	do.
* Importance of the Friendship of the In- dians.	do.
More’s (R.) Poor Roger’s Almanac for 1752.	do.
* More’s (T.) American Country Almanac for 1752.	do.
Muilman’s Letter to the Earl of Chester- field.	do.
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1752.	H. De Foreest.
Almanac for 1752.	do.
New York Evening Post.	do.
“ Gazette.	do.
“ Weekly Journal.	J. Zenger.
Noel’s Short Introduction to Spanish.	J. Parker.
Ronde’s De Gekruicigde Christus.	H. De Foreest.
Sherman’s Almanac for 1752.	do.
Sure Guide to Hell.	J. Parker.

True Translation of the Pope's Absolution.	J. Parker.
Votes of Assembly.	do.
Zenger's Trial.	
1752.	
Acts of Assembly.	J. Parker.
Answer to a Bill in the Chancery of New Jersey.	do.
Answer to a Letter.	
Authentic Narrative of the Loss of the Doddington.	
Barclay's Catechism and Confession of Faith.	
Hutchins' Almanac for 1753.	H. Gaine.
Independent Reflector.	J. Parker.
Indian Songs of Peace.	
Johnson's First Principles of Human Knowledge, 2d edition.	J. Parker.
Judson's Timely Warning.	
Laws of New York.	J. Parker.
Letter of the Freemen of New York City.	do.
More's (R.) Poor Roger's Almanac for 1753.	do.
* More's (T.) American Country Almanac for 1753.	do.
Nederduytsche Almanacke voor 1753.	H. De Foreest.
New York Evening Post.	do.
"    Gazette.	J. Parker.
"    Mercury.	H. Gaine.
"    Weekly Journal.	J. Zenger.
* Ronde's De Ware Gedat'nis.	H. De Foreest.
* Ross's Complete Introduction to Latin.	J. Parker.
Sherman's Astronomical Diary.	H. De Foreest.
Some Thoughts on Education.	
Votes of Assembly.	J. Parker.
Watts' Hymns.	

## CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN PENNSYLVANIA IN 1698.

[Through the courtesy of the Rev. Roswell Randall Hoes, U.S.N., we are enabled to publish the following interesting papers relating to the early history of Pennsylvania, to be found in the archives of the venerable "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," London. It is an exact copy, the work of the transcriber extending even to a faithful reproduction of the punctuation marks.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

PHILADELPHIA 9<sup>ber</sup> 20. 1698

SR.

I now give yo' Excy a true Account of this Country of Pensylvania relating to y<sup>e</sup> Government since my Arrival in as possible.

In y<sup>e</sup> Year 1694<sup>4</sup> I came hither from Jamaica I not having my health there, transported myself & estate here in hopes to find y<sup>e</sup> same wholesom laws here as in other of his Maty's plantacons; and a quiet moderate people: but found quite contrary; found y<sup>m</sup> in wrangles among y<sup>m</sup> selves, and imprisoning one another for Religion. I was in hopes by that they would in time make such a discovery of their hypocracy and be a shamed, so as to return home to their Mother the Church of England. I finding none settled here, nor so much as any law for one here being a consederable number of y<sup>e</sup> Church of England and finding y<sup>e</sup> prejudice y<sup>e</sup> Quakers had ag<sup>t</sup> it we agreed to peticon our Sacred Majesty, y<sup>t</sup> we might have y<sup>e</sup> free exercise of our Religion and Arms for our Defense, we having an account of an Attempt designed on this place by y<sup>e</sup> French by Col Hambleton, who had an Account by a French privateer. The Quaker Magistrate no sooner heard of it, but sent for me, y<sup>e</sup> person y<sup>t</sup> writ it by a Constable to their Sessions. They told me they heard I with some others was peticoning. I told y<sup>m</sup> we were petitioning his Maty y<sup>t</sup> we might have a Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Church

of England for y<sup>e</sup> Exercise of o' Religion, and to make use of our Arms as a Militia to defend our Estates from Enimys. Edward Shippen one of y<sup>e</sup> Quaker Judges turning to y<sup>e</sup> other of his Fellows sayd; Now they have discovered y<sup>m</sup> selves; they are a bringing y<sup>e</sup> and y<sup>e</sup> sword amongst us: but God forbid; we will prevent y<sup>m</sup>, and ordered y<sup>e</sup> Kings Atturney a Quaker to read a Law y<sup>t</sup> they had made ags<sup>t</sup> any person y<sup>t</sup> shall conte or speak ags<sup>t</sup> their Government. I told y<sup>m</sup> I hoped they would not hinder us of y<sup>e</sup> right of petitioning. They then took one Griffith Jones an Atturney at Law on suspition for writing it, into custody & bound him over from sessions to sessions, and threatned all y<sup>t</sup> dare it by a law they have made ags<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> right of a Subject. To relate their partiality in their Courts as often as they sit, were too tedious; so violent they are ags<sup>t</sup> all y<sup>t</sup> are not quakers even to death; their Judges Jurys, nor Evidence being never sworn; One was heard to say he would sooner take a Negro y<sup>t</sup> is a heathen's Word before a Church of England man's Oath; their Malise towards us is such.

I happening to talk with one of their Magistrates concerning y<sup>e</sup> danger we were in, if y<sup>e</sup> privateers knew what a people we were as defenceless: He said y<sup>t</sup> they had an Account of all privateers which were ordered to these parts from France first went to K. James for orders, who gave them a particular charge not to meddle with this place, to show y<sup>e</sup> extraordinary kindness he has for y<sup>m</sup>. They indeed are all Jacobites.

We hearing y<sup>e</sup> dreadfull account of y<sup>e</sup> bloody Conspiracy ags<sup>t</sup> his Maty's royal person by Assassimators, We of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Engld formed an Address to congratulate his Matys great deliverance by y<sup>e</sup> hand of Almighty God. I carryed it to Govern' Markham for his Approbacon: who seemingly liked of it, and signed it I y<sup>n</sup> with y<sup>e</sup> Assistance of others got it signed by many: and after some consultation (as I suppose) of y<sup>e</sup> Quakers who shewed their dislike, and y<sup>t</sup> it was like to go home & y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> King would y<sup>n</sup> see what a Number of y<sup>e</sup> Church of Engld were here, We called for it pretending to see it, and kept it & would not part with

it, so y<sup>t</sup> we were hindered in expressing our duty as we ought. Govern<sup>r</sup> Markham (as I suppose) to gain a proselyte to M<sup>r</sup>. Pen & his Interest, made me a justice of y<sup>e</sup> peace one of his and M<sup>r</sup>. Pen's Magistrates, not y<sup>e</sup> Kings, by his obstrucing me in my duty to y<sup>e</sup> King as a Magistrate and a good Subject in apprehending y<sup>e</sup> pirats, My Narrative of which I have herewith inclosed, it being a Copy, y<sup>e</sup> Original is sent home from New York by M<sup>r</sup> Randolph; and attested by me when there to y<sup>e</sup> right Hon<sup>ble</sup>, y<sup>e</sup> Lords Com<sup>rs</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> plantacons & Admiralty and others with the Account of y<sup>e</sup> seizing and smothering of [?] Askialonds Vessel, for y<sup>e</sup> tryal of which M<sup>r</sup> Markham would have made me Judge of y<sup>e</sup> Admiralty if I would, on y<sup>e</sup> slender power he had. He has written to Col Heathcot y<sup>t</sup> I informed at home against him about it: which letters I doubt not will be a Sufficient Evidence ag<sup>t</sup> him there; which I suppose yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency has had an Account of. S<sup>r</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Quakers are so bold to say, one of their Magistrates in my hearing, y<sup>t</sup> they did not fear anything could doe anything ag<sup>t</sup> Penn's Interest in this Government; no man more intimate with the King y<sup>n</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Penn, and yet he was often in private with y<sup>e</sup> King in his Closet, and hardly did anything without his advice. So they [?] y<sup>m</sup> selves under security and y<sup>t</sup> they may doe what they please, they having such an Agent at home, as long y<sup>e</sup> Governm<sup>t</sup> is in y<sup>e</sup> hands of Quakers and M<sup>r</sup> Penn, as they say, such Interest, we y<sup>t</sup> are his Maty's Subjects, (which they are not nor never will be) we had better live in Turky, there is good Morality among y<sup>m</sup>, there is none here: they make so little of God, and y<sup>e</sup> King, y<sup>t</sup> to their dishonour & our grief are loth hear & see y<sup>m</sup>; God through his Ministers, they having been heard to say, Since we have had y<sup>e</sup> blessing of so good a Divine as y<sup>e</sup> Worthy M<sup>r</sup> Clayton, y<sup>t</sup> he is y<sup>e</sup> Minister of y<sup>e</sup> Doctrine of Devils, and his Maty's Commission with y<sup>e</sup> seal to it held up in open Court, in a ridiculous manner, Shewing it to the people & laughing at it; saying here is a baby in a Tin box. We are not to be frighted with babes, and others have said, The King has nothing more to doe here than to receive a

Bear's Skin or two yearly: and his & y<sup>e</sup> parliaments laws, reach no further y<sup>n</sup> England. Water and y<sup>e</sup> Town of Berwick upon Tweed: and such like Expressions which can all be proved by sufficient Witnesses. Tell them in their Courts, y<sup>t</sup> in matters ag<sup>t</sup> us they go ag<sup>t</sup> law, they will answer on y<sup>e</sup> Bench they will strayn or stretch a point of Law, with many other Expressions & transactions too tedious here to set down. They are Establishing of a Free School for y<sup>e</sup> groth of Quakerism, and Apostacy which I pray God in his due time he may direct, and y<sup>t</sup> we may live to enjoy y<sup>e</sup> Libertys of Subjects of England, and not to be govern'd by dissenters and Apostates, y<sup>t</sup> absolutely deny y<sup>e</sup> Bible to be y<sup>e</sup> holy Writ, & Baptism & y<sup>e</sup> Lord's Supper; is y<sup>e</sup> prayers of yo<sup>r</sup> Excy's most humble most obedient Servant to command. Robert? S . . . . Su . . . . praying yo' Excy to pardon y<sup>e</sup> trouble of this long scrole.

(Letter enclosed in the above.)

PHILADELPHIA 9. 29. 98.

MAY IT PLEASE YO' EXCELLENCY

Since my last to You, I have recd an Answer of my letter to y<sup>e</sup> Lloydians cast in the same mold with y<sup>e</sup> former, only much longer & subscribed only be y<sup>e</sup> same person. I had almost finisht my reply when I [*sic*] an Inhibition from my Bretheren which stopt me; to which I have sent an answ'. I shall take care to obey y<sup>m</sup> as far as I can. upon y<sup>e</sup> acct's they speak of. I also rec'd yo' kind Letters together with those papers which signify yo' bounty & charity, which shall be taken care of, & disposed of, I hope to y<sup>e</sup> Satisfaction of yo' Excellency & y<sup>e</sup> end you design in y<sup>m</sup> viz. y<sup>e</sup> glory of God and y<sup>e</sup> benefit of men.

I have received also an Answer from y<sup>e</sup> Keetheians a Copy of which I have sent you: They had lately a great meeting in Town, y<sup>e</sup> night before which, I was sent for to 9 or 10 of y<sup>e</sup> heads of y<sup>m</sup>. went and debated matters for about 3 or 4 hours, and (by y<sup>e</sup> blessing of God) to great satisfaction of both sides, so y<sup>t</sup> one of y<sup>m</sup> told me, they must employ me

to baptize their Children and others and I hopt y<sup>e</sup> next days consultation would make almost a genial union. But it happened y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> next day some of y<sup>e</sup> preachers y<sup>t</sup> were not with us y<sup>e</sup> night before seeing things go on so fast y<sup>t</sup> they were like to lose y<sup>e</sup> darling of their ambition their preacher-ship urged 1<sup>st</sup> Cor: 14. 29, 30, 31, & commented in favour of y<sup>m</sup> selves: but were opposed by some considerable;—y<sup>t</sup> those prophets there spoken of, were persons lawfully called to y<sup>e</sup> Ministry by Imposition of hands. Yet this prevailing upon some of y<sup>m</sup> has put a stop for a while. But I with some Assistants of their own party am bringing y<sup>e</sup> cause about again, & as I am told with good success too. (God prosper it.) I have often talked with the presbyterian minister, and find him such as I could wish. They tell me y<sup>t</sup> have heard him, y<sup>t</sup> he makes a great noise, but this did not amaze me considering y<sup>e</sup> bulk & emptiness of y<sup>e</sup> thing but he is so far from growing upon us that he threatens to go home in y<sup>e</sup> Spring, & could this be a quiet place for him, yet he ought to doe this according to y<sup>e</sup> laudable custom of Hugh Peters to bring y<sup>m</sup> to a better Subscription. But I'll take care to prevent y<sup>e</sup> first and leave y<sup>e</sup> last to y<sup>e</sup> self-interest of y<sup>e</sup> people. I told him upon a meeting between B<sup>r</sup> Arrowsmith, he, & I, if his Congregacon increast, he must expect it from me: but so long as I saw myself in no danger, I should look after y<sup>e</sup> business all ready upon my hands. This Advantage he has got on me, Madam Markham & her Daughter because I can not be so servile as to stoop to their haughty humors, frequently leave my Church and countenance their meeting: which tho' it does not y<sup>m</sup> much good, yet shews neither good breeding reason, nor religion. I am pretty patient under it, until I can see a fair opportunity to vent my resentments but y<sup>m</sup> they may be sure to have it in so plain a dress y<sup>t</sup> they shall know w<sup>t</sup> I mean, and why I doe it. I could have wished y<sup>t</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Arrowsmith had had a little more spirit before I came; but however I have too much to doe, as he did, (as I am told and y<sup>t</sup>'s y<sup>e</sup> root of these evils, of which I suffer a great part as far as they can inflict y<sup>m</sup>, so y<sup>t</sup> not y<sup>e</sup> Will but y<sup>e</sup> power of doing me more



harm (I almost think) is wanting. The other Presbyterian gos from Newcastle in y<sup>e</sup> Spring too as I am told. The Anabaptist has not Answred me. He and y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterian (I am told) preach both in one meeting, y<sup>e</sup> one in y<sup>e</sup> morning and y<sup>e</sup> other in y<sup>e</sup> afternoon, which I upbraided y<sup>e</sup> Presbyterian with all as being a direct cherishing aschism ags<sup>t</sup> himself as well as me; & would fain have set him to work ags<sup>t</sup> him, but could not spur him to it.

This with my humble thanks for this last charitable (amongst many former) is what at present offers from

Yo' Excellcys  
most obliged humble & faithful Servant  
THO. CLAYTON.

I have sent an Answer to my Bretherens letter if yo' Excy think fit it should be conveyed to y<sup>m</sup> I beg it, but as yo' Excy shall order shall satisfactorily acquiesse.

D<sup>r</sup> Brays Exposition of y<sup>e</sup> Baptismal Covenant y<sup>e</sup> 30 books y<sup>e</sup> were sent here, are yet in my hands, & I can not get information how you ordered their disposal. If by y<sup>e</sup> next return yo' Excellency will advise me, your will shall be performed.

## AFFAIRES DE L'ANGLETERRE ET DE L'AMÉRIQUE.

BY PAUL LEICESTER FORD.

In 1776 there was commenced at Paris, though with the imprint of "Anvers," a periodical entitled "Affaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique," which was published for about four years, and was, according to Barbier,<sup>1</sup> edited by Benjamin Franklin, Antoine Court de Gébélin, Jean Baptiste René Robinet, and others. As its title indicates, it was devoted to the history of the American Revolution, and the plan of the work was threefold :

I. To print in diary form a narrative of events.

II. To reprint from newspapers and pamphlets matter of especial interest.

III. To give, in what purported to be letters from a London banker, the inside political history and parliamentary proceedings of Great Britain.<sup>2</sup>

The work as thus printed, though containing many errors, is one of singular value for the history of the period covered. Edited to a certain extent in a partisan manner, it was clearly intended to neutralize the accounts published by the ordinary French journals, who drew their news from the English press, and by giving the French people accurate information concerning the causes and progress of the war, encourage them in their sympathy with the American cause, and so add another lever to the forces that were acting on the French government to make it recognize our independence. Yet the rarity of this work, together with the ignorance of its contents,—due partly to Rich's misstate-

<sup>1</sup> "Dictionnaire des Ouvrages," anonymes.

<sup>2</sup> These "Lettres d'un Banquier" were written, so I have seen stated, by Dr. Edward Bancroft.

ment that "this work appears to have been an imitation of Almon's 'Remembrancer,'" <sup>1</sup>—has made it practically neglected as a source of history.

The work has also been neglected from a bibliographical stand-point. Issued at irregular intervals, several times changed in plan and method of publication, few of the volumes with title-pages, and full of typographical errors in the pagings and numberings of the parts, it is one of the most intricate and puzzling studies in collation. Barbier and Rich, therefore, merely stated that it was in fifteen volumes. Sabin <sup>2</sup> gives it as "24 cahiers divided into 8 tomes, usually bound in 17 volumes;" and it remained for Leclerc <sup>3</sup> to even attempt a collation, which, made from a single imperfect set, and confused by two misleading typographical errors, is of really no value for ascertaining what constitutes a perfect series.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Theodore F. Dwight, of Washington, I have obtained collations of the sets in the library of the Department of State <sup>4</sup> and the Library of Congress. <sup>5</sup> Personally I have collated the sets in the New York State, <sup>6</sup> Harvard College, <sup>7</sup> Massachusetts Historical Society, <sup>8</sup> and the Thomas Crane Public <sup>9</sup> (Quincy) libraries, and the collations of these seven imperfect sets have been compared with another imperfect set in the library of Gordon L. Ford, of Brooklyn. From these comparisons I have made a collation which I believe will show what, for working purposes, is a set of the work.

The work was issued in parts, or "cahiers," bound in

<sup>1</sup> "Bibliotheca Americana Nova," I. 247.

<sup>2</sup> "Dictionary of Books relating to America," I.

<sup>3</sup> "Bibliotheca Americana" (1878), 646. The set of fourteen slightly imperfect volumes is priced at two hundred and fifty francs.

<sup>4</sup> This set contains fifteen volumes.

<sup>5</sup> This set contains fourteen slightly imperfect volumes.

<sup>6</sup> This set contains thirteen very imperfect volumes.

<sup>7</sup> This set contains fifteen volumes.

<sup>8</sup> This set contains seventeen slightly imperfect volumes, and is the best set so far as I know.

<sup>9</sup> This set contains fourteen volumes. It is John Adams's copy.

blue paper covers,<sup>1</sup> which were numbered; but, like Almon's "Remembrancer," it is practically unfindable in this condition. The "cahiers" were also numbered on the signature-leaf till number 36 was reached, after which the numbering was disregarded, so that it becomes impossible to distinguish the parts; and I have therefore paid no attention to them in my collation, except to note, from information given in the index to each volume, the "cahiers" that should be contained in each volume. The matter is divided into two classes, which the editor or editors distinguished as "Journal" and "Lettres d'un Banquier." These in volumes I.-II. were combined in each "cahier" and paged continuously; in volumes III.-VI. they were included in the same volume, but separately paged, the "Journal" in Arabic numerals, and the "Lettres" in Roman numerals; after volume VI. they were issued as separate volumes, but retaining this distinction of numbering. Though the work is nominally in fifteen volumes, and really in seventeen volumes, but three title-pages were issued.

- Vol. I.<sup>2</sup> "Journal" and "Lettres." Cahiers 1 to 5. Title, 1 l.; Advertisement, 1 l.; pp. 103; 88; (65)-80; (17)-92; 103; 118.  
 Vol. II.<sup>3</sup> "Journal" and "Lettres." Cahiers 6 to 10; Title, 1 l.; pp. 88; 95; 101; 80; 80; Table and Index, 19.  
 Vol. III. "Journal" and "Lettres." Cahiers 11 to 15. Pp. 88; (113)-144; 161-272; xlij; Avis, 1 l.; xiv [for xlv]-xcxv [for xciv]; xcxvij [for xcvi]-ccxxiv; Table and Index, 11.

<sup>1</sup> I have seen but three numbers in this condition. The title reads: "Affaires | de l'Angleterre | et de l'Amérique. | No. LXI. | On souscrit à Paris chez Pissot, Libraire, | Quai des Augustins. | L'Abonnement pour vingt Numéros, commençant | par le soixante-unième, est de 24 liv. pour Paris, & de 32 liv. post franc, pour la Province. | On trouve chez la même Libraire, les soixant pre- | miers Numéros, formant les deux première années. | A Anvers | M.DCC.LXXVIII."

<sup>2</sup> The title reads: "Affaires | de l'Angleterre | et de l'Amérique. | N°. 1<sup>er</sup>. | A Anvers. | M.DCC.LXXVI."

<sup>3</sup> The title reads: "Affaires | de | l'Angleterre | et de l'Amérique. | Tome II. | A Anvers. | 1776."

- Vol. IV. "Journal" and "Lettres." Cahiers 16 to 20. Pp. 128; 137-160; ccliv [2 lx, no lxxvi]; Table and Index, 8.
- Vol. V. "Journal" and "Lettres." Cahiers 21 to 25 [no cahier 25 in the "Journal" series]. Pp. 112; clvj; clxi-ccxiv; folding table, 1 l.; ccxv-cccxiv [no cccv]; Table and Index, 7.
- Vol. VI. "Journal" and "Lettres." Cahiers 26 to 30. Pp. 160; Avis, 1 l.; lxiv; lix [for xlix]-clxxiv; clxxiiij-ccviiij; Table and Index, 10.
- Vol. VII. "Lettres." Cahiers 31 to 36. Pp. xlvi; Avis, 1 l.; xlviij-ccclxxvi; Advertissement, ij; cccxxj-ccclxxviij; Table and Index, 8.
- Vol. VIII.<sup>1</sup> "Journal." Cahiers 31 to 44.<sup>2</sup> Title, 1 l.; pp. 320; Avis, 2; 321-368; Table and Index, 11.
- Vol. IX. "Lettres." Cahiers 37 to 42. Pp. cxxvi; "Retrenchement," 1 l.; cxxix-ccxlvi; notice, 1 l.; Avis, 1 l.; ccxlix-cccx; cccxiiij-ccclix; [2 cccxxxviij]; Table and Index, 10.
- Vol. X. "Lettres." Cahiers 43 to 47. Pp. lxiiij; Advertissement, ij; lxxv-clxxxvi; m\*, 1 l.; clxxxviij-ccclxx; ccclix-ccclxxiiij; Table and Index, 13.
- Vol. XI. "Journal." Cahiers 48 to 63. [Cahiers 48 and 49 are misprinted Vol. IX.] Pp. 368. Table and Index, 11.
- Vol. XI. "Lettres." Cahiers 48 to 54. Pp. lxxxj [for ccxxix, no ccxxv-vi]; ccxix-ccxciv; ccxcviij-cccxxxiv; cccxxxviij-ccclxxix; Table and Index, 6.
- Vol. XII. "Journal." Cahiers 64 to 82. Pp. 348. Table and Index, 7.
- Vol. XII. "Lettres." Cahiers 55 to 61. Pp. ccxc; Avis, 1 l.; ccxciiij-ccccxx; Table and Index, 6.

<sup>1</sup> The title reads: "Affaires | de | l'Angleterre | et de | l'Amérique. | Tome VIII. | Formant de la partie du Journal de 1776, | No. XXXI & XLIV enclusivement. | A Anvers | et se trouve à Paris, | Chez Pissot, Libraire, quai des Augustins. | 1778."

<sup>2</sup> There is an apparent omission between Vols. VIII. and XI. of three cahiers of the "Journal" series, but it is evidently merely a misprint, for the dates show no gap.

- Vol. XIII. "Lettres." Cahiers 62 to 69. Pp. clxxxij; clxxxv-ccxxj; ccxxv-cclxxxj; Title, 1 l.; Advertissement (cclxxxiv)-cclxxxvij; (cclxxxix)-cccxlvj; cccxlix-ccccxix; Table and Index, 5.
- Vol. XIV. "Lettres." Cahiers 70 to 75. Pp. ccxciiij; ccxcviiij-ccccij; Table and Index, 4.
- Vol. XV. "Lettres." Cahiers 75 to 82. Pp. lxiv; folding table ("Ligne de Bataille"); lxv-xcj; folding table ("Ligne de Bataille"); xcij-cxlvj; title ("Exposé") 1 l.; cxlix; (cliij)-ccx; ccxiiij-cclxviiij; cclxxxj-cccx; ccxiiij-cccxliv; 14 folding tables; Avis, 5; Table, 5.

## PHILADELPHIA IN 1682.

[We are indebted to Mr. Thomas Allen Glenn for the following interesting letter, written about 1708, to a certain Hugh Jones, of Bala, in Wales, which has never been published in America. It appeared in its original language in a Welsh periodical of London, 1806, and again in the *Gwyliedydd* at Bala in 1833, and in the latter year the following translation appeared in the *Cambrian Magazine*. By a curious error, the signature is given as "Hugh Jones." An examination of the will of Thomas Sion (John) Evan, "of Radnor in Pennsylvania," dated 31st 1 mo., 1707, proved at Philadelphia 23d September, 1707, informs us that the writer of this letter was called John, not Hugh; but it is probable that he called himself Jones, as did his father. Thomas left, as his letter states, his farm of three hundred acres to his two sons John and Joseph, in equal shares; to his daughter Elizabeth £50; to his wife (Lowry) £6 per annum, and right to reside on the farm. He appoints as "Guardians and Overseers" his friends Rowland Ellis, Sr., Joseph Owen, and Rowland Ellis, Jr. Thomas John Evan it would seem has the honor of being the first Welsh settler in Pennsylvania, having landed in April of 1682. The Thomas Lloyd mentioned "of Penmaen," a township in the parish of Llanvaur, Merionethshire, was a bard of note before he joined the Friends. There are excellent verses of his published in the *Gwyliedydd* for March, 1824, on the subject of his conversion.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

MY DEAR KINSMAN, HUGH JONES,

I received a letter from you, dated May 8, 1705; and I was glad to find that one of my relatives, in the old land of which I have heard so much, was pleased to recollect me. I have heard my father speak much about old Cymru; but I was born in this woody region—this new world.

I remember him frequently mentioning such places as Llan-y-Cil, Llan-uwchlyn, Llan Vair, Llan Gwm, Bala, Llangower, Llyn Tegyd, Arèinig Vaw, Vron-Goch,<sup>1</sup> Llaithgwm,<sup>2</sup> Havod Vadog, Cwm Tir-y-naint, and many others. It is probably uninteresting to you to hear these names of places,

<sup>1</sup> Written also Fron and Tron Gôch; the home of Robert Owen.

<sup>2</sup> The home of John Thomas.

but it affords me great delight even to think of them, altho- I do not know what kind of places they are; and indeed I long much to see them, having heard my father and mother so often speak in the most affectionate manner of the kind hearted and innocent old people who live in them. . . . And now my friend, I will give an account of the life and fortunes of my dear father from the time he left Wales to the day of his death. He was at St. Peters fair, at Bala (July 10th 1681) when he first heard of Pennsylvania; three weeks only after this, he took leave of his neighbours and relations, who were anxiously looking forward to his departure for London on his way to America. Here (in London) he waited three months for a ship; and at length went out in one bearing the name of William Penn. He had a very tempestuous passage for several weeks; and when in sight of the river Delaware, owing to adverse winds and a boisterous sea, the sails were torn, and the rudder injured. By this disaster they were greatly disheartened, and were obliged to go back to Barbadoes, where they continued three weeks, expending much money in refitting their ship. Being now ready for a second attempt, they easily accomplished their voyage, and arrived safely in the river Delaware on the 16th of April, being thirty weeks from the time they left London.

During this long voyage he learned to speak and read English tolerably well. They now came up the river 120 miles, to the place where Philadelphia is at present situate. At that time, as the Welsh say, there was "na thy nac ymogor" (neither house nor shelter) but the wild woods, nor any one to welcome them to land. A poor look out this, for persons who had been so long at sea, many of whom had spent their little all. This was not the place for them to remain stationary. My father therefore went alone where chance led him, to endeavour to obtain the means of subsistence. He longed much at this time for milk. During his wanderings he met with a drunken old man, who understood neither Welsh nor English, and who, noticing the stranger, by means of some signs and gesticulations invited him to his dwelling, where he was received by the old man's



wife and several sons, in the most kind and hospitable manner: they were Swedes: here he made his home, till he had a habitation of his own. As you shall hear, during the summer of 1682 our governor William Penn Esq., arrived here, together with several from England, having bought lands here. They now began to divide the country into allotments, and to plan the city of Philadelphia, (which was to be more than two miles in length) laying it out in streets and squares, &c. with portions of land assigned to several of the houses. He also bought the freehold of the soil from the Indians, a savage race of men, who have lived here from time immemorial, as far as I am able to understand. They can give no account of themselves, not knowing where or whence they came here, an irrational set, I should imagine, but they have some kind of reason too, and extraordinary natural endowments in their peculiar way; they are very observant in their customs, and more unblameable, in many respects, than we are. They had neither towns nor villages, but lived in booths or tents. In the autumn of this year (1682) several from Wales arrived here: Edward ab Rhys,<sup>1</sup> Edward Jones, of Bala,<sup>2</sup> William ab Edward,<sup>3</sup> and many others.

By this time there was a kind of neighbourhood here, although as neighbours they could little benefit each other. They were sometimes employed in making huts beneath some cliff, or under the hollow banks of rivulets, thus sheltering themselves where their fancy dictated. There were neither cows nor horses to be had at any price. "If we have bread, we will drink water and be content," they said; yet no one was in want, and all were much attached to each other; indeed much more so, perhaps than many who have every outward comfort this world can afford.

During this eventful period, our governor began to build

<sup>1</sup> Edward ap Rhys, or Edward Rees, was of Bryn Lloyd.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Edward Jones, who settled in Merion.

<sup>3</sup> William ap Edward, in a deed executed in Wales 1st April, 1682, for land in Pennsylvania, is described as "of Ucheldri in co. Merioneth, yeoman."

mansion houses at different intervals, to the distance of fifty miles from the city, although the country appeared a complete wilderness. The governor was a clever intelligent man, possessing great penetration, affable in discourse, and a pleasant orator; a man of rank, no doubt, but he did not succeed according to his merit, the words of the bard Edward Morys might be applied to him:

“Ni chadwodd yr hennyddyn o'i synwyr vriw stonyn  
Mi giliodd i ganlyn y gołud.”

At this time my father, Thomas Sion Evan, was living with the Swedes, as I mentioned before, and intending daily to return to Wales; but as time advanced, the country improved. In the course of three years several were beginning to obtain a pretty good livelihood, and my father determined to remain with them. There was, by this time no land to be bought within twelve miles the city, and my father having purchased a small tract of land<sup>1</sup> married the widow of Thomas Llwyd, of Penmaen.

“Chur glywsoch son yn Nyfryn Clwyd,  
Am domas Llwyd o Ben Maen.”

He now went to live near the woods. It was now a very rare but pleasing thing to hear a neighbour's cock crow.

My father had now only one small horse, and his wife was much afflicted with the tertian ague. In process of time however the little which he had prospered, so that he became possessed of horses, cows, and every thing else that was necessary for him. . . . During the latter years of his life he kept twelve good milch cows. He had eight children,<sup>2</sup> but I was the eldest. Having lived in this manner twenty four years, he now became helpless and infirm and very subject to difficulty of breathing at the close of his days labour. He was a muscular man, very careful and attentive to his worldly occupations.

<sup>1</sup> In Radnor Township.

<sup>2</sup> Five appear to have died young; one of them, “Rowland Johns, son of Thomas John Evan,” died 1698.

About the end of July . . . years ago he became sick, and much enfeebled by a severe fever, but asthma was his chief complaint.

Having lived thus five weeks indisposed, he departed this life, leaving a farm each for my brother<sup>1</sup> and self, a correspondent portion for my sister,<sup>2</sup> and a fair dower for my mother. My sister married Risiart ab Thomas ab Rhys, a man whom I much respected prior to his marriage, and still regard. My brother and I continue to live with our mother, as before, endeavouring to imitate our father in the management of his affairs; but we are in many respects unequal to him. Our mother is 73 years old. . . . Do send some news; if you should have anything remarkable to mention I shall be glad to hear it. I must conclude my letter,

your Kinsman

<sup>1</sup> Joseph, born 2d mo. 28th, 1695.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, born 11th mo. 8th, 1691.

THE RESIGNATION OF HENRY LAURENS, PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS, 1778.

[Among the papers of Bishop John Ettwein, of Bethlehem, Penna., was found the following: "Resignation of Henry Laurens, President of Congress: In Congress on Wednesday the 9th December 1778." This copy was probably made at the instance of Mr. Laurens for the bishop, between whom intimate relations existed for upwards of a quarter century. The handwriting is unknown to the ED. PENNA. MAG.]

GENTLEMEN,

Ever jealous for the Dignity of Congress & prompted by a sense of Duty, I had the honor on Monday of laying before the House informations which I had received from Citizens of respectable Characters, that a certain Letter signed S. Deane, & address'd to the Citizens of America at large, published in the Pennsylvania Packet of Saturday the 5<sup>th</sup> inst., which I presumed every Member had read, had created anxieties in the minds of the good People of this City, & excited tumults amongst them—that having received such information, I had carefully perused the Letter, & found it to contain Articles highly derogatory to the honor & interests of these United States.

That I could not be suspected of having prejudices, or of being engaged in any intrigue or Cabal against Mr. Deane, since, I could declare upon my honor that no Gentleman on the floor knew so much of my sentiments respecting Mr. Deane's Public character as I had communicated to that Gentleman himself—that seeing Mr. Deane had made his appeal to the People, & had intimated a design of giving them a course of Letters, it was evident he did not mean to depart from America so suddenly as he had lately declared to this House.

That from these considerations I held it dishonorable to Congress to hear him the following evening, & thereupon I

humbly moved the House to appoint a Committee of three to consider & report specially upon the contents of the Letter above mentioned—that in the mean time Mr. Deane be informed that Congress will give him further notice when they desire to hear him in the House.

This motion was seconded by many voices—an amendment was offered by an honorable Gentleman—‘that the printed Letter be read,’ which being put to question, passed in the negative by a majority of one State.

I then renewed my motion, founded upon comon fame & my own certain knowledge of the facts—this was over ruled by calling for the Order of the Day, for which a single voice, you know Gentlemen, is sufficient, & from that time the motion has remained neglected.

I feel upon this occasion, not for any disappointment to myself, but for the honor & dignity of this House, the great Representative of an infant Empire, upon whose conduct, the Eyes of Europe are fixed.

I have, from the moment in which my motion was quashed, seriously & almost constantly reflected on the above recited circumstances, & have again attentively considered Mr. Deane’s Address to the People.

I see no cause to regret my conduct on Monday, & I am confirmed in my opinion that the Address contains groundless & unwarrantable insinuations & intimations respecting the conduct of this House.

Mr. Deane had never offered to this House a narrative in writing of his proceedings in France in his character of Comercial & Political Agent, nor hath he, even to this Day produced proper Accounts & Vouchers of his expenditure of Public Money.

He was notified on the 3<sup>d</sup> inst. by your President, that Congress had resolved to take into consideration, as on that evening, the state of their foreign affairs; that such branches as he had been particularly concerned in, would, in due course, become subjects of their deliberation. In a Letter of the 4<sup>th</sup> ‘he thanked Congress for that intimation.’

In the same Letter he informed them ‘that he had pre-

pared to leave this City, & had made his arrangements accordingly, which it would not be in his power to dispense with for any time,' & yet on the 5<sup>th</sup> he published an Address to the free & virtuous Citizens of America, in which he complains, that the Ears of their Representatives had been shut against him, & tacitly promises them a course of Letters.

He informs the Public that he had been sacrificed for the agrandizment of others.

He charges one of your Comissioners with such improper conduct in his public character as amounts, in my Ideas, to high Crimes.

He avers that the same Comissioner had been suspected by their best friends abroad, & those in important Characters & stations, although he had given Congress no such information in writing, which he ought to have done, even long before he comenced his Voyage from France. He insinuates that the same Comissioner had been improperly forced upon him.

He sets up a charge against another of your Comissioners for a species of peculation & other malversation of conduct, which, if true, it was his duty long ago to have exhibited to Congress.

He arraigns the Justice & the Wisdom of Congress.

He charges & questions the conduct of an honorable Member of this House, out of the House, & holds him up to the Public in a criminal light, which ought not to have been done before he had lodged a complaint in Congress, & had failed of their attention.—His publication is a sacrifice of the Peace & good Order of these States to personal resentments; & so far as it regards Congress, it is groundless & unwarrantable, wherefore, be the remainder false or true, it is, in my humble opinion, a pernicious & unprovoked Libel, affrontive to the Majesty of the People.

I am neither a Volunteer advocate for the private Characters stricturized in Mr. Deane's Paper, nor an Enemy to Mr. Deane.—In a word, I view the performance in question as an Act unbecoming the character of a Public Servant—

altogether unnecessary, & tending to excite fears and jealousies in the minds of those free & virtuous Citizens of America to whom Mr. Deane has address'd himself, & also to draw the conduct of Congress into suspicion & contempt—and I still hold my opinion that it was the duty of this House to take the Address into consideration before they admitted the Author to a further hearing.

Nevertheless Congress were pleased to adhere to a Resolve passed on Saturday subsequently to the open appearance of that unnecessary & insulting Publication for hearing him in writing, contrary to a Resolution of the fifteenth day of August last, which was obtained at that time after much debate, by the reasonings & Votes of Gentlemen who had interested themselves strongly in his favor, & from motives assigned which cannot be effaced from the remembrance of those Gentlemen who were then present—and *time* is Now given to Mr. Deane for preparing a detail of his transactions, which, if I understand any thing of Public business, ought to have been completed & ready for presentation before he landed on the American Shore.

I feel my own honor, & much more forcibly the honor of the Public deeply wounded by Mr. Deane's Address,\* & I am persuaded that it will hold out such encouragement to our Enemies to continue their Persecution, as will, in its consequences, be more detrimental to our Cause than the loss of a Battle.—Mr. Deane has not contented himself with the scope of Dunlap's Newspaper, he has caused his Address to be printed in a thousand Hand Bills—these will afford a sufficient number for penetrating the remotest part of our Union, & enough for the service of our Enemies.\*

I know that *what I am about to do* will give a transient pleasure to our Enemies, knowledge derived from a circumstance which induced me to continue in this Chair after the 31<sup>st</sup> day of October last, more strongly induced me than that unanimous request of this House, which I was then honored with. There are Gentlemen upon this floor who are well acquainted with the circumstance alluded to—but Gentlemen, their satisfaction will indeed be transitory, for I

here again solemnly declare, *and they will soon learn it*, that I am determined to continue a faithful & diligent labourer in the Cause of my Country, & at the hazard of Life, fortune & domestic happiness, to contribute, by every means in my power to the perfect establishment of our Independence.

I shall have less cause to regret the carrying my intended purpose into effect, foreseeing that you may immediately fill with advantage, the vacancy which will presently happen.

I shall hold myself particularly answerable to my constituents for my present conduct, & in general to all my fellow Citizens throughout these States, when properly questioned.

Finally, Gentlemen, from the considerations above mentioned, as I cannot, consistently with my own honor, nor with utility to my country, considering the manner in which Bussiness is transacted here, remain any longer in this Chair, I now resign it.

HENRY LAURENS.

The words from \* to the end of that Paragraph \* were intended, but omitted thro' accident in his Address to Congress, delivered from the Chair.



RECORDS OF CHRIST CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.  
BAPTISMS, 1709-1760.

BY CHARLES R. HILDEBURN.

(Continued from Vol. XII. page 365.)

- 1760 Dec. 4 Badger Mary d. Rannet and Susannah Sept. 3 1756  
1759 Aug. 23 Bailey James s. James and Rebecca Jan. 16 1749  
    Aug. 23 Phoebe d. James and Rebecca April 21 1751  
    Aug. 23 Jonathan s. James and Rebecca Nov. 20 1755  
    Aug. 23 Joseph s. James and Rebecca May 28 1759  
1722 April 1 Baily — d. William and —  
1729 Mch. 15 James s. James and Ann [Baillie] 2 ms. 3 wks.  
1734 Aug. 2 Mary d. John and Sarah 18 months  
    Oct. 6 Elizabeth d. James and Anne 2 weeks 0 days  
    Oct. 6 Anne d. James and Anne 2 weeks 1 day  
1739 June 12 Stuart s. James and Anne 4 months  
1757 July 30 Baine John s. George and Mary Dec. 27 1756  
1728 April 26 Baker Elizabeth d. John and Elizabeth 2 weeks  
1734 Jan. 6 Simon s. John and Hannah 1 day  
1738 April 30 Alexander s. John and Rebecca 5 weeks  
1740 Nov. 1 Isaac s. John and Rebecca 11 days  
1742 Mch. 28 Isaac s. John and Rebecca 5 weeks  
1748 Jan. 24 Francis s. John and Rebecca Dec 27 1747  
1739 June 19 Ballard Mary w. William 33 years  
    June 19 Mary d. William and Mary 2 weeks  
1744 May 27 Banbridge Henry s. James and Mary 7 months 7 days  
1727 May 26 Banbury William s. William and Jane 1 month  
1740 June 22 Banks Michael s. Michael and Sarah 5 weeks  
1731 Feb. 24 Bankson Anne d. Thomas and Hester 6 years  
1748 July 2 Andrew s. Andrew and Sarah June 4 1748  
1725 July 26 Banton Rebecca d. Peter and Mary —  
1726 Aug. 18 Bantost Rebecca d. William and Sarah —  
1758 Oct. 4 Baraman William s. James and Jemimah June 1 1758  
1757 Dec. 12 Barbut Mary d. Theodore and Sarah Sept. 24 1757  
1751 June 12 Barclay Robert s. Alexander and Anne May 15 1751  
1742 April 26 Bard Samuel s. John and Susannah 26 days  
1744 Mch. 15 Peter s. John Vincent and Susannah 6 weeks  
1746 July 18 Mary d. Peter and Mary June 18 1746

- 1750 Jan. 10 William s. Peter and Mary Nov. 25 1749  
 1751 Dec. 8 Peter s. Peter and Mary Oct. 2 1750  
 1756 Mch. 26 Mary d. John and Elizabeth Nov. 28 1755  
 1760 July 10 John s. John and Elizabeth Aug. 11 1759  
 1723 Feb. 24 Barger Elizabeth adult  
 1760 Feb. 12 Barker Ann d. James and Dorothy Sept. 5 1758  
     Feb. 12 William s. James and Dorothy Jan. 9 1760  
     Mch. 6 Ann d. James and Dorothy Sept. 5 1758  
 1739 Feb. 20 Barnet James s. Abraham and Mary 2 weeks  
 1740 June 23 Mary w. Abraham 26 years  
 1741 Dec. 27 John s. Abraham and Mary 1 month  
 1743 Sept. 25 Barret John s. John and Hester 6 months 17 days  
 1746 Jan. 11 Bartholomew John s. Andrew and Elizabeth Sept. 29 1745  
 1749 May 11 Mary d. Andrew and Elizabeth Sept. — 1747  
     Nov. 19 Joseph s. Andrew and Elizabeth Sept. 26 1749  
 1740 July 7 Barton Anne d. Robert and Anne 3 months  
 1741 May 21 Martha d. Robert and Anne 1 month 2 days  
 1743 Mch. 10 Robert s. Robert and Anne 17 weeks  
 1745 June 20 Susannah d. Robert and Anne Feb. 15 1743  
 1728 Sept. 5 Basnett Elizabeth d. Ralph and Mary 2 weeks  
 1750 Nov. 11 Bass Elizabeth d. Nathan and Martha Oct. 27 1750  
 1760 April 24 Elizabeth d. Robert and Cecelia Dec. 26 1756  
 1732 Feb. 4 Bastick John s. Henry and Elizabeth 2 weeks 4 days  
 1733 June 27 Margaret (Mary) d. Henry and Elizabeth 4 months  
 1734 Aug. 30 Thomas s. Henry and Elizabeth 3 weeks  
 1736 Mch. 12 Henry s. Henry and Elizabeth 4 months 2 days  
 1753 April 30 Bath James s. George and Margaret March 25 1753  
     July 8 Batson Mary d. Thomas and Elizabeth April 7 1753  
 1726 Oct. 9 Baxter William s. William and Catherine March 22  
 1722 Mch. 27 Bayly Grace d. Thomas and Mary —  
 1733 July 29 Hannah d. James and Anne 1½ years  
 1748 Jan. 4 Bayne John s. Nathaniell and Mary Sept. 19 1747  
 1727 Jan. 2 Baynton John s. Peter and Mary  
 1729 May 29 Jeoffrey s. Mr. Peter and Mary 25 days  
 1731 Aug. 6 Peter s. Peter and Mary 7 days  
 1749 April 20 Mary d. John and Elizabeth March 27 1749  
 1753 Mch. 6 Elizabeth d. John and Elizabeth Feb. 16 1753  
 1754 Dec. 2 Peter s. John and Elizabeth Aug. 21 1754  
 1758 Jan. 1 Benjamin s. John and Elizabeth Nov. 12 1757  
     May 13 John s. John — Oct. 31 1755  
 1759 Jan. 3 Jane d. John and Elizabeth Dec. 2 1758  
 1743 Sept. 11 Beath Ann d. Thomas and Elizabeth 5 years 10 months  
 1740 Feb. 17 Bcatty John s. Joseph and Catherine 2 weeks  
 1749 Aug. 18 Elizabeth d. Ezekiel and Frances Aug. 12 1749  
 1748 Oct. 30 Bedison Robert s. Robert and Mary March 29 1748  
 1736 Feb. 22 Beeks Joseph s. Joseph and Elizabeth 5 days

- 1737 Nov. 15 Susannah d. Joseph and Elizabeth 2 weeks  
1740 Jan. 27 John s. Joseph and Elizabeth 2 months  
1710 Feb. 5 Beer Mary d. Jonathan and Mary 12 years  
1715 Oct. 8 Jonathan s. John and Eliza 2 weeks  
1717 June 9 Beere Caleb s. John and Elizabeth 3 weeks  
1732 Jan. 16 Mary d. John and Elizabeth 3 weeks 4 days  
1744 Jan. 29 Beers Sarah d. Caleb and Hannah 13 days  
July 21 Samuel natural son of Jonathan 6 months  
1745 Nov. 20 Beeslay Sarah adult  
1754 Dec. 26 Mary adult  
1745 Dec. 29 Belitho John Harris s. John and Mary June 10 1745  
1748 April 10 William s. John and Mary March 22 1748  
April 10 Zachariah s. John and Mary March 22 1748  
1753 April 25 Jacob s. John and Mary May 29 1750  
April 25 Mary d. John and Mary April 15 1753  
April 25 James s. John and Mary April 15 1753  
1721 Dec. 30 Bell Elizabeth d. Richard and Grace  
1723 Mch. 22 Mary d. John and Mary  
1727 Aug. 25 Thomas [Joseph] s. William and Ann 3 weeks 5 days  
1729 Mch. 26 William s. William and Ann 6 weeks 3 days  
1731 April 13 Richard s. Richard and Grace 3 months 3 weeks  
Sept. 11 Hannah d. William and Ann 7 weeks  
1733 April 4 Elizabeth d. William and Ann 4 days  
1737 Aug. 31 Jane d. George and Anne 4 days  
1742 May 2 Benbridge James s. James and Mary March 21 1742  
1716 Oct. 14 Bendsly Margaret d. James and Mary 6 weeks  
1746 April 1 Benezet Sarah d. Daniel and Elizabeth  
1749 Sept. 10 Stephen s. Daniel and Elizabeth June 21 1749  
1751 Oct. 6 Anthony s. Daniel and Elizabeth Aug. 21 1751  
Nov. 14 Anne d. James and Anne July 5 1751  
1754 Nov. 17 Elizabeth d. Daniel and Elizabeth Sept. 29 1754  
Dec. 19 Jane d. James and Ann Dec. 9 1752  
Dec. 19 James s. James and Ann Sept. 23 1754  
1756 April 20 Mary d. Daniel and Elizabeth Dec. 20 1755  
1758 July 28 Judah s. Daniel and Elizabeth  
1760 April 24 Daniel s. Daniel and Elizabeth Feb. 18 1760  
1740 Dec. 27 Bennet John s. John and Mary 7 weeks  
1747 Feb. 15 Mary d. William and Sarah Dec. 4 1746  
1716 Nov. 14 Bennett Elizabeth d. Samuel and Hannah 4 days  
1718 Jan. 26 Samuel s. Samuel and Hannah born 8th Jan.  
1720 June 20 Grace wife John Bennett 25 years  
1738 Mch. 12 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Mary 3 months  
1744 Sept. 8 Bennit Elizabeth d. William and Sarah 1 month  
1730 Dec. 27 Bennitt Sarah Ann d. John and Mary 10 days  
1732 Jan. 28 John s. John and Mary 8 days  
1739 Mch. 10 Bentham Mary d. William and Mary 1 day

- 1740 Jan. 20 Berkley Anthony Henry s. Thomas and Jane 11 weeks  
 1744 June 15 Berry Sarah d. John and Elizabeth 1 month  
 1748 Oct. 30 Hannah d. Joseph and Elizabeth Sept. 20 1748  
 1731 Jan. 24 Berwick Simon s. Richard and Mary 7 days  
 1732 Dec. 26 Catherine d. Richard and Margaret 2 days  
 1734 Aug. 16 Simon s. Richard and Margaret 2 months  
 1754 July 29 Besley Sarah (adult)  
 1738 Oct. 20 Best Joseph s. Samuel and Margaret 5 weeks  
 1756 Sept. 16 Samuel s. Samuel and Margaret Dec. 25 1744  
     Sept. 16 James s. Samuel and Margaret May 1 1747  
     Sept. 16 Margaret d. Samuel and Margaret April 19 1749  
 1757 Dec. 21 Elinor (adult)  
 1746 July 23 Betty Hannah d. Joseph and Christian June 10 1743  
     July 23 Joseph s. Joseph and Christian Sept. 29 1745  
 1748 April 10 James s. Edward and Hester June 8 1747  
 1747 July 12 Bevan John s. Evan and Mary July 7, 1746  
 1746 Aug. 19 Bevin Margret d. George and Mary March 9 1745  
 1749 Feb. 20 William s. David and Ann Jan. 24 1749  
 1745 July 21 Biddison William s. Robert and Catherine Nov. 9 1744  
 1721 Aug. 17 Biddle Michael s. William and Ann  
 1723 Mch. 15 William s. William and Ann  
 1726 Aug. 10 William s. William and Ann July 17  
 1729 May 28 William s. William and Ann 1 yr. 8 mo. 28 days  
 1732 Aug. 28 James s. William and Mary 18 months  
 1732 Aug. 28 Nicolas s. William and Mary 5 weeks  
 1755 May 29 Mark s. James and Joanna May 3 1755  
 1758 Oct. 23 Joseph s. James and Frances Oct. 28 1757  
     Oct. 23 William s. James and Frances Oct. 23 1758  
     Oct. 23 Edward s. James and Frances Oct. 23 1758  
 1749 Mch. 26 Biggar William s. Richard and Susannah Aug. 1 1748  
 1756 Aug. 28 Sarah d. Richard and Susannah Aug. 2 1756  
 1729 Aug. 24 Bingham Thomas s. James and Ann 1 month  
 1741 Aug. 19 Ann d. John and Mary 7 weeks  
 1748 April 27 James s. William and Mary March 23 1748  
 1752 April 22 William s. William and Mary March 8 1752  
 1754 May 26 Hannah d. William and Mary March 26 1754  
 1756 Feb. 3 Ann d. William and Mary Jan. 2 1756  
 1732 Jan. 13 Birch David s. David and Susannah 2 weeks  
 1720 July 4 Bird Mary d. Joseph and Martha 3 years  
 1736 Dec. 1 Edward Valentine s. Jeremiah and Sarah 7 weeks  
 1740 Sept. 30 Jeremiah s. Jeremiah and Sarah 2 years  
 1741 Nov. 12 Jane d. Jeremiah and Sarah 4 days  
 1738 Jan. 21 Bishop Robert s. Robert 3 months  
     April 1 Black Robert s. James and Elizabeth 3 weeks  
 1741 Mch. 28 George s. James and Elizabeth 3 months  
 1745 Oct. 14 Blackledge Hester d. Benjamin and Sarah Aug. 28 1744

- 1736 Aug. 30 Blacklock Robert s. Robert and Elizabeth 1 year  
1722 Feb. 9 Blackston William s. Thomas and Ann 1 year 10 months  
1722 Feb. 9 Mary d. Thomas and Ann Feb. 4  
1727 Aug. 25 Thomas s. Thomas and Ann 1 year  
1733 Jan. 17 James s. Thomas and Ann 3 weeks  
1731 Jan. 4 Blackstone Cornelius s. Thomas and Ann 1 month  
1747 Mch. 1 Blaine Samuel s. Samuel and Mary Jan. 5 1747  
1752 April 5 Blake John s. Roger and Rebecca April 8 1752  
1755 June 15 Mary d. Roger and Rebecca May 22 1755  
1720 Aug. 7 Blakely Charles s. Charles and Mary  
1722 May 13 Blakey Thomas s. Charles and Ann  
1729 Sept. 18 Mary d. Charles and Mary 8 months 15 days  
1745 Feb. 10 Blamey John s. Samuel and Mary 1 month  
1729 Jan. 28 Blaston John s. Thomas and Ann 4 months  
1741 May 29 Bliss John s. George and Ann Bliss 1 year 4 months  
1736 Feb. 8 Boardman George s. George and Mary 2 months  
1755 April 20 Bolitho Christian d. John and Mary Feb. 1 1755  
April 20 Sarah d. John and Mary Feb. 1 1755  
1760 June 2 Samuel s. John and Mary Nov. 18 1759  
1730 Dec. 27 Bollard Sarah d. William and Mary 2 years  
Dec. 27 Rebecca d. William and Mary 7 months  
1722 Jan. 22 Bolton Robert s. Robert and Ann Jan. 9  
1724 May 8 Mary d. Robert and Ann  
1726 Mch. 28 John s. Robert and Ann March 20  
July 5 John s. Robert and Ann April 20  
1727 June 22 Joseph s. Robert and Ann 2 days  
June 22 Hannah d. Robert and Ann 2 days  
1728 Sept. 2 Joseph s. Robert and Ann 8 days  
1725 July 16 Bond William s. John and Sarah  
1727 Jan. 11 Elizabeth d. Thomas and Sarah 5 weeks  
1729 Jan. 17 John s. Samuel and Deborah 3 months  
May 28 Ann d. Thomas and Sarah 5 months 5 days  
1734 Mch. 17 Deborah d. Thomas and Sarah 3 weeks

(To be continued.)

OFFICERS OF THE STATE SOCIETY OF CINCIN-  
NATI OF GEORGIA, 1790.

[From the original manuscript in the possession of Col. John P. Nicholson, Philadelphia.]

At an Anniversary meeting of the Society of Cincinnati in the State of Georgia, at Browns Coffee house in the City of Savannah, the 5th of July (the 4th being Sunday) 1790. The following officers were duly elected for the ensuing year, viz :

Major General Anthony Wayne, *President.*  
Lieut. Colonel John McIntosh, *Vice-President.*  
Major John Berrien, *Secretary.*  
Colonel Richard Wylly, *Treasurer,*  
Doctor Sharpe, *Assistant Secretary,*  
Lieutenant Edward Lloyd, *Assistant Treasurer.*

Extract, from the Minutes,  
JOHN BERRIEN, *Sec'y.*

(Circular)

SIR :

Agreeably to a rule of our Society, I have the honor to transmit you, a List of its Officers in the State Society of Georgia for the current year. I have the honor to be respectfully Sir,

Your most obed't Serv<sup>t</sup>.

JOHN BERRIEN, *Sec'y.*

SAVANNAH, July 25th, 1790.

THE HONORABLE

MAJOR GENERAL KNOX,

Secretary General

via Philadelphia,

of the Society of Cincinnati,  
New York.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

LETTERS OF WASHINGTON AND PATRICK HENRY RELATING TO THEIR APPOINTMENT AS DELEGATES TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787.—The originals of the Washington letters are in the collection of Ferdinand J. Dreer; the Patrick Henry letter, in collection of Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia.

MOUNT VERNON, Dec<sup>r</sup>. 21st 1786.

SIR,

I had not the honor of receiving your Excellency's favor of the 6th, with its enclosures, till last night.

Sensible as I am of the honor conferred on me by the General Assembly in appointing me one of the Delegates to a convention proposed to be held in the City of Philadelphia in May next, for the purpose of revising the Fæderal Constitution; and desirous as I am on all occasions, of testifying a ready obedience to the calls of my Country—yet, Sir, there exists at this moment, circumstances, which I am persuaded will render my acceptance incompatible with other measures which I had previously adopted; and from which, seeing little prospect of disengaging myself, it would be disingenuous not to express a wish that some other character, on whom greater reliance can be had, may be substituted in my place;—the probability of my non-attendance being too great to continue my appointment.

As no mind can be more deeply impressed than mine is with the awful situation of our affairs resulting in a great measure from the want of efficient powers in the fæderal head, and due respect to its Ordinances—so, consequently those who do engage in the important business of removing these defects, will carry with them every good wish of mine which the best dispositions toward the attainment can bestow.

I have the hon<sup>r</sup> to be with very gr<sup>t</sup> respect,

Your Excell<sup>ys</sup> most Obed. H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

G. WASHINGTON.

His Excell<sup>y</sup> EDM<sup>d</sup> RANDOLPH.

MOUNT VERNON 28th Mar. 1787.

DEAR SIR.

Your favor of the 11th did not come to my hand till the 24<sup>th</sup>; and since then, till now, I have been too much indisposed to acknowledge the receipt of it. To what cause to ascribe the detention of the letter I know not, as I never omit sending once, and oftener twice a week to the Post-Office in Alexandria.

It was the decided intention of the letter I had the honor of writing to your Excellency the 21<sup>st</sup> of December last, to inform you, that it would not be convenient for me to attend the Convention proposed to be holden in Philadelphia in May next; and I had entertained hopes that another had been, or soon would be, appointed in my place, that much as it is not only inconvenient for me to leave home, but because there will be, I apprehend, too much cause to charge my conduct with inconsistency, in again appearing on a public theatre after a public declaration to the

contrary; and because it will I fear, have a tendency to sweep me back into the tide of public affairs, when retirement and ease is so essentially necessary for, and is so much desired by me.

However, as my friends, with a degree of solicitude which is unusual, seem to wish my attendance on this occasion, I have come to a resolution to go if my health will permit, provided, from the lapse of time between the date of your Excellency's letter and this reply, the Executive may not—the reverse of which be highly pleasing to me—have turned its thoughts to some other character—for independently of all other considerations, I have, of late, been so much afflicted with a rheumatic complaint in my shoulder that at times I am hardly able to raise my hand to my head, or turn myself in bed. This, consequently, might prevent my attendance, and eventually a representation of the State; which would afflict me more sensibly than the disorder which occasioned it.

If after the expression of these sentiments, the Executive should consider me as one of the Delegates, I would thank your Excellency for the earliest advice of it; because if I am able, and should go to Philadelphia I shall have some previous arrangements to make, and would set off for that place the first or second day of May, that I may be there in time to account, personally, for my conduct to the General Meeting of the Cincinnati which is to convene on the first Monday of that month. My feelings would be much hurt if that body should otherwise, ascribe my attendance on the one and not on the other occasion, to a disrespectful inattention to the Society; when the fact is, that I shall ever retain the most lively and affectionate regard for the members of which it is composed, on account of their attachment to, and uniform support of me, upon many trying occasions; as much as on account of their public virtues, patriotism, and sufferings.

I hope your Excellency will be found among the *attending* delegates—I should be glad to be informed who the others are—and cannot conclude without once more, and in emphatical terms, praying that if there is not a *decided* representation in *prospect*, without me, that another, for the reason I have assigned, may be chosen in my room without ceremony and without delay; for it would be unfortunate indeed if the State which was the mover of this Convention, should be unrepresented in it. With great respect I have the honor to be

Y<sup>r</sup> Excell<sup>y</sup> Most Obed<sup>t</sup>

G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON

His Excell<sup>y</sup> EDM<sup>d</sup> RANDOLPH.

PRINCE EDWARD feby 13<sup>th</sup> 1787.

SIR.

Your Excellency's Favor accompaney's the Resolution & Act of the Assembly for appointing Commissioners from this State to meet with others from the United States at Philadelphia in May next for the purposes therein mentioned did not reach me 'til very long after its Date, or I should have acknowledged it sooner. And it is with much Concern that I feel myself constrained to decline acting under this Appointment, so honourable to me from the Objects of it as well as the Characters with whom I am joined.

I have judged it my Duty to signify this to your Excellency by the first opportunity, in order, as much as possible to prevent the Loss of Time in making another appointment.

With the highest Regard I am Sir

Your Excellencys most obedient and very humble servant

P. HENRY.

His Excy the Governor.



INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT, 1789.—The diary of the Moravian congregation in New York contains the following record concerning the inauguration of Washington as first President of the United States, in 1789:

*April 20.* Doctor Livingston, the Low Dutch minister called here to acquaint Bro. Birkby [Moravian pastor], that it was the intention of all denominations to meet in their churches or places of worship on the day when the President moves from his house to Federal Hall to take the oath and to be inaugurated into his office; that in every place of worship there be a prayer in a solemn manner offered up to the Lord in behalf of this Nation and also of the President and Vice-President at 9 o'clock in the morning. In the afternoon at 4 o'clock, the Vice-President, his Excellency, John Adams arrived here, and it occasioned a great to do in the city, but as it rained heavily, the extravagant proceedings were much alloy'd.

*April 23.* In the afternoon at 3 o'clock his Excellency Geo. Washington, president of the United States arrived here a numerous concourse of People assembled at the Dock to see the head of the United States of America come on shore. At night the whole city was illuminated, and we were obliged to do the same to our house, else we should have had our windows broke.

*April 30.* This being the day when his Excellency George Washington was to be installed and to take the oath, we had at 9 o'clock a meeting in our church, and which was also in other churches, when a prayer was put up in behalf of the new government, and of the president of the United States. At 12 o'clock the President was conducted to the Federal house where the ceremony was performed, and from thence to St. Paul's church where the service was performed. Great concourse of people was assembled together on the occasion. And at night there was what they call the most brilliant Fire works played off, that ever was in America.

ADDRESS OF THE YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS OF PENNSYLVANIA, ETC., TO PRESIDENT WASHINGTON, 1789.—We are indebted to Dr. James J. Levick for a copy of the address of the Yearly Meeting of the Friends of Philadelphia, etc., to President Washington, and his reply.

*To the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.*

THE ADDRESS of the Religious Society called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Delaware, and the western parts of Virginia and Maryland.

BEING met in this our Annual Assembly for the well-ordering the affairs of our Religious Society, and the promotion of universal righteousness, our minds have been drawn to consider that the Almighty, who ruleth in Heaven and in the kingdoms of men, having permitted a great revolution to take place in the government of this country, we are fervently concerned that the rulers of the people may be favoured with the counsel of God, the only sure means of enabling them to fulfil the important trust committed to their charge, and in an especial manner that Divine wisdom and grace vouchsafed from above, may qualify thee to fill up the duties of the exalted station, to which thou art appointed.

We are sensible thou hast obtained great place in the esteem and affections of people of all denominations, over whom thou presideth; and many eminent talents being committed to thy trust, we much desire they may be fully devoted to the Lord's honour and service, that thus thou

mayest be an happy instrument in his hand, for the suppression of vice, infidelity and irreligion, and every species of oppression on the persons and consciences of men, so that righteousness and peace, which truly exalt a nation, may prevail throughout the land, as the only solid foundation that can be laid for the prosperity and happiness of this or any country.

The free toleration which the citizens of these States enjoy in the public worship of the Almighty, agreeable to the dictates of their consciences, we esteem among the choicest of blessings; and as we desire to be filled with fervent charity for those who differ from us in faith and practice, believing that the general assembly of saints is composed of the sincere and upright hearted of all nations, kingdoms and people; so we trust we may justly claim it from others,—and in a full persuasion that the Divine principle we profess, leads into harmony and concord, we can take no part in carrying on war on any occasion, or under any power, but are bound in conscience to lead quiet and peaceable lives in godliness and honestly amongst men, contributing freely our proportion to the indigences of the poor, and to the necessary support of civil government, acknowledging those “who rule well to be worthy of double honour,” and if any professing with us, are, or have been, of a contrary disposition and conduct, we own them not therein; having never been chargeable from our first establishment as a Religious Society, with fomenting or countenancing tumults or conspiracies or disrespect to those who are placed in authority over us.

We wish not improperly to intrude on thy time or patience, nor is it our practice to offer adulation to any; but as we are a people whose principles and conduct have been misrepresented and traduced, we take the liberty to assure thee, that we feel our hearts affectionately drawn towards thee, and those in authority over us, with prayers that thy Presidency may, under the blessing of Heaven, be happy to thyself and to the people; that through the encrease of morality and true religion, Divine Providence may condescend to look down upon our land with a propitious eye, and bless the inhabitants with a continuance of peace, the dew of Heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and enable us gratefully to acknowledge his manifold mercies.—And it is our earnest concern, that he may be pleased to grant thee every necessary qualification to fill thy weighty and important station to his glory; and that finally, when all terrestrial honours shall fail and pass away, thou and thy respectable consort may be found worthy to receive a crown of unfading righteousness in the mansions of peace and joy for ever.

Signed in and on behalf of our said meeting held in Philadelphia, by adjournments, from the 28th of the 9th mo. to the 3d day of the 10th mo. inclusive, 1789.

NICHOLAS WALN, Clerk of the meeting this year.

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THE ANSWER of the President of the United States to the Address of the Religious Society called Quakers, from their Yearly Meeting for Pennsylvania, New-Jersey, Delaware, and the western parts of Maryland and Virginia.

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes which you express for the success of my administration, and for my personal happiness.

We have reason to rejoice in the prospect that the present national

government, which, by the favor of Divine Providence, was formed by the common counsels, and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them;—to render it such, my best endeavours shall not be wanting.

Government being among other purposes instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression,—it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but according to their stations to prevent it in others.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeable to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*.—While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that Society or the State can with propriety demand or expect, and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion or mode of faith, which they may prefer or profess.

Your principles and conduct are well known to me; and it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say, that (except their declining to share with others the burthen of the common defence) there is no denomination among us who are more exemplary and useful citizens.

I assure you very explicitly that in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

Printed by DANIEL HUMPHREYS, Front-street, near the Drawbridge, Philadelphia.

LETTER OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO PROFESSOR KINNERSLEY.—Horatio Gates Jones, Esq., sends us a copy of the following interesting letter of Doctor Franklin to his friend and scientific co-laborer Prof. Ebenezer Kinnersley. The original is in the possession of Mrs. Edward H. Huntsman, Langhorne, Penna., who is a collateral relative of the distinguished electrician:

LONDON, July 28, 1759.

DEAR SIR,

I received your favour of Sept. 9 and should have answer'd it sooner, but delay'd in Expectation of procuring for you some Book that describes and explains the Uses of the Instruments you are at a loss about. I have not yet got such a Book but shall make further Enquiry. Does not Desaguliers in his Course explain them? You do not mention the Reasons of your being tired of your Situation in the Academy. And if you had, it would perhaps be out of my Power at this Distance to remedy any Inconveniences you suffer or even if I was present. For before I left Philadelphia, everything to be done in the Academy was privately preconcerted in a Cabal without my Knowledge or Participation and accordingly carried into Execution. The Schemes of Public Parties made it seem requisite to lessen my Influence wherever it could be lessened. The Trustees had reap'd the full Advantage of my Head, Hands, Heart and Purse, in getting through the first Difficulties of the Design, and when they thought they could do without me, they laid me aside. I wish Success to the Schools nevertheless and am sorry to hear that the whole Number of Scholars does not at present exceed an hundred & forty.

I once thought of advising you to make Trial of your Lectures here, and perhaps in the more early Times of Electricity it might have answer'd; but now I much doubt it, so great is the general Negligence of every thing in the Way of Science that has not Novelty to recommend it. Courses of Experimental Philosophy, formerly so much in Vogue, are now disregarded; so that Mr. Demainbray, who is reputed an excellent Lecturer, and has an Apparatus that cost nearly £2000, the finest perhaps in the World, can hardly make up an audience in this great City to attend one Course in a Winter.

I wonder your roughening the Glass Globe did not succeed. I have seen Mr. Canton frequently perform his Experiments with the smooth & rough Tubes, and they answered perfectly as he describes them in the Transactions. Perhaps you did not use the same Rubbers.

There are some few new Experiments here in Electricity which at present I can only just hint to you. Mr. Symmer has found that a new black Silk Stocking worn 8 or 10 Minutes on a new white one, then both drawn off together, they have, while together, no great Signs of Electricity; i.e. they do not much attract the small Cork Balls of Mr. Canton's Box; but being drawn one out of the other, they puff out to the full Shape of the Leg, affect the Cork Balls at the Distance of 6 Feet and attract one another at the Distance of 18 inches and will cling together; & either of them against a smooth Wall or a Looking Glass, will stick to it some time. Upon Trial, the black Stocking appears to be electrised negatively, the white one positively. He charges Vials with them as we us'd to do with a Tube. Mr. Delavall has found that several Bodies which conduct when cold, or hot to a certain Degree, will not conduct when in a middle State. Portland Freestone, for Instance, when cold, conducts; heated to a certain degree will not conduct; heated more it conducts again; and as it cools, passes thro' that Degree in which it will not conduct till it becomes cooler.

This with what you mention of your Cedar Cylinder, makes me think, that possibly a thin Cedar Board, or Board of other Wood, thoroughly dried and heated, might if coated and electrified, yield a Shock as glass Planes do. As yet I have not try'd it.

But the greatest Discovery in this Way is the Virtue of the *Tourmalin* Stone, brought from *Ceylon* in the Indies which being heated in boiling Water, becomes strongly electrical, one side positive, the other negative, without the least Rubbing. They are very rare but I have two of them & long to show you the Experiments.

Billy joins with me in Compliments to you & to good Mrs. Kinnersley & your promising Children. I am with much Esteem and Affection Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant.

B. FRANKLIN.

MR. KINNERSLEY.

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF SAMUEL POWELL AND ABIGAIL WILCOX,—Whereas, Samnel Powell of Philadelphia Carpenter, and Abigail Wilcox Daughter of Barnabas and Sarah Wilcox deceased of the same place; Haveing declared their Intentions of taking Each other in Marriage before several Public Meetings of the People of God called Quakers in Philadelphia aforesaid, according to the good Order used among them, whose proceedings therein, after a Deliberate consideration thereof, [with Regarde unto the Righteous Laws of God,] and Example of his people Recorded in the Scriptures of truth in that Case Were approved of by the said Meetings, They appearing clear of all others, And haveing the

Consent of Partyes and Relations concerned; Now These are to Certifie All whom it may Concerne, that for the full accomplishing of their said Intentions, this Nineteenth Day of the Twelvth Month called February, In the Year, according to the English account, one Thousand Seaven hundred, They the said Samuel Powell and Abigail Wilcox, appeared in a Public Assembly of the aforesaid People, and others Mett together, for that End and Purpose in their Public Meeting Place in Philadelphia aforesaid, and in a Solemne Manner, he the said Samuel Powell, takcing the said Abigail Wilcox by the hand Did openly Declare as Followeth:

Friends in the fear of the Lord, & before this Assembly, I take this my friend Abigail Wilcox to be my wife Promissing to be to her a faithful & Loveing husband, untill it shall please the Lord by Death to Separate us;—

And then and there in the said assembly, the said Abigail Wilcox did in Like Manner Declare as Followeth; Friends in the fear of God, & before this assembly, I take my friend Samuel Powell to be my husband, promissing to be to him a faithful & Loveing wife, till God by Death shall Seperate us;

And the said Samuel Powell and Abigail Wilcox, as a further Confirmation thereof, did then and there to these Presents Sett their hands; and we whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, being Present among others, at the Solemnizing of their said Marriage and Subscription, in manner aforesaid, as Wittnesses hereunto, have also to these Presents Subscribed our Names, The Day and Year above Written.

SAM POWELL

ABIGAIL WILLCOX

Wm Penn	James Keile	Margret Cooke
Tho Story	Philip England	Rudth Duckitt
Jonat <sup>a</sup> Dickinson	Ried Peters	Elizabeth Fox
Thomas Willis	Walter Long	Mary Williss
John Lea	Sarah Dymock	Margrett Peters
Nicholas Walln	Janc Breintnall	Margrett Jones
Griffith Owen	Nathaniel Edgecomb	Hannah Carpenter
Edw <sup>d</sup> Penington	Samuel Bradshaw	Ann Webb
Joseph Shippen	William Woodmansea	Elizabeth Maccomb
Griffith Jones	Thomas Griffith	Mary Moulty
W <sup>m</sup> Southebe	Nicho. Fairlamb	Joseph Willcox
George Claypoole	Joseph Paull	Esther freeland
John Guest	Phill: Taylor	Rachell Willcox
George Gray	John Hurford	Ann Willcox
Sam: Carpenter	Edw <sup>a</sup> Fowes	Jh <sup>o</sup> . Psons ( <i>Sic</i> )
Da <sup>d</sup> Lloyd	Arthur Starr	Ann Parsons
James Thomson	Joseph Paull	John Roades
Hugh Durborow	William Fishbourn	Edwd: Shippen
Will Powell	Joan ffowes	Joseph Jones
John Goodsonn	Hannah Penn	Rebecca Willcox
John Kinsy	Rebekah Shippen	Rebecah Budd
Ralph Jackson	Sarah Clements	Marg <sup>t</sup> . Mecomb
Philip James	Ann Dilworth	Sarah Goodsonn
W <sup>m</sup> Hudson	Joan Jones	

DOMINE RUDOLPHUS VARICK IN PHILADELPHIA, 1690.—Domine Rudolphus Varick, settled minister of the Dutch Reformed Church on Long Island, and occasionally supplying New Amstel (now New Castle), Delaware, found it convenient, if not absolutely necessary, to visit his

flock in Delaware during the Leisler troubles in New York. Writing of this journey to his ecclesiastical superiors, the Classis of Amsterdam, he says,—

“Before closing, I shall add something in regard to my journey or rather my flight to the South river on the 7<sup>th</sup> of June 1690: I found in the whole of Pennsylvania only one Protestant Lutheran pastor, an old blind man: in passing I came to a Swede, called Captain Israel, who received me well, and hearing that I was a preacher, he said, they would make a contract with me to be their pastor, as their own had died the year before. I said, ‘But you are Lutherans’ and he replied ‘Yes, there is some difference about the communion, but we shall not trouble ourselves about that.’ Then I told him I had not come for such a purpose. I came to a German village near Philadelphia, where among others I heard Jacob Telner, a German Quaker, preaching; later I lodged at his house in Philadelphia. This village consists of 44 families, 28 of whom are Quakers, the other 16 of the Reformed Church, among whom I spoke to those, who had been received as members by the —, the Lutherans, the Mennists and the Papists, who are very much opposed to Quakerism and therefore lovingly meet every Sunday, when a Mennist, Dirck Keyser from Amsterdam, reads a sermon from a book by Jobst Harmensen. I was also en passant at Sluyter’s, alias Vosman’s in New Bohemia. They received me civilly and were about 16 in number at their cloister, attending to agriculture.

“Coming at last to New Castle, I preached there on three Sundays and administered the communion; I had there a little church, full of people, Dutch, Swedes and Fins.”

Dominc Varick is an example that clergymen of other denominations than the Roman Catholic, who were made martyrs by the Indians, had also to suffer in colonial days. After his return from Delaware, he says, in the same letter, describing the treatment by the Leisler party, “I have been in prison for about five months, but not like my fellow-prisoners, with nailed-up windows or underground or with irons on the legs, but in a lighter chamber with a captured French Captain, from whom I thankfully learned French: I had done nothing else than to warn my nearest neighbor, an Elder, who is still under sentence of death, that he should desist from acting so cruelly against all decent people; ten months later I was imprisoned and declared guilty of high treason . . . ; my greatest fear was, of being murdered while in prison, as I was told to my face, whenever a shot was fired in the fort, that all the prisoners would be cut down on the spot. My wife had to fly with everything, because she was constantly threatened with pillage.” (Amsterdam Correspondence of the Dutch Reformed Church.)

B. FERNOW.

WILLIAM PENN’S TANKARD, A GIFT FROM JAMES CLAYPOOLE’S FAMILY?—In a Loan Collection at the Academy of Fine Arts in 1876 a handsome tankard was exhibited by Mrs. Merideth, stated to have belonged to William Penn, having  $\overset{P}{W} \rightarrow \overset{H}{H}$  engraved on the handle, and these arms emblazoned on the side, which, though somewhat similar to that of Penn, are those of Claypoole, impaling unknown. They are as follows: A chevron between three torteaux impaling three fusils in fess, over all a bend. Crest on the first a fleur-de-lis. On the second a Pegasus issuing out of a ducal crown. This was the blazon taken by me in 1876, which is, however, sufficient for identification. See the following notes made recently. I believe I am correct in stating this to be an unusual instance of the use of two crests at an early date in English heraldry, for as Clay-

poole died in the year 1687, and it is probable the engraving was made some years before, this example is above two centuries old, while the usage of two crests in this manner is supposed to be a very recent fashion.

In the tenth volume of the PENNA. MAGAZINE, pp. 354, 355, will be found an interesting letter entitled "A true copy of a letter from Benjamin Claypoole of the city of London, to George Claypoole of the city of Philadelphia, Merchant, in Market Street, in the year 1706-7." This most valuable record of the genealogy of the Claypoole family was written by the youngest brother of James Claypoole, the ancestor of the Philadelphia line. It gave me a clue to the unknown arms impaling Claypoole on the Penn tankard, as "Benj. Claypool" says, "My father married Mary Angell. Her father was Fishmonger to King Charles the First." "Benj. Claypool" also mentions "Our predecessors coat of Arms,—the crest a fleur de luce." In Edmondson's Heraldry, Vol. II., London, 1780, the arms of several families of Angell are given. The following comes nearest to that impaled on the tankard, "Angell [London, who came from Pekirk, in Lancashire] Or, three fusils in fesse az. over all a baston gu.—Crest out of a ducal crown or, a demi-pegasus ar. crined gu." Arms of Claypoole, as given by Edmondson, are "*Clepole* [Northborough, in Northamptonshire] Or; a Chevron Azure between three hurts—Crest a fleur-de-lis enfiled with a ducal coronet or."

James Claypoole, who died in 1687, left an interesting will and inventory containing many details of plate worthy of being published entire, especially as so many Philadelphia families claim descent from and alliance with his family. His personal friendship and intimacy with William Penn are well known. Among other things he leaves to his wife "In Silver my Largest and Least Tankard, my Least and biggest porringers and six spoons." . . . "To Mary my Eldest Daughter" . . . "My Old Silver Tankard which was my mother's and two Silver Spoons." There is mention of other bequests of plate which, having no connection with the tankard, I omit. Helena, wife of James Claypoole, died shortly after her husband. His will was dated 5th 12mo., 1686, and proved 12th 8th mo., 1687. The "Appraisalment of the Goods of James Claypoole & Helena his Wife both of Philadelphia Deceased taken about the Middle of the Seventh Month 1688 by Humphrey Murray & Thomas Hooten," mentions two tankards of which the weight and valuation are given as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
59 oz. 1 <sup>a</sup> wt. great Silver Tankard [value]	18	9	$\frac{3}{4}$
17 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. 1 <sup>a</sup> wt. least Tankard	5	9	$4\frac{1}{2}$

In view of the intimacy of the Claypoole family with Penn and the particular mention of him in the will in these words, "And I doe Intreate and desire my Dear friends William Penn our Governor and Thomas Lloyd keeper of the Broad Seal to be overseers of this my Last Will and to Counsell and Assist my Dear Wife and Children in all their Concernes," I am of the opinion that this is the "great Silver Tankard" left by James Claypoole to his wife Helena, which was most likely given to Penn as a present for his services to the estate. It can be easily proved if the weight should be nearly "59 oz. 1<sup>a</sup>wt," allowing for a slight loss in its two centuries of existence.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

RATES OF BOARDING IN PHILADELPHIA, 1779-1780.—From the diary of the Hon. William Ellery, who left Cranston November 10, 1779, to

attend Congress, in Philadelphia, where he arrived nineteen days later, we extract rates of board and wages of servants at that period.

"My journey though long was tolerable. If I had not taken cold on the road, it would have been more than tolerable—it would have been comfortable. I went to board with Mrs. Miller on Arch, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, 3 December, at \$300. per week for myself and servant. Paid her 18 Jan. 1780, \$1850. At the expiration of seven weeks the board was raised. On 16 Feb. I paid Mrs. Miller \$370. and she informed me that she must have \$300. per week. April 2d paid Mrs. Miller \$1560. April 15th \$760.

"Went to board with the Rev. W. Marshall 23 April 1780.

Paid Mr. Marshall, May 10th	\$560
" 16	410
June 6	408
June 16	425
June 30	420
	<hr/>
	\$2223

"Sold my sorrel mare to Mr. Mitchell D. Q. M. G. for \$300., for which I received his certificate.

"Thomas Fisher entered my service as a Waiter Oct 28, 1779 paid him April 10th, in all \$500."

AMERICAN FOLK-LORE SOCIETY.—The Council of this Society has decided that the annual meeting shall be held in this city during the ensuing autumn. The *Journal*, which is issued quarterly, is designed for the collection and publication of the folk-lore and mythology of the American continent, and numbers among its contributors Professor Horatio Hale, Dr. D. G. Brinton, C. Godfrey Leland, Rev. W. M. Beauchamp, Alice C. Fletcher, and other well-known writers. It is desired to increase the Society to a strength commensurate with the width of the field which it is called on to occupy, and we are pleased to recognize among its members well-known names of this city and State. The membership fee is three dollars per annum, entitling members to a copy of the *Journal*. The address of the Secretary, William Wells Newell, is Cambridge, Massachusetts.

### Queries.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GRADUATES AND MATRICULATES.—Information is wanted concerning the following graduates and matriculates of the College Department, and honorary graduates of the University. The most important facts wanted of these men are: full name; father's name with mother's maiden name; date and place of birth and of death; if married, the maiden name of wife and name of her father; any honorary degrees received; occupations; any public offices held; any publications or original researches made; if ever in military or naval service.

CLASS 1813.—Rev. John R. Goodman, Coulter Goodwin, James B. Steele, Hon. John Nebit Steele, George W. Warder, Dr. Samuel J. Withy (where did he get his medical degree?).

CLASS 1815.—George Buchanan, James S. Davidson, John J. Richards.

CLASS 1816.—William N. Anderson, Samuel N. Davis, Isaac Willis.

CLASS 1817.—Rev. Washington Harris, William B. Lardner, Alex-



ander Magnus Murray, Jacob L. Sharpe, Charles A. Walker, of Maryland, William C. Walker.

CLASS 1818.—Dr. James M. Staughton.

CLASS 1819.—William Underhill Purnell, of Maryland, John Selby Purnell, of Maryland, Thomas B. Turner, of Virginia, Garrett van Gelder, Henry Franklin, of Maryland, Dr. John R. Knox (where did he receive his medical degree?).

CLASS 1820.—Dr. John F. D. Heineken, John Norcom, of North Carolina, Dr. Samuel Jones, Alexander Neil.

CLASS 1821.—George W. Heyberger, Dr. Rowland B. Heylin, John H. Scheetz.

CLASS 1822.—Ferdinand Farmer Carrell, John Chamberlain, William Frazier, William R. Price, of Maryland, Dr. Charles E. Smith (where did he get his medical degree?), Robert J. Thompson, of Kentucky.

CLASS 1823.—John M. Marshall, William Morton, George Sharpe.

CLASS 1824.—Henry Helmuth Krebs, Rev. Thos. Bartow Sargent, D.D.

CLASS 1825.—David C. Harker, of New Jersey, Rev. Wm. H. Rees, D.D., Levis P. Thompson.

CLASS 1826.—Rev. Joseph M. Abbott, Jr., Thomas McKinley.

#### HONORARY GRADUATES.

CLASS 1757.—Josiah Martin, A.B., A.M., 1760, "the son of Col. Josiah Martin, of Long Island, in the Province of New York;" Solomon Southwick, A.B., of Rhode Island.

CLASS 1759.—Rev. Hector Alison, A.M.

CLASS 1760.—Rev. Samuel Cooke, A.M., "of ye province of New Jersey;" Rev. Philip Reading, A.M., "of the county of New Castle;" Rev. Samson Smith, A.M.

CLASS 1762.—Rev. Joseph Mather, A.M., of Maryland; Thomas Pollock, A.B., "Tutor in the College;" Rev. John Simonton, A.M., "of Chester Co. in this Province;" "Mr. Isaac Smith, Doctor of Physick, of this City."

CLASS 1775.—James Ross, A.M., Prof. Gr. and Lat. Lang., Dickinson Coll.

CLASS 1781.—William Barton, A.M.

CLASS 1786.—Rev. David Griffith, M.D., D.D. (where did he get his medical degree?).

CLASS 1789.—Samuel Keen, A.M., "Tutor in the College;" Rev. Philip Paul, A.M.

CLASS 1790.—Rev. Lawrence Girelius, A.M.

CLASS 1795.—Rev. George Ralsh, A.M.

CLASS 1797.—Cunningham Semple Rumsey, A.M.

CLASS 1823.—Eugenius Nulty, A.M., Prof. Math., Dickinson Coll.

CLASS 1824.—Rev. Joseph Spencer, A.M., D.D., 1831. Prof. Lat. and Gr. Lang. and Lit., Dickinson Coll.

CLASS 1826.—Rt. Rev. Patrick Torry, D.D., Bishop of Dunkeld.

CLASS 1829.—Rev. Chas. Williams, D.D., Pres. Baltimore Coll.

CLASS 1830.—Rev. James Horner, D.D.

CLASS 1839.—Rev. Jacob Miller, D.D.

CLASS 1841.—Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, D.D.

CLASS 1844.—Joseph Saxton, A.M.

NOYES.—Information is wanted concerning (1) name of wife and date and place of death of Moses Noyes, born in Newbury, Mass., 12th May,

1744, son of Moses and Susannah (Jaques) Noyes. (2) Name of wife and date and place of death of Moses Noyes, born in Newbury, Mass., 16th December, 1743, son of Moses and Hannah (Smith) Noyes. (3) Rev. William Noyes, Rector of Cholderton, County Wilts, England, 1602 till 1616, when he died. When and where was he born, and what were his parents' names?

Box 950, New York.

J. ATKINS NOYES.

PHILADELPHIA TOWNSHIP, NOVA SCOTIA.—Wanted, any information that would throw light upon the origin of the name of the Township of Philadelphia, in the Province of Nova Scotia. A deed from Nathan Sheppard, of Philadelphia, dated 4th November, 1768, conveys about 200 acres of land, in this township, to Benjamin Armitage, Alexander Bartram, Walter Shee, and William Ball, in fee simple. Sheppard conveys by virtue of a grant of 20,000 acres to himself and associates from Lord William Campbell, dated 30th September, 1767, "and by virtue of a power from . . . Benjamin Armitage, John Lukins for John Jones, William Ball, John Lukins, Joseph Jacobs, William Sitgreaves, David Hall, Samuel Jackson, John Wright, Edward Bonsall, Paul Isaac Voto, Alexander Bartram, Walter Shee, James Loughhead, Hugh Lennox, James Halden, and James James" dated 30th April, in the eighth year of his Majesty's reign, A.D. 1768.

The tract of 200 acres lies on the north side of the Bason of Minass, near the mouth of Hall's Hollow, adjoining land of Noah Miller.

The conveyance is registered in Kings County, "Township of Horton," Nova Scotia, "on the oath of Noah Bowen," one of the witnesses to its execution, the others being Noah Miller and Samuel Knox. In 1769, Alexander Bartram and Jane his wife conveyed an undivided fourth of the land and of "the Store and Buildings" thereon erected, to Walter Shee. This conveyance, witnessed by Barnaby Barnes and Jas Delaplain, and acknowledged before Isaac Jones, Mayor of Philadelphia, is also registered in the Township of Horton.

T. S.

JONES.— Jones, son of G. Jones, married Catherine Evans about 1767. The notice of their marriage should appear on Friends' records. When did it occur? What was the given name of the above — Jones? What was the full name of G. Jones, and that of his wife? and where were they born? Who were the parents of Catherine Evans, and the place of their birth?

B.

RELIEF ALLEY.—Information is requested as to the origin of the name of Relief Alley, running east from Second Street, between Lombard and South Streets. Who remembers the name of the old inn located on the corner of Second Street and Relief Alley?

B.

### *Replies.*

SITGREAVES.—Sarah Sitgreaves was born in England in 1667/8, and died the 13th of the 1st month, 1727/8.

William Sitgreaves, son of said Sarah, was born near Preston, in Lancashire, England, 17th of 2d month, 1704. He married Mary Cook in England, 26th of 4th month, 1728, and embarked with his wife for America, in the "Watts Galley," William Wallis, master, 7th of 7th month, 1729; arrived in Philadelphia 27th of 9th month, 1729. He died 1st of 12th month, 1747/8, and was buried at John Shaw's, Core Sound, North Carolina.

Mary Cook was born in London 24th of 11th month, 1707/8, and died at Georgetown, in Winyaw, in South Carolina, the 13th of 9th month, 1734.

Their first child died in England and was buried in Wapping Meeting-house yard, London, in 1728/9.

Their second child, William Sitgreaves, was born 14th of 12th month, 1729/30, in Philadelphia. He married Susannah Deshon, in Boston, September, 1756, and died in Philadelphia, the 20th December, 1800.

Thomas Sitgreaves, son of said William and Mary, was born 25th of 9th month, 1731, in Philadelphia.

Sarah Ann Sitgreaves, daughter of said William and Mary, was born the 4th of 4th month, 1733, in Philadelphia, and died in 1734.

William, the first child of William and Susannah Sitgreaves, was born in New-Berne, North Carolina, 1757, and died an infant.

Their second child, William Deshon Sitgreaves, was born in Philadelphia, 1759, and died the same year.

John Sitgreaves, their third child, was born in Philadelphia, February 11, 1763, and died September 3, 1798, at Germantown. He lies buried in the burial-ground of the German Baptist congregation of that place.

Samuel Sitgreaves, their fourth child, was born in Philadelphia, 16th March, 1764, and died at Easton, April 4, 1827.

Juliana Sitgreaves, their fifth child, was born in Philadelphia, May 15, 1765.

Kitty (*sic*, should be Hitty) Sitgreaves, their sixth child, born in Philadelphia, September 16, 1766.

Charlotte Sitgreaves, seventh child, born in Philadelphia, January 8, 1769.

Clement, eighth child, born in Philadelphia, August 21, 1770; died July 31, 1771.

William, ninth child, born in Philadelphia, December 23, 1772.

Harriet, tenth child, born in Philadelphia, January 10, 1774; died February 19, 1778.

Moise Yats (or de Jats) was born in Clerac, in Agenois, in France, the 12th March, 1649. He came from England to Virginia with Lord Culpepper in 1680, having left France on account of the persecution of the Huguenots.

Susanna Horrian Maviniere, wife of the said Moise de Jats (or Deshon), was born in France, September 27, 1668, at Marenes, and died at Boston, July 6, 1756.

Moses Deshon, seventh child of the said Moise and Susanna, was born in Boston, April 28, 1710; he married Persis Stevens, daughter of Erasmns Stevens, June 3, 1731, and died in Boston, September 22, 1779.

Persis Deshon died in Boston, 21st July, 1738, aged about twenty-six years.

Susanna Deshon, daughter of said Moses and Persis, was born in Boston, June 22, 1735, and died in Philadelphia, June 30, 1803.

L. A. S.

“THE CABINET” NEWSPAPER (Vol. XIII. No. 1, p. 126).—I find a reference to Matthew Lyon, the father of the Mr. Lyon spoken of as the publisher of this newspaper, in “Poems by St. John Honeywood, A.M.,” New York, 1801. He was a member of Congress, and on one occasion declared “his resolution to abide with the Sergeant-at-Arms while the House should wait on the President” (Adams). A foot-note adds, “See Journals and Debates of Congress.” Honeywood makes him say, “I’m

rugged Mat, the democrat," and other allusions in these doggerel verses would seem to identify him beyond doubt with the "spitler" of J. N. P.'s query. The refrain, by the way, of each stanza, contains the words, if words they can be called, "Spittam, spattam, squirto." J. N. P.'s extract speaks of him (the father) "as an old and experienced Democrat," and as having "made trial of the virtues of the gaol in Vermont," and Honeywood's parody, entitled "Speech of a Democratic *Lion*," has

"We Lions bold abominate  
To court the great and wealthy;  
I did it not in Vermont State,—  
I sha'n't in Philadelphia."

In one line the true spelling of the name, *Lyon*, is given. According to "Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary" he was born in County Wicklow, Ireland, in 1746, came to America, "where he served in the Revolutionary War," and died in 1822.

Quite a full account of his political career will be found in the "Life of Josiah Quincy," Boston, 1867, pp. 327-329. He is there spoken of as "first of Vermont and afterwards of Kentucky," and here too appears the explanation of the term "spitler." He had distinguished himself by "spitting in the face of Mr. Griswold, of Connecticut." Mr. Quincy, nevertheless, bears testimony to his "energy of character and sound common sense," and adds "these qualities could not be wanting in one who carried his first election to Congress by means of a newspaper of which he was not merely the editor, but for which he cast the types, and made the paper out of basswood himself."

If this newspaper was *The Cabinet*, as it probably was, the son would appear to have been merely the associate of the father in its publication. But some one better informed than I in this sort of literature can doubtless give all the particulars desired.

T. S.

Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

MARKOE.—After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Abraham Markoe's ancestors decided to leave France and embarked for the West Indies, where they lived and died. Their descendants settled on the island of Santa Cruz, and became possessed of several plantations. Abraham Markoe married there, and soon losing his wife, was left with the care of two sons, who were subsequently sent to Dublin to be educated. One became a member of the Danish cabinet, the other died in middle life. The climate of Santa Cruz not agreeing with my grandfather, Abraham Markoe, brought him to America, where he made the acquaintance of Miss Elizabeth Baynton, who, although much younger, became his second wife. She died, leaving him three children. The eldest, Isaac, was lost on the packet "St. Domingo," returning to the West Indies, and John married Miss Cox, of Philadelphia. My mother, Elizabeth B., became the wife of Isaac Hazlehurst.

MARY ASHHURST.

Mount Holly.

E. S. S.—William Richardson Atlee, eldest son of Samuel John and Sarah Richardson Atlee, born 27th May, 1765. He married Margaretta, daughter of Gen. Anthony Wayne. For a number of years he was Prothonotary of the Supreme Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, and subsequently followed the calling of a conveyancer. He died 24th November, 1844, at Winfield, Carroll County, Maryland. Address of Samuel Yorke Atlee is 1424 New York Avenue, Washington D.C.

WALTER F. ATLEE.





*Chas. Willson Peale Pinx. del. fecit. 1795.*  
His Excellency **George Washington** Esquire, Commander in  
Chief of the Federal Army —  
This Plate is humbly Inscribed to the Honorable the Congress of the United States of America's.  
By their Obedient Servant, *Chas. Willson Peale*







THE  
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THE HISTORY OF A RARE WASHINGTON PRINT.

[Read by William S. Baker before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, May 6, 1889.]

In the winter of 1778-79, General Washington visited Philadelphia, in order to confer with Congress on the operations of the next campaign, a comprehensive plan proposed by that body for the invasion of Canada, in co-operation with an army from France, being the principal subject to be considered. To this the commander-in-chief was strongly opposed, and the result of the conference was the abandonment of the design.

During his stay, which was brief (December 22 to February 2), the Supreme Executive Council of the State, in furtherance of a desire to have a portrait of him for the Council chamber, at a meeting held on the evening of January 18, 1779, passed the following resolution :

“ WHEREAS : The wisest, freest and bravest nations in the most virtuous times, have endeavored to perpetuate the memory of those who have rendered their Country distinguished services, by preserving their resemblances in Statues and Paintings : This Council, deeply sensible how much

the liberty, safety and happiness of America in general and Pennsylvania in particular, is owing to His Excellency General Washington, and the brave men under his command, do resolve. That His Excellency General Washington be requested to permit this Council to place his Portrait in the Council Chamber, not only as a mark of the great respect which they bear to His Excellency, but that the contemplation of it may excite others to tread in the same glorious and disinterested steps, which lead to public happiness and private honor. And that the President<sup>1</sup> be desired to wait on His Excellency the General, with the above request, and if granted, to enquire when and where it will be most agreeable to him, for Mr. Peale to attend him.”<sup>2</sup>

To this the commander-in-chief made the following response :

“ GENTLEMEN : The liberal testimony of approbation which you did me the honor of transmitting by the hands of his Excellency the President, coming from so respectable an assembly, cannot but make the deepest impression on my mind. However conscious I am that your generous sensibility attributes infinitely too much to me, my respect for you leads me to acquiesce in your request and gratefully to subscribe myself, Gentlemen, Your much obliged and most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

“ Head-Quarters Philadelphia, Jany. 20, 1779.”<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after sitting for this portrait, Washington left Philadelphia, his departure being chronicled in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of February 4: “ Tuesday Morning (February 2,) His Excellency General Washington set off from Philadelphia to join the army in New Jersey. During the course of his short stay (the only relief he has enjoyed from service since he first entered into it), he has been honored with

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Reed.

<sup>2</sup> Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Vol. XI. p. 671.

<sup>3</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, Vol. VII. p. 161.

every mark of esteem which his accomplished fortitude as a soldier, and his exalted qualities as a gentleman and a citizen entitle him to. Among other instances he was welcomed at his first coming, by an address from the Supreme Executive Council and the Magistrates of the City, and politely entertained by the President of Congress, the President of the State, his Excellency the Minister of France, Don Juan Marailles a Spanish gentleman of distinction and amiable character, besides the numerous testimonials of regard shown him by private gentlemen.

“The Council of this State being desirous of having his picture, a full length, requested his sitting for that purpose, which he politely complied with, and a striking likeness was taken by Mr. Peale, of Philadelphia. The portrait is to be placed in the Council Chamber. Don Juan Marailles has ordered five copies, four of which, we hear, are to be sent abroad.<sup>1</sup> His Excellency’s stay was rendered the more agreeable by the company of his lady, and the domestic retirement which he enjoyed at the house of the Honorable Henry Laurens, Esquire, with whom he resided.”<sup>2</sup>

Charles Willson Peale, the painter of this *striking likeness*, was a man of marked ability and ingenuity. At this time

<sup>1</sup> While in all probability some, if not all, of these copies must have been made and the pictures in existence, yet we are unable to indicate the whereabouts of any one of them.

<sup>2</sup> It was during this visit to Philadelphia that the profile by Pierre Eugène du Simitière was drawn. The following entry in the diary of M. du Simitière, furnished by William John Potts, Esq., of Camden, N. J., from the original manuscript, is of interest, inasmuch as the fact that Washington sat to him has not heretofore been positively known: “Paintings & Drawings done. 1779 Feby 1<sup>st</sup>, a drawing in black lead of a likeness in profile of his Excellency general Washington form of a medal, for my collection. N. B. The General at the request of the Hon. Mr. Jay President of Congress came with him to my house this morning & condescended with great good nature to sit about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour for the above likeness, having but little time to spare being the last day of his stay in town.” The drawing is not in existence, but the portrait is well known through engravings, the first of which was published at Madrid in 1781. *Vide* Baker’s “Engraved Portraits of Washington,” pp. 39, 41.

he was in his thirty-eighth year, widely known as an excellent portrait-painter, and, indeed, for some time, both before and after the Revolution, was the only painter in this country of any reputation. His first portrait of Washington (the first authentic portrait) was painted at Mount Vernon in 1772.<sup>1</sup> This portrait is directly referred to by Washington in a recently-published letter,<sup>2</sup> dated Mount Vernon, May 21, of that year: "Inclination having yielded to Importunity, I am now contrary to all expectation under the hands of Mr. Peale; but in so grave—so sullen a mood—and now and then under the influence of Morpheus, when some critical strokes are making, that I fancy the skill of this Gentleman's Pencil, will be put to it, in describing to the World what manner of man I am."

A second was painted in the summer of 1776, when the artist was in the army as a captain of militia,<sup>3</sup> and a third in the spring of 1778, commenced at Valley Forge, but not finished until later in the year.<sup>4</sup> The portrait ordered by the Executive Council for the Council chamber, was probably the next, it being understood that in this enumeration oil-paintings only are included.

<sup>1</sup> A three-quarter length, in the costume of a Virginia colonel,—blue coat, faced with red, and dark-red waistcoat and breeches.

<sup>2</sup> Written to Rev. Jonathan Boucher, and published in *Lippincott's Magazine*, May number, 1889, p. 731. See also "The Writings of George Washington," collected and edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford. Vol. II. p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> A half-length, painted for John Hancock.

<sup>4</sup> A full-length, said to have been painted to the order of Congress, but that body having made no appropriation for payment, the picture remained in the hands of the artist. It is now owned by Mr. H. Pratt McKean, of Philadelphia, having been purchased by him at the time of the dispersion of the Peale Gallery. Mr. Peale made several copies of this picture. One of these copies, captured by Captain Keppel of the British navy, in 1780, when on its way to Holland, has from that time been in possession of the Keppel family, Quiddenham Hall, Norfolk, England; a second, formerly the property of the Count de Menou, is now owned by the United States government; and a third, known through the engraving by Wolff, is in the gallery at Versailles. In all of these pictures Washington is resting by the *left* hand on a cannon.

His miniatures of Washington, of which quite a number are in existence, are beautifully executed; the earliest was painted at Mount Vernon in 1772, at the same time of the production of the first oil portrait. Peale is said to have painted fourteen portraits of Washington from life, the last in 1795, and of these he seems to have made many copies or repetitions.

The portrait now under consideration, a full-length, representing Washington at Princeton, the college buildings being given in the distance to the right, was placed in the Council chamber in the State-House at Philadelphia, where it remained until September, 1781, when it was totally defaced by some persons who broke into the building, whether from malice or a mere spirit of destruction does not appear.

The account of this act of vandalism in the *Freeman's Journal* of September 12, is decidedly original: "On Sunday the 9th. instant, *at night*, a fit time for the Sons of Lucifer to perpetrate the deeds of darkness, one or more volunteers in the service of hell, broke into the State House in Philadelphia, and totally defaced the picture of His Excellency General Washington, and a curious engraving of the monument of the patriotic General Montgomery, done in France in the most elegant manner. Every generous bosom must swell with indignation at such atrocious proceedings. It is a matter of grief and sorrowful reflection that any of the human race can be so abandoned, as to offer such an insult to men who are and have been an honor to human nature, who venture and have ventured their lives for the liberties of their fellow-men. A being who carries such malice in his breast must be miserable beyond conception. We need wish him no other punishment than his own feelings.

"The motions of his spirit are black as night,  
And his affections dark as Erebus.'"

And so runs the story. The portrait was painted, it was placed in the Council chamber, and it was destroyed. This would seem to be the end. But, fortunately the art and mystery of engraving in mezzotinto had been acquired by

the painter, and in this case had been utilized in transferring the portrait to copper the year previous to its destruction, thus transmitting to us, through the intervention of printing, all the essential qualities of the original.

Impressions from this plate, taken by himself, were published in the latter part of 1780, but although many must have been printed and widely distributed, only three have as yet come to our notice. One of these impressions is in the collection of the writer, another is owned by the family of Robert B. Cabeen, of Philadelphia, and a third is in the "Huntington Collection," in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The illustration accompanying this paper is a reproduction from the first-named impression.

Mr. Peale was a practical man, and believed in letting the public know what he was doing, so we find the following advertisement of this print in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of August 26, 1780 :

"The subscriber takes this method of informing the public, that he has just finished a metzotinto print in poster size (14 inches by 10 inches besides the margin), of His Excellency General Washington, from the original picture belonging to the State of Pennsylvania. Shopkeepers, and persons going to the West Indies, may be supplied at such a price as will afford a considerable profit to them, by applying at the South West corner of Lombard and Third Street, Philadelphia. CHARLES WILLSON PEALE."

This advertisement was repeated in September and December, when the price, two dollars, was given.

We imagine that the collector of the present day would willingly go as far as Lombard and Third Streets, Philadelphia, could he secure a copy at that price.

The print, which is dedicated to the "Honorable the Congress of the United States of America, By their obedient servant, Cha<sup>s</sup> Willson Peale," does not give the entire figure of the painting, but with that exception it is doubtless a faithful reproduction of the original, which must have been one of Mr. Peale's best efforts. The picture, representing

the commander-in-chief in full uniform, standing and resting by the right hand on a cannon, is good in composition, the drawing excellent, the figure well posed, easy, and graceful, and the general effect pleasing. The face is rather longer than we are accustomed to seeing in other paintings and prints, but it has every appearance of being a likeness.<sup>1</sup>

A description of the personal appearance of Washington, written about three months after the picture was painted, will be of interest in this connection.

“General Washington is now in the forty-seventh year of his age; he is a tall, well-made man, rather large boned, and has a tolerably genteel address: his features are manly and bold, his eyes of a blueish cast and very lively; his hair a deep brown, his face rather long and marked with the small pox; his complexion sun-burnt and without much color, and his countenance sensible, composed and thoughtful; there is a remarkable air of dignity about him, with a striking degree of gracefulness.”<sup>2</sup>

This is the second engraved portrait of Washington produced by Mr. Peale, the first having been executed in 1778, two years earlier. From this plate, however, no impressions are known, the information as to its production being obtained from his manuscript note-book, as follows: “Oct. 16. 1778. Began a drawing in order to make a metzotinto of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington. Got a plate of Mr. Brooks and in pay I am to give him 20 of the prints in the first 100 struck off. Nov. 15. Began to print off the small plate of Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington. 16<sup>th</sup>. Continued the same business all day;

<sup>1</sup> In this picture, as stated, Washington is resting by the *right* hand on a cannon; in the picture painted to the order of Congress, referred to in the note on page 260, the pose is reversed, the *left* hand being placed on the piece.

<sup>2</sup> From “A Sketch of Mr. Washington’s Life and Character,” forming the contents of an anonymous letter dated Maryland, May 3, 1779, and published at London the following year. The letter was written by John Bell, Esq., of Maryland, to a friend in England, and the sketch is the first biographical notice of Washington of any consequence which has come to our knowledge. It was reprinted at Philadelphia, in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 28, 1781.

of prints gave one dozen to those I wish to compliment,<sup>1</sup> and sold 11 Doz. at Five Dolls."

A third plate was executed in 1787, from a bust portrait painted at Philadelphia in July of that year, during the sitting of the Constitutional Convention. Impressions from this plate have now become extremely rare. The print is well known, however, through a copy made in 1865 by John Sartain, mezzotinto engraver.

Besides the Washington plates, Mr. Peale engraved a bust portrait of Franklin, one of Lafayette, another of the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, and a full-length of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. The latter, his first plate, was probably engraved in London in 1770. All of the Peale plates are creditable examples of engraving, the Washington of 1780 being one of the best and most important.

Charles Willson Peale has the enviable distinction of having painted the first authentic portrait of Washington; to this may now be added the honor of having produced the first engraved portrait of Washington from an authentic original.

<sup>1</sup> From the following entry in the diary of M. du Simitière, referred to in a preceding note, p. 259, that artist was the recipient of one of these complimentary prints: "Curiosities and Books by whom given. Feby. 1779. A small mezzotinto of the head of Gen. Washington done by Mr. Peale painter of this city, given by him." Mr. Peale also gave him a copy of the print of 1780: "Curiosities natural & artificial by whom given. May 1781, a mezzotinto print of General Washington, poster size done by Mr. Ch. Wilson Peale from a painting of his own, the gift of the author."



THE FIRST PRINTED PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY  
IN AMERICA.

[Among the numerous revelations for which we are indebted to the zeal and ability of MR. CHARLES R. HILDEBURN, in the prosecution of his admirable bibliographical researches, his discovery of George Keith's early testimony against slavery among the Bradford imprints is peculiarly interesting. The publication is referred to in Gabriel Thomas's "History of Pennsylvania," etc., 1698, pp. 53, 54, and nearly a century later by Dr. Franklin, in his letter to John Wright, 4th November, 1789, "Works" X. 403, but none of the moderns seemed to have been able to discover the tract until MR. HILDEBURN found a copy, and pointed out the fact that this first protest against slavery printed in America was from the press of William Bradford, and among the earliest of his New York imprints.

Singularly enough, there was a contemporaneous "testimony" from the New England school of divines, showing a commendable interest in the condition and welfare of their negro slaves. Cotton Mather, in October, 1693, prepared a set of "Rules for the Society of Negroes," which was printed in a broadside sheet. It had long been among the things that were not only lost, but forgotten, until recently, when I reproduced it in a few copies privately printed. It is a remarkable circumstance that two such performances by two such old-time antagonists should come to light together after being hidden for nearly two centuries. They are vastly more interesting and creditable to the memories of both than any or all their weary theological discussions. Humanity survives the doctrines of the schools; its service is perennial. GEORGE H. MOORE.

Lenox Library, May 19, 1889.]

AN EXHORTATION & CAUTION

TO

FRIENDS

CONCERNING BUYING OR KEEPING OF

NEGROES.

Seing our Lord Jesus Christ hath tasted Death for every Man, and given himself a Ransom for all, to be testified in due time, and that his Gospel of Peace, Liberty and Re-

demption from Sin, Bondage and all Oppression, is freely to be preached unto all, without Exception, and that *Negroes*, *Blacks* and *Tawnies* are a real part of Mankind, for whom Christ hath shed his precious Blood, and are capable of Salvation, as well as *White Men*; and Christ the Light of the World hath (in measure) enlightened them, and every Man that cometh into the World; and that all such who are sincere *Christians* and true Believers in Christ Jesus, and Followers of him, bear his Image, and are made conformable unto him in Love, Mercy, Goodness and Compassion, who came not to destroy men's Lives, but to save them, nor to bring any part of Mankind into outward Bondage, Slavery or Misery, nor yet to detain them, or hold them therein, but to ease and deliver the Oppressed and Distressed, and bring into Liberty both inward and outward.

Therefore we judge it necessary that all faithful Friends should discover themselves to be true *Christians* by having the Fruits of the Spirit of Christ, which are *Love, Mercy, Goodness, and Compassion* towards all in Misery, and that suffer Oppression and severe Usage, so far as in them is possible to ease and relieve them, and set them free of their hard Bondage, whereby it may be hoped, that many of them will be gained by their beholding these good Works of sincere *Christians*, and prepared thereby, through the Preaching the Gospel of Christ, to imbrace the true Faith of Christ. And for this cause it is, as we judge, that in some places in *Europe* Negroes cannot be bought and sold for Money, or detained to be Slaves, because it suits not with the Mercy, Love & Clemency that is essential to *Christianity*, nor to the Doctrine of Christ, nor to the Liberty the Gospel calleth all men unto, to whom it is preached. And to buy Souls and Bodies of men for Money, to enslave them and their Posterity to the end of the World, we judge is a great hinderance to the spreading of the Gospel, and is occasion of much War, Violence, Cruelty and Oppression, and Theft & Robbery of the highest Nature; for commonly the Negroes that are sold to white Men, are either stollen away or robbed from their Kindred, and to buy such is the way to continue

these evil Practices of Man-stealing, and transgresseth that Golden Rule and Law, *To do to others what we would have others do to us.*

Therefore, in true *Christian Love*, we earnestly recommend it to all our Friends and Brethren, Not to buy any Negroes, unless it were on purpose to set them free, and that such who have bought any, and have them at present, after some reasonable time of moderate Service they have had of them, or may have of them, that may reasonably answer to the Charge of what they have laid out, especially in keeping Negroes Children born in their House, or taken into their House, when under Age, that after a reasonable time of service to answer that Charge, they may set them at Liberty, and during the time they have them, to teach them to read, and give them a Christian Education.

*Some Reasons and Causes of our being against keeping of Negroes for Term of Life.*

*First*, Because it is contrary to the Principles and Practice of the *Christian Quakers* to buy Prize or stollen Goods, which we bore a faithful Testimony against in our Native Country; and therefore it is our Duty to come forth in a Testimony against stollen Slaves, it being accounted a far greater Crime under *Moses's* Law than the stealing of Goods: for such were only to restore four fold, *but he that stealeth a Man and selleth him, if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to Death, Exod. 21. 16.* Therefore as we are not to buy stollen Goods, (but if at unawares it should happen through Ignorance, we are to restore them to the Owners, and seek our Remedy of the Thief) no more are we to buy stollen Slaves; neither should such as have them keep them and their Posterity in perpetual Bondage and Slavery, as is usually done, to the great scandal of the *Christian Profession.*

*Secondly*, Because Christ commanded, saying, *All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.* Therefore as we and our Children would not be kept in perpetual Bondage and Slavery against our Consent,

neither should we keep them in perpetual Bondage and Slavery against their Consent, it being such intollerable Punishment to their Bodies and Minds, that none but notorious Criminal Offendors deserve the same. But these have done us no harm; therefore how inhumane is it in us so grievously to oppress them and their Children from one Generation to another.

*Thirdly*, Because the Lord hath commanded, saying, *Thou shalt not deliver unto his Master the Servant that is escaped from his Master unto thee, he shall dwell with thee, even amongst you in that place which he shall chuse in one of thy Gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt oppress him, Deut. 23. 15. 16.* By which it appeareth, that those which are at Liberty and freed from their Bondage, should not by us be delivered into Bondage again, neither by us should they be oppressed, but being escaped from his Master, should have the liberty to dwell amongst us, where it liketh him best. Therefore, if God extend such Mercy under the legal Ministration and Dispensation to poor Servants, he doth and will extend much more of his Grace and Mercy to them under the clear Gospel Ministration; so that instead of punishing them and their Posterity with cruel Bondage and perpetual Slavery, he will cause the Everlasting Gospel to be preached effectually to all Nations, to them as well as others; *And the Lord will extend Peace to his People like a River, and the Glory of the Gentiles like a flowing Stream; And it shall come to pass, saith the Lord, that I will gather all Nations and Tongues, and they shall come and see my Glory, and I will set a sign among them, and I will send those that escape of them unto the Nations, to Tarshish, Pull and Lud that draw the Bow to Tuball and Javan, to the Isles afar off that have not heard my Fame, neither have seen my Glory, and they shall declare my Glory among the Gentiles, Isa. 66. 12-18.*

*Fourthly*, Because the Lord hath commanded, saying, *Thou shalt not oppress an hired Servant that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy Brethren, or of the Strangers that are in thy Land within*

*thy Gates, lest he cry against thee unto the Lord, and it be sin unto thee ; Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him, for ye were strangers in the Land of Ægypt, Deut. 24. 14, 15. Exod. 12. 21.* But what greater Oppression can there be inflicted upon our Fellow Creatures, than is inflicted on the poor Negroes ! they being brought from their own Country against their Wills, some of them being stollen, others taken for payment of Debt owing by their Parents, and others taken Captive in War, and sold to Merchants, who bring them to the *American* Plantations, and sell them for Bond Slaves to them that will give most for them ; the Husband from the Wife, and the Children from the Parents ; and many that buy them do exceedingly afflict them and oppress them, not only by continual hard Labour, but by cruel Whippings, and other cruel Punishments, and by short allowance of Food, some Planters in *Barbadoes* and *Jamaica*, 'tis said, keeping one hundred of them, and some more, and some less, and giving them hardly any thing more than they raise on a little piece of Ground appointed them, on which they work for themselves the seventh days of the Week in the after-noon, and on the first days, to raise their own Provisions, to wit, Corn and Potatoes, and other Roots, &c. the remainder of their time being spent in their Masters service ; which doubtless is far worse usage than is practised by the *Turks* and *Moors* upon their Slaves. Which tends to the great Reproach of the *Christian Profession* ; therefore it would be better for all such as fall short of the Practice of those *Infidels*, to refuse the name of a *Christian*, that those *Heathen* and *Infidels* may not be provoked to blaspheme against the blessed Name of Christ, by reason of the unparallel'd Cruelty of these cruel and hard hearted pretended Christians : Surely the Lord doth behold their Oppressions & Afflictions, and will further visit for the same by his righteous and just Judgments, except they break off their sins by Repentance, and their Iniquity by shewing Mercy to these poor afflicted, tormented miserable Slaves !

*Fifthly*, Because Slaves and Souls of Men are some of the

*Merchandize of Babylon* by which the Merchants of the Earth are made Rich ; but those Riches which they have heaped together, through the cruel Oppression of these miserable Creatures, will be a means to draw Gods Judgments upon them ; therefore, *Brethren*, let us hearken to the Voice of the Lord, who saith, *Come out of Babylon, my People, that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and that ye receive not her Plagues ; for her Sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her Iniquities ; for he that leads into Captivity shall go into Captivity, Rev. 18. 4, 5. & 13. 10.*

*Given forth by our Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia, the 13th day of the 8th Moneth, 1693. and recommended to all our Friends and Brethren, who are one with us in our Testimony for the Lord Jesus Christ, and to all others professing Christianity.*

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THE END.

AN ACCOUNT OF JEAN PAUL JAQUET.

BY EDWIN JAQUETT SELLERS.

Jean Paul Jaquet, a French Protestant, belonged to one of the many Huguenot families that were obliged to leave their native land to escape religious persecution during the seventeenth century. Our subject was a native of Neufchatel, from which place he fled to Holland, and soon became connected with the Dutch West India Company, in the service of which he spent many years in Brazil, and upon his return to Holland, decided to come to this country. He sailed from Holland, November 23, 1654, in the ship "De Grote Christoffel," and a letter written from the directors in Holland to Peter Stuyvesant recommended him to the latter's care, and requested him to allot certain land to Jaquet upon his arrival.

At this time that part of the country known as New Sweden was in the full power of the Dutch, and was called by them New Netherland. Peter Stuyvesant was Governor-General; he resided at New Amsterdam, and his authority extended over all matters military, commercial, and judicial. As there was great need, for the advancement and direction of the company on the South River, as the Delaware was then called, of a proper and qualified person to command there in the absence of the Governor-General and manage everything, Stuyvesant commissioned and appointed "Jean Paul Jaquet, Vice-Director and Chief Magistrate on the South River of New Netherland as well as for the forts, territories and other places situate upon said river." The date of this appointment was November 29, 1655. He was to keep good order for the security of Fort Casimir and other places, to give orders and have them observed in all matters concerning trade, policy, justice, and military; also in regard to the soldiers, the ships' crews, free persons, high and

subaltern officers, of whatever position and rank they might be; to assist in his position of vice-director in the management and command of the places, and to keep everything in good order for the service and welfare of the General Privileged West India Company.

Jaquet's appointment was subsequently approved by the directors in Holland in a letter from them to Stuyvesant, dated June 14, 1656. He took the office December 8, 1655, and fixed his residence at Fort Casimir. His council was composed of Audries Huddo, who was secretary and surveyor, Elmerhuysen Cleyn, and two sergeants.

In the instructions given to him he was to have supreme command and authority during the absence of the Governor-General; he was to forbid selling liquor to the savages, and prevent them and the Swedes from frequenting Fort Casimir too often, especially upon the arrival of strange ships and vessels; he was by no means to allow ships to go beyond the fort to carry on trade, but compel them to remain before or near Fort Casimir and trade there to prevent disturbances. In distributing land he was to take care that villages be formed of at least sixteen or twenty persons or families together, and in order to prevent the immoderate desire for land he was, in place of tithes, to exact from each morgen of land provisionally twelve stivers (twenty-four cents in gold) annually. To provide for the expense incurred at Fort Casimir he was to demand a tavern-keeper's excise. He was also to lay out roads and building-lots.

There seems to have been feared trouble from the Swedes, as he was continually cautioned to watch them carefully, and, should any of them become troublesome, request them to leave, and, if possible, send them to Fort Amsterdam.

He was to have intercourse with the savages, but be on his guard, and not suffer them to come into the fort armed or in great numbers, and in no case allow them to remain over night within the precincts of the fort. There seems, however, to have been a desire to appear friendly to the Indians, for it was suggested to build a house outside of the fort as a lodging for those who were not great sachems.



On the 24th of March, 1656, it was announced by the commandant on the South River that a Swedish ship, called the "Mercurius," having on board one hundred and thirty souls, had arrived. Orders were given that they were not to land, but to go back to Sweden; but as they had been long on the voyage it was decided to allow them to go to New Amsterdam and get a fresh supply of provisions before returning. The captain of the vessel, Hendrick Huygen, wishing to make some arrangement and ascertain the true state of affairs, went ashore to see Jaquet, who had him arrested; whereupon he wrote to Stuyvesant complaining of his treatment, and declaring that those on board the "Mercurius" were not only in distress, but also separated from their friends and relatives on shore, who had arrived here before them.

The Governor-General and Council at New Amsterdam replied, that if he did not withdraw with his ship at once, means would be taken to make him. Huygen appeared before the Council at New Amsterdam, and whilst there an order was sent to Jaquet requesting a true statement of affairs at Fort Casimir. During these proceedings word reached New Amsterdam that the ship had passed Fort Casimir and landed her passengers and goods near Matinekonk. Upon the arrival of this news the man-of-war "De Waagh" was despatched to the South River, with Huygen, having given oath to conduct himself well, and two members of the Council, Nicasius de Sille and Cornelis van Tienhoven, as well as some soldiers, to inquire and regulate matters. Huygen afterwards arrived with the "Mercurius" at New Amsterdam, and was allowed to land his passengers and goods upon paying the required duties, allowance being made for those that had been damaged.

Jaquet seems to have been a man of firmness, and to have been very strict about matters pertaining to the interests of the company, as appears from the following incident: Soon after his entering upon the duties of his office, he was informed by a Corporal Hendrick, of Bielefeld, that he had heard another, Swen Schoete, say that as soon as the com-

mander came he would reveal where some things were concealed and buried in the fort, providing the commander was a man of his liking, and with whom he could make an arrangement concerning the treasures. This report was confirmed by the oaths of witnesses who were present and heard the declaration of Schoete. Schoete appearing, said he had only spoken in jest. Thereupon, whether from disappointment or the prompting of duty, Jaquet ordered the accused to be arrested and sent by the first vessel to New Amsterdam to be tried before the Council at that place. Nothing further appears, and probably the accused, after being imprisoned several days, and thoroughly impressed that the commander *had* arrived, was set at liberty.

Barter was prevalent at this period in New Netherland, and seems to have been the chief means of exchange, especially with the Indians. On the 28th of December, 1655, several sachems arrived at Fort Casimir, and requested a hearing, which was granted, and thereupon several suggestions were made by them regarding trade in furs; they also announced it had been customary to make presents to the chiefs in confirmation of the treaty. Jaquet replied that it was his wish to have as friendly relations with them as possible, and raised a subscription among the inhabitants for their benefit.

Marriage was subject to the consent of the commander, and many cases occur of the inhabitants requesting his permission, in order, I suppose, to prevent illicit cohabitation, for, as there were no ministers, it was highly important to require strict observance of the marriage rites.

Tobacco was grown in great abundance; horses, cows, oxen, goats, and other domestic animals were owned by the people, though it does not appear whether they were brought over by the Swedes or the Dutch, probably by both. The people seem to have been very shrewd and energetic; they built houses, laid out roads, cultivated the soil, and raised whatever the ground and themselves were capable of.

The administration of Jaquet was spent mostly in settling the difficulties between the Dutch, Swedes, and Indians.

The demand for law required but little supply, as matters were settled rather by a common-sense system than strict rules of law.

Drinking seems to have been the greatest evil of the time, as numerous instances occur throughout the minutes of Jaquet's administration of actions in which liquor was the cause. The Governor may have been a very temperate man himself and punished strictly the over-indulgence of others. Though strictly forbidden, the natives continually sold drink to the Indians, which often caused broils and disturbances. Jaquet seems to have done all in his power to suppress the abuse of intoxicating spirits, and it may have been his persistence in this respect that tended to make him unpopular in the latter part of his administration. He, at any rate, must have been a harsh officer, for about this time complaints were made against him to the Governor-General, alleging that he was endeavoring to acquire too much land, and was converting the property of others to his own use. Acrelius says, in his "History of New Sweden," that many complaints were made against him, which, however, his successor declared to have proceeded rather from hatred than from truth. Notwithstanding this, the Governor-General recalled him in a letter of the 20th of April, 1657, in which he is accused of unlawful arrests, of collecting and executing on his own authority, without previous legal proceedings, his own pretended claims, of obstructing possession, cultivation, and occupation of lands, and other charges of a similar nature.

May 23, 1657, Jaquet was placed under arrest in the commissary's office, and requested to make up his accounts. May 24, he wrote to Stuyvesant, petitioning that gentleman to send him a written copy of the charges alleged against him, in order that he might prepare a defence. This was granted, and the fiscal was ordered to prepare a copy of the complaints and examine the accounts of his administration. He denied the accusations, and asserted that they were mostly gotten up by party spirit, which was presumed in his favor. He was discharged from arrest and given permission to

depart from New Amsterdam, to which place he had been brought for trial, for the South River, after having given an account of his administration and delivered the records and other documents concerning the company or his service. He was to make defence upon further proofs before the fiscal, who in the mean time was directed to examine more closely the charges regarding Jaquet. This was the 19th of June, 1657.

His accounts were thoroughly investigated, and in a letter from Jacob Alricks, the successor of Jaquet, to Stuyvesant, reporting the state of affairs, it is mentioned by the writer that he had inquired concerning the complaints against Jaquet and found there was more passion than reason at the bottom, which is confirmed by Acrelius, as mentioned above. Therefore, we may briefly state that Jaquet was a tyrannical ruler, and many complaints were alleged against him, but none seem to have been thoroughly established, and though upon these charges he was arrested and brought to trial, yet he was acquitted, and all was said by his successor to have been caused by unpopularity rather than truth. It is very probable that the facts relating to his arrest have been exaggerated by historians, for most all the Governors ruled but a short time, and were continually accused of tyranny and attempting to seize the land of others.

We know nothing more of Jaquet during the following years until September 23, 1676, when he was commissioned a justice of the peace by Lord Andros, who was then Governor-General under the English. This original commission is in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, bound with other documents, entitled "Miscellaneous Papers, 1655-1805—Three Lower Counties of Delaware." Five others were commissioned at the same time, and any three of them were to be a court of judicature.

November 8, 1676, the justices sent a memorial to Andros relating to municipal affairs, in which they requested him to send them "the law booke of his Royal Highnesse, corrected of all such Lawes and orders, as do not properly concerne this River." They desired also that a body of soldiers

might be sent to remain at the fort; they requested a "Lesser Seale for y<sup>e</sup> office." They suggested the advisability of building a prison for securing debtors, fugitives, and malefactors, who often made their escape for want of the same. They reported that they had decided to allow forty guilders for every wolf's head, and desired his approbation of the same. It was thought desirable, they said, to erect a warehouse for the loading and unloading of vessels, and it was thought by so doing, merchants and those trading would be induced to come to that place.

At a council held at New York, November 20, 1676, complaint was made by Jaquet that he had been dispossessed by Major Fenwick of land on the east side of the Delaware River, which he had been in possession of at the coming in of the English. The land was called Steen Hooke, and had been given by Fenwick to John Erickson. Governor Andros ordered the land to be restored to Jaquet, and on the 20th of July, 1677, John Colier, the commander in Delaware, placed him in the lawful possession of it. Jaquet was a large land-owner, and at the recorder's office at Wilmington may be seen several deeds relating to grants of land to him.

From the abandonment of the town of Christianaham, about 1664 until 1731, no attempt was made to found a settlement or lay out a town on the river north of New Castle, within the limits of Delaware, and the territory now embraced in Wilmington was mostly in five large tracts, that about 1671 came into possession of John [Anderson] Stalcop, Dr. Tymen Stidham, Jacob Van der Weer, Jean Paul Jaquet, and Peter Alrich, who were all residents under the Dutch, either at New Amstel (New Castle) or at Fort Altena.

After the capture by the English, in 1664, Jaquet became a subject of Great Britain, was appointed a justice of the peace, as already said, and served until the delivery of the territory to William Penn, in October, 1682. He took up a tract of land containing two hundred and ninety acres, on the south side of Christiana Creek, the warrant for which

was granted "22nd of 12th. mo., 1684," and lived here many years. This tract was known as Long Hook, and lay south from Wilmington.

This land remained in possession of his descendants until the death of Major Peter Jaquett, September 13, 1834. The place at present is the property of Mrs. Theodore Rogers. The old house is still standing, and is often visited by the curious, on account of the Colonial and Revolutionary memories it recalls.

Washington, Lafayette, and Bishop White were among those who visited there, and many nooks and corners are full of traditions. A beautiful ivy-vine covered one end of the house; it was gathered from the castle where Mary, Queen of Scots, was imprisoned, and presented to Major Jaquett's wife.

Though the dates of Governor Jaquet's birth and death are unknown, yet it is quite certain he must have died at a very advanced age. His life, though marked with little of much interest, is characteristic and descriptive of the time and customs in which he lived.

It might not be amiss to say a few words of some of his descendants. A grand-daughter, Maria, married Baron Isaac Baner, who had been for some time in the service of William III. of England, and who came to Pennsylvania about 1695. His death occurred on the 11th of November, 1713, and his burial was performed in the Presbyterian graveyard at Wilmington. He left a widow and four children. Upon the return home of Mr. Lidenius, a clergyman, he represented to the lieutenant-general, Baron John Baner, and also to the royal counsellor, Count Axel Baner, the unfortunate condition of the children of Baron Isaac Baner, and excited their active sympathy. Means of travel were therefore sent over to them, and they were brought to Sweden in the year 1727. Baron Isaac Baner was a grandson of the celebrated General John Baner, who succeeded Gustavus Adolphus in the command of the Swedish armies, one of the most illustrious of that brilliant school of commanders trained under the eye of the great Swedish king.

Major Peter Jaquett, to whom we have already alluded, was another descendant of the Governor. He was the last surviving officer of the Delaware line in the Revolution. He served all through the war with much distinction, and was present at the surrender of Cornwallis. When Baron de Kalb was fatally wounded at the battle of Camden he fell into the major's arms. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and at one time vice-president. He is buried at the Old Swedes' Church at Wilmington, and on his slab are engraved the battles and sieges in which he participated. Lieutenant Joseph Jaquett, who was killed at the battle of Long Island, August 27, 1776, was also a descendant.

Not an uninteresting member of this family was Peter Jaquett, known as the Indian chief. Tradition says that, when a boy, he was stolen by the Indians, and when he became older returned to his people, but preferring the wild life of the Indian, went back to the tribe in which he had grown up. He became one of the principal sachems of the Oneidas. He had been taken to France by Lafayette, at the close of the Revolution, where he received an education. His death occurred in Philadelphia, March 19, 1792. His funeral was attended from Ocler's Hotel to the Presbyterian burying-ground in Mulberry Street. The body was preceded by a detachment of light-infantry of the city with arms reversed, drums muffled, and music playing a solemn dirge. Six of the chiefs followed as mourners, succeeded by all the warriors, the reverend clergy of all denominations, the Secretary of War and the gentlemen of the War Department, officers of the Federal army and militia, and a number of citizens. The concourse assembled on this occasion is supposed to have amounted to more than ten thousand persons.

Another descendant of Governor Jean Paul Jaquet was the late Rev. Joseph Jaquett, who was born in Philadelphia, March 9, 1794, and died May 24, 1869. In *The Episcopalian* of June 2, 1869, appeared the following obituary notice, written by the Rev. Dr. Van Pelt:

“The Rev. Mr. Jaquett, whose departure from this life was announced in the last issue of *The Episcopalian*, was a native of this city, and a grandson of Dr. Joseph Pfeiffer, an eminent physician, well known to the inhabitants of Philadelphia of the last generation. He was ordained both Deacon and Presbyter by Bishop White, and was, by him, much respected for his learning and piety. At an early period of his ministry he became rector of St. James the Greater, Bristol, Pa., and subsequently of St. Matthew's, Francisville, Philadelphia. Being thoroughly acquainted with the original languages of the Scripture, he devoted a large portion of his time to the instruction of the theological students in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic, and not a few are there of our bishops and Presbyters who are indebted to him for much that they know of these important studies.

“In connection with the late Isaac Leeser, V.D.M., Synagogue Mikhve Israel, Philadelphia, he edited the First American copy of the Hebrew Bible, and in the Latin introduction of that work, by Mr. Leeser, the literary and linguistic attainments of Mr. Jaquett are most gracefully acknowledged. With the Chinese, Japanese, Persian, Turkish, Sanscrit, Gaelic, Welsh, Irish, and Manx he had made himself more or less familiar. In reality, it may be asserted that there was scarcely a tongue spoken among the nations of the earth of which he had not some knowledge.”

His death was adverted to with terms of respect to his memory by Bishop Stevens in his Episcopal address to the Eighty-sixth Diocesan Convention of this State. In a letter from Chief-Justice Sharswood, who had been a student of Mr. Jaquett of the Syriac language, to the late Townsend Ward, Esq., secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, dated September 29, 1874, he is spoken of in very high terms. His library, containing many rare books, is now in possession of his grandson, the writer.



## A NARRATIVE OF THE TRANSACTIONS, IMPRISONMENT, AND SUFFERINGS OF JOHN CONNOLLY, AN AMERICAN LOYALIST AND LIEUT.-COL. IN HIS MAJESTY'S SERVICE.

(Continued from page 167.)

I was no sooner free, than I was highly solicitous to be employed in the mode most likely to render service. I had observed that Lord Cornwallis, now advancing from the southward, was often retarded by the temporary junction of the Militia with the Congressional troops. I knew the country, the capacity and genius of these men, and the necessity of obliging them to attend to desultory operations in their rear, to facilitate his Lordship's gallant endeavours. I, therefore, submitted a plan to the consideration of Sir Henry Clinton, wherein I proposed attacking some out-posts on the frontiers of the Middle Colonies, to possess myself of Pittsburgh, fortify the passes of the Allegeheney Mountains, and with Provincial troops, and Indian auxiliaries, act as emergencies might require. His Excellency was pleased to approve of this measure; but as the season was too far advanced to arrive in proper time on the proposed field of action, by the circuitous route of the river St. Lawrence and the lakes, it was laid aside.

In the month of April, 1781, I found myself very ill; but as his Excellency intimated early in June a wish that I should join the army under Lord Cornwallis, though I knew the danger of the hot climates to my constitution at that time, I did not suffer myself to hesitate a moment, but obeyed. I had hope, too, of here effecting another purpose; about which I was extremely anxious. I was without a regiment, and was endeavouring to raise one at New-York; but as the recruiting there went on very slowly, I flattered

myself I might be enabled to compleat my corps to the southward; and before my departure, his Excellency was pleased to confirm my rank as Lieutenant Colonel in the Provincial line.

Having joined Lord Cornwallis, and following him to York-Town, an enemy's fleet being daily expected on the coast, his Lordship appointed me to the command of the Virginia and North Carolina Loyalists, with a detachment of the York Volunteers. I was directed to move down to Back River, to protect the inhabitants of the Peninsula, lying between the Chesapeak-Bay and James River, who were exposed to the ravages of armed boats from the eastern shore of Virginia. I had not marched above five miles on this expedition, before I was obliged to halt, being informed the French fleet had arrived, and that two seventy-four gun ships were actually at the entrance of York-River. I was, therefore, ordered to return to the vicinity of York-Town.

The men had underwent excessive fatigue in an inclement climate; had been obliged to drink noxious water; the horses in the legionary camp were lying dead in numbers; the negroes that followed the army could hardly be buried fast enough; and the putrescent effluvia, that consequently followed, made the air too unwholesome for the small remains of vigour in my constitution to resist its effects. Lying in the field brought on a dysentery; I was obliged to go into sick quarters; and the disorder turned to a debilitating diarrhœa, that reduced me to almost the last extremity. Remaining in the town was certain death; and the only remedy was a change of air. I had been invited by some loyal gentlemen to their houses, and as the inhabitants of the Peninsula had either been admitted to parole, or had taken the oath of allegiance, there seemed little danger in accepting the invitation; yet, as it was possible, though, as I supposed, very improbable, I might again fall into the hands of the enemy, desperate as my state of health then certainly was, I would not venture into the country till I had first informed Lord Cornwallis of my wishes, and obtained leave;

which his Lordship, as humane as he is brave, instantly granted by the following note :

HEAD-QUARTERS, 21st Sept. 1781.

SIR,

I am directed by Lord Cornwallis to inform you, that he most readily consents to your going to the country, or taking any other step that you think will contribute to the establishment of your health ; his Lordship wishes you a speedy and perfect recovery ; and I am with great regard,

Sir,

your most obedient

most humble Servant,

A. Ross, *Aid du Camp.*

LT. COL. CONNOLLY.

Incapable of riding on horseback, I set out in a small sulkey, attended by two servants ; and on the road, met the gentleman to whose house I was going, who informed me there was no danger ; and perceiving me to be very weak and exhausted, went with me to a contiguous gentleman's house, and introduced me to the family, advising me to repose till the sun declined, by which time he would return from York-Town, whither he was going, and accompany me home. My friend not returning so soon as I expected, I set forward without him, but had not proceeded far before three men, with fixed bayonets, rushed out of a thicket and made me and one of my servants prisoners.

They drove my carriage into a forest of pines, and detained me till night for fear of a rescue, and then, by secret roads, conducted me to a place called New-Port-News, where I first learnt that General Washington was arrived at Williamsburgh, before whom, they insisted I must be taken, having no respect for my illness, nor any conception of admitting a prisoner, in such a predicament, to his parole. It perhaps, was happy for me, that they did not ; for the air, or exercise, or both, had such an effect upon me, that when I was put to bed, I slept upwards of three hours ; a refreshment to

which I had been long a stranger. In fact, I have reason to believe, that though the misfortune of captivity seemed to haunt me, yet, in this instance it saved my life.

From hence I was embarked in a whale boat, and put on board a French ship *Armée en Flute*, when I had the good fortune to meet with Admiral Barras, with the Artillery officers of the French army, who treated me with all the tenderness and humanity, which the feelings and politeness of gentlemen could dictate. The next day I was sent on shore to General Lincoln, who behaved to me with every respect, sent one of his Aids to accompany me, and very obligingly furnished me with his own horse, as he was remarkably gentle and safe and no carriage to be had, to carry me to General Washington.

I was now to see a man with whom I had formerly been upon a footing of intimacy, I may say of friendship. Politics might induce us to meet like enemies in the field, but should not have made us personally so. I had small time for reflection; we met him on horseback coming to view the camp. I can only say the friendly sentiments he once publicly professed for me, no longer existed. He ordered me to be conducted to the Marquis de la Fayette's quarters.

From the Marquis I received every civility and attention; and on account of my health, was entertained by him for three days, when being solicitous to avoid giving trouble, I was sent on parole by General Washington's orders, about sixty miles back into the country. Here I remained till I heard of the catastrophe at York-Town, and that the British officers were generally allowed to go into New-York. I thereupon wrote to the American Commissary General for passports, but could obtain no satisfactory answer. I applied to General Washington, and was equally disappointed. Being left alone, as it were, in an enemy's country, and no authority capable of granting my request remaining, except the Governor's of Virginia, to him I had recourse. From this gentleman, I obtained permission to go to Philadelphia, on receiving a written assurance from me, of submitting myself there to those who had the supreme direction

of prisoners. I did not reach this city till the 12th of December, when I applied to the Secretary of War, for leave to proceed to New-York, but soon found I had unexpected difficulties to encounter. I was detained at a public house above a fortnight, and then committed to prison by the following warrant, under the Seal of the Common Wealth, issued by the Executive Council, and signed by the President, a copy of which I demanded from the gaoler.

You are hereby authorized and directed to receive into your custody, a certain John Connolly, an officer in the British service, charged with having broke his parole, given in the State of Virginia, and him safely keep until he be delivered in due course of law.

Given under my hand and seal, in the Council Chamber, this twenty eighth of December, Anno Domini, 1782.

W. MOORE, *President.*

To the keeper of the gaol of the city  
and county of Philadelphia.

The above is a true copy of the original remaining in my hand.

JOHN REYNOLDS, *Gaoler.*

The pretence of a breach of parole was preposterous, and to be delivered from confinement for such an offence, by due course of law, was more so. I wrote to General Washington on the occasion, but soon discovered he did not intend I should have left Virginia, and appeared determined, at first, that I should return. To this I could not voluntarily accede, and I remained in prison till the 1st of March; when, by the interposition of friends, I was at length permitted to go to New-York, provided I went from thence to Europe, where (at New-York) I arrived on the 11th of the same month.

I must here take notice, that the raising of my intended regiment became no longer practicable, as the officers whom

I had warranted for that service, with the recruits raised in Virginia, had shared a common fate with the army at York-Town; and those that remained at New-York, as soon as the war became merely defensive, were drafted into another corps.

When the fleet sailed, Sir Guy Carleton gave me permission to come to England, for the recovery of my health, where I yet continue to receive my subsistence, as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Provincial service, as will appear by the annexed letter from the Secretary of State to his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.

WHITEHALL, Feb. 24, 1783.

SIR,

Having laid before the king a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Delancey, Adjutant-General of the forces under your command, to Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, acquainting him that some difficulties have arisen with regard to the propriety of issuing his pay in North-America, on account of his absence upon leave. I am, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, to acquaint you, that he is pleased to approve of your causing the pay due to Lieutenant Connolly to be issued to him, and of its being continued, from time to time, during his absence on leave.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient,

humble servant,

J. TOWNSHEND.

(Signed)

SIR GUY CARLETON, K. B.

It is a duty incumbent on me to shew, that the truth of the foregoing narrative need not rest solely on my assertions, the following papers are authentic testimonials of its veracity:

‘I hereby certify, that Major John Connolly was appointed by me to the command of the militia of West Augusta County, in his Majesty's colony of Virginia; and that he

exerted himself as a faithful officer, in the discharge of that duty, until the commencement of the rebellion, when the good of the King's service, and my own personal security, obliging me to withdraw from the seat of government, I authorized Major Connolly to adjust all differences with the adjacent Indian tribes, and to incline them towards his Majesty's interest. This service appeared to me to have been well performed, from the belts and speeches transmitted by their Chiefs through him to me, notwithstanding that Commissioners from the Assembly (at that time resolved into an illegal convention), attended the treaty at Pittsburgh, in order to influence them to assist in their meditated opposition, to the constitutional authority of this kingdom.

Upon the performance of this service, in conformity to my direction, the troops under the command of Major Connolly at Fort Pitt, were discharged agreeable to the provision made by the Act of Assembly; and he repaired to me, through much difficulty, with a zeal and alacrity that bespoke the firmest loyalty. I immediately dispatched Major Connolly to Boston, informing General Gage of the situation of the colony at that period; and as Major Connolly had a formidable interest in the frontiers, I proposed his raising a body of men for his Majesty's service there, and in the contiguous parts of Quebec government, and to command an expedition, so as to co-operate with me, for the reduction of the King's enemies, for which purpose he was invested with a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, bearing date the 5th of November, 1775, with full powers to act as emergencies might require. In the execution of this duty, Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly was unfortunately made a prisoner, and continued as such, under the immediate direction of Congress, near five years, suffering a constant state of confinement. I further certify, that Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, from his loyalty and attachment to government, forfeited a very considerable sum of money due to him from the Assembly of Virginia, for his public services as an officer; and that his estate was also confiscated; four thousand acres of his landed property

having been patented by me, whilst I had the honour to preside as his Majesty's representative in Virginia.'

Given under my hand the 25th day of October, 1782.

(Signed)

DUNMORE.

'I certify, that Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, came from his Excellency the Earl of Dunmore to Boston, in the year 1775, and laid before me certain propositions for the suppression of his Majesty's enemies in the colony of Virginia; to promote which, I gave orders to a detachment of the King's troops, then in the Illinois, to receive the directions of Lord Dunmore; and I further certify, that in the execution of this duty, it was reported to me, that Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly was made a prisoner by the enemy, and that from every appearance, he manifested the greatest loyalty and attachment to the constitutional authority of government.'

Given under my hand, this 30th day of October, 1782.

(Signed)

THOMAS GAGE.

What I have said in this recapitulation will meet, I hope, on every hand, with a candid construction. It is a cutting reflection to find, on looking it through, that it is a tale of sickness and misfortunes, instead of a history of glorious actions and essential services; but the assigned causes are surely a sufficient apology. The contemplative and humane must commiserate the infirmities of nature, whilst the magnanimous and enterprising must dread similar impediments in the pursuit of glory. In my own vindication I have been obliged to speak of persons and things as they were, but I hope this has been done without exaggeration or malignity. I wish not to revive animosities had I the power, nor to complain of men who, whatever were their motives then for inflicting severities upon me in particular, are never likely to have the same cause, or the same opportunity. They, doubtless, thought themselves acting virtuously, and would plead the love of their country, in extenuation of errors; I must do the same, with this addition, my virtues,



in their eyes, became my crimes; let not my misfortunes, in the eye of government, become my faults. I shall conclude, with a few reflections on the nature of the Provincial service, before and during the Civil Wars, and of what I deem my consequent and reasonable claims on this country.

Before the dismemberment of the British empire, the provincial officer in North America knew, with precision, upon what footing he took the field, to co-operate with British troops, to prevent incursion, or effect conquest. His rank was determined by the King, and wherever he acted in conjunction with his fellow-subjects of this country, either within his own province, or in another colony, every difficulty was obviated. He was considered as the junior officer: this was evidently an equitable and a sufficiently honourable mark of Royal favour. The loyalty that induced him to espouse the quarrels of Britain in America, promoted, likewise, the security of his own property, and restored the blessings of peace and affluence to himself, his friends, and countrymen. Few reflected that it was as British colonists they were involved in the wars of Britain, or that a separate system of government could withhold them from seconding the interest of the parent state. As Englishmen they felt, and as Englishmen they were ready to act; but as the entire professional soldier, select from the body of his fellow-subjects, was but of a temporary nature, and the return of peace replaced him in his former happy station, it would have been unjust to have expected the permanent rank and emoluments of him, who devoted himself wholly to the possession of the sword. It is the immunities of a member of this empire, founded upon the broad basis of equity and justice, that must give efficacy to reasonable pretensions.

In former wars, when American subjects acted in conformity to the orders of their sovereign, and were commissioned by the royal representative to military command, the pecuniary advantages annexed to the respective stations in which they appeared, arose from the acts of general assembly of the governments wherein they resided; and this provision more ample, or circumscribed, depended upon the

temper or generosity of the different legislatures. The late unfortunate dispute, wherein not only the prerogative of the King, but the supremacy of the Parliament of his Kingdom, was the litigated cause between Britain and her colonies, and in the maintenance of which, the American loyalist who attempted to support this system as constitutional, took an active part, changed totally the nature of his political connexions. Cut off from his former dependance by the issue of the war, excluded from the privileges of the community to which he belonged, and deprived of his property as a mark of its displeasure and disapprobation of his conduct, to whom can he apply for retribution, but to that power which has been the source of his misfortunes? Or how can he be more honourably or equitably treated in the society to which he is now attached, than by a provision in that line by which he became a sufferer. Congress have asserted, that we were destined by Britain to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water. The time is now arrived, when ample opportunity is allowed to contradict this ungenerous aspersion, and full scope given to the exercise of that generosity of disposition and liberality of sentiment, for which I hope this nation will forever appear as the fairest candidate. The peculiarity of my case is without parallel, and my pretensions, if as successful as just can afford no precedent. The troops to be raised under my orders, both from Canada and Virginia, must illustrate the conditions upon which I entered the service, and plainly shew that my intended operations were not merely Colonial, as an inhabitant of Virginia, but that from the St Lawrence to the Mississippi, I was equally ready to obey the royal mandate. Commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel, unconditionally by the King's representative, at the commencement of the rebellion, and taken in the execution of my duty as a faithful servant of the Crown, held in captivity five years by the enemy, to prevent the efforts of my capacity, to disregard my claim, as the consequence of such misfortunes, my sufferings, my zeal, and loyalty, must then operate as my greatest faults; and what I ever flattered myself, must

argue in my favour, would unexpectedly complete the measure of my disappointment from captivity.

Upon my releasement, as the war was changed from an offensive to defensive one, in the Northern Colonies, and the prospect of raising a corps in circumscribed limits where I had no particular interest, but faint and unpromising, the Commander in Chief, sensible of the hardness of my case, was pleased to confirm my rank in the provincial line. And I must beg leave to offer my being fully subsisted as Lieut. Col. and which I yet continue to receive, as a corroborating proof of my merits, and the propriety of my present requisition.

In fact, feeling as I do, the cause of exultation the disappointment would afford my political enemies, and the oblique implied reflection upon my character, from a treatment less distinguishing than my loyal countrymen of the same rank, I must beg leave to insinuate, that I can receive no adequate recompence through any other channel. A compensation for my loss of estate is, in that case, all I require; and I shall endeavour to support this unmerited adversity, with that conscious dignity of mind, which I hope will never forsake me, and in a manner the least exceptionable.

JOHN CONNOLLY.

REES THOMAS AND MARTHA AWBREY, EARLY  
SETTLERS IN MERION.

BY GEORGE VAUX.

Rees Thomas and Martha Awbrey seem to have arrived in America late in the year 1691, both being passengers in the same vessel with a large number of other persons, members of the Society of Friends. They were engaged to be married prior to their departure from England. Rees Thomas appears to have been a native of Monmouthshire, a district closely bordering on Wales. The certificate furnished him by the Friends of Chepstow (a town not far from Bristol, from which emigrant vessels frequently sailed) testifies that he "had been very serviceable upon the account of truth in all honest designs," and "one that walked according to the order of truth from his first convincement." And also that he was "of a meek and quiet disposition and well beloved of all sort, [and] descended of a good family."

Martha Awbrey was descended from an ancient Welsh family, which, for many generations, had been seated in Brecknockshire. The pedigree of the family is preserved in an ancient roll or chart, dated 1633, in the hands of an English descendant. The chart also contains pedigrees of various families allied by marriage to the Awbreys, together with designs of coats of arms, about sixty in all. The Awbrey pedigree traces descent from Saunders de St. Awbrey, brother of Lord St. Awbrey, Lord Marshall of France and Earl of Boulogne, who came into England in 1066. The name seems to have been Teutonic, and was formerly Alberic or The White King. Sir Reginald Awbrey, knight, son of the former, "came to the conquest of Brecknockshire with Bernard Newmarke in 1092, by whom he was granted the manors of Aberkynfrig and Slwch" [Slough].

From Sir Reginald the descent of the family property is traced through twelve names, most of which represent generations, to Richard Awbrey, of Aberkynfrig, who died in 1580, having previously sold the ancient seat of the family at that place. His son, Richard Awbrey, married Anne, daughter of William Vaughan, and in right of his wife became Lord of the Manor of Llanelyw. He died in 1646, and was buried under the floor of the chancel of the church of Llanelyw. His grave is covered with a flat tombstone, forming part of the pavement, which has upon it the following inscription :

“Here lyeth the body of Richard Awbrey of Llanelyw Gent, who married Anne Vaughan daughter to William Vaughan of Llanelyw, who had issue William, Richard, Thomas, John, Theophilus and Elizabeth Died the 23 day of September 1646.”

The combined arms of the Awbrey and Vaughan families are also carved on the stone, and the inscription, as far as it precedes the statement of issue, runs around the four sides of the tablet, beginning at the top, and terminating at the upper end of the left-hand side.

Richard Awbrey (the second) had several children, as above stated, of whom William, the eldest, and Thomas, the third son, as well as their father, were Puritans and Parliamentarians. The second son, Richard (the third), was an adherent of the king, and a clergyman, being vicar of Boughrod in Radnorshire. William had no son, and the Llanelyw estate being entailed, the heir to it was the second brother, Richard. In order to keep the property in the hands of the descendants of Puritan stock, William, finding his death likely to be near, hastily married his only daughter, Elizabeth, to her first cousin, William, the oldest son of his brother Thomas, both of them then being under age. This was in 1646, about a year before his decease, and by his will he sought to place his son-in-law in the position of a son of his own. Richard, the clerical brother and heir in tail, instituted legal proceedings to recover the property, but the matter was finally settled by arbitration, apparently in such

a way that the youthful couple, William and Elizabeth Awbrey, were able to retain the Llanelyw estate.

It is probable that William Awbrey was a member of the Society of Friends. It is certain that his sons, Richard and William (the latter of whom married Letitia Penn for his second wife), and his daughter, Martha, belonged to that religious denomination. He had ten children by his wife Elizabeth. He died in 1716, aged ninety, and was buried in Llanelyw churchyard, where is still to be seen an altar-tomb erected over his remains, with the following inscription :

“ Here lyeth the Body of William Awbrey of Llanelyw, Son of Thomas Awbrey Gent. Married Elizabeth daughter of William Awbrey. Had issue Ten. Richard, William, 2 Thomas, Theophilus, Anne, Mary 2 Martha & Elizabeth Departed this life in Hope of a Joyful Resurrection, the 16 of December 1716 aged 90.”

The figures 2 before the names Thomas and Martha indicate that there were two children of these names. There are tombstone inscriptions at Llanelyw, showing that the first Martha died in 1662, and the first Thomas in 1669.

Rees Thomas settled in Merion, where he acquired a considerable body of land, upon parts of which the present villages of Bryn Mawr and Rosemont stand. He was married to Martha Awbrey at Haverford, on the 18th of the Fourth Month, 1692. The phraseology of the marriage certificate evidently presents the very words used by the parties when taking each other in marriage. The following extract is given :

“ The said Rees Thomas solemnly declared, friends I am standing here in the presence of God and before you I do take Martha Awbrey to be my wedded wife and by God’s assistance do promise to be true and loving and faithful unto her and to behave myself unto her as becomes a man to behave himself towards his wife so as to continue till death part us. In like manner the said Martha said—I am here in the presence of God and before you I also take Rees Thomas to be my husband and I do promise to love him and make much of him till death part us.”

A few years after their marriage, Rees and Martha Thomas wrote jointly to her aged father. The original of this letter is still preserved in the hands of a descendant. It is dated, "Ye 29th day of y<sup>e</sup> 2d Mo 1695," and is addressed, "Most dear & tender Father." The following extracts will be found interesting, the original spelling being preserved:

"Our dutyfull and hartly Respects salute thee hoping these few lines will find thee in good health as I & my wife & two children are all this present time—my son Aubrey was borne y<sup>e</sup> 30th day of y<sup>e</sup> 11th month and y<sup>e</sup> fourth day of y<sup>e</sup> weeke 1694 his mother and he now very hartly prayed be to y<sup>e</sup> Lord for ye same I doe understand y<sup>t</sup> thou were not well pleased y<sup>t</sup> my oldest son [Rees] was not caled an Aubrey. I will assure thee I was not against it, but my neibors wood have him be caled my name, being I bought y<sup>e</sup> Land and I So beloved amongst them. I doe admite to what thee sayes in thy Letter y<sup>t</sup> an Aubrey was beter known than I: though I am hear very well aquanted with most in those parts, he is y<sup>e</sup> first Aubrey in Pensilvania and a stout boy he is of his age, being now a quarter. My unkle John Bevan came over very well and a good voyage he had, he tould me he had seen thee twice, which we were very glad of thy well keeping in years and also hoping noe vexation nor trouble will come upon thee upon either hand which will be a great exercise to us to hear of nothing but what will atend to thy goodness: hoping my brother Richard and his wife will make much of thee in thy ould age, thy dater & I would wish to see thee hear and I hope wood be a nurse to thee in thy ould age—I was now very sorry to hear of y<sup>e</sup> death our brother William his wife, where in ther was great commendation of her integrity in y<sup>e</sup> truth by severall hear y<sup>t</sup> knows her and I will writ to him."

"I have been very weake in body y<sup>e</sup> Last winter having a great fite of sickness, but y<sup>e</sup> Lord pleased to recover me & bring me up agen blessed be y<sup>e</sup> Lord for his goodness & tender delings to me both outwordly & inwordly: my wife had her health very well all a Longe since shee came to y<sup>e</sup> country."

“I lost much time in going to faires and markets. William Fishier of Rose formerly [is] now Living in Philadelphia.”

“Thy dater desires thee to acquaint her of her age in ye next letter. My son Rees Remembers his Love to his Granfather and also to his nanty Anne, he doth speake very Liberally but unkle is a hard word for [him], his Love is to Richard, a brave bould boy he is now without a mayd servant for they are very scarce hear, upon noe terms an ordinary man of seven or eight pounds att Lest and cannot have them upon no account.”

“I had about 16 score busels of wheat this year. I have 15 heds of cattle, six horses what dyed this winter, for it was a hard winter, they say they never saw y<sup>e</sup> like of.”

In addition to the two children named in the foregoing letter, Rees and Martha Thomas had a third son, William. Of these, Rees and William left descendants. Awbrey visited England and married Gulielma, the only daughter of William Penn, Jr., and grand-daughter of the Founder. He did not long survive his marriage, and died without issue, probably in England.

Rees Thomas survived his wife a number of years. Martha died in 1726.<sup>1</sup> After her death a small book was published by S. Keimer, entitled “A collection of Elegiac Poems devoted to the Memory of the late virtuous and excellent Matron and worthy Elder in the Church of Christ of the Society of Friends Martha Thomas, late wife of Rees Thomas of Merion of the County of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania and Daughter of William Awbrey of Llanelien in the County of Brecknock in Great Britain who departed this life the 7th of 12th Mo. 1726/7.”

A modern edition of the same, bearing the above title, was printed by Lydia R. Bailey, Philadelphia, 1837.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Martha Thomas was buried in the burial-ground adjoining the old Friends' meeting-house in Radnor, the ninth of the Twelfth Month, 1726.

<sup>2</sup> Any one knowing where a copy of either edition of the above work can be seen will confer a favor by informing the writer.—G. V.



[Since the foregoing was in type a copy of the reprint of 1837 of the "Elegiac Poems" above referred to has been placed in my hands. These poems, three in number, are of a low order, and valuable only as indicating the character of Martha Thomas, to whose memory they are "devoted."

The compiler has prefixed to the poems an address to the reader, which constitutes a fair summary of the points of character brought to view. The following extracts from this address are appended:

"We are told in the sacred oracles, 'that the righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance;' and there is the highest reason for it; that their virtues might shine, as so many lights, to direct others in the paths of truth and holiness."

"The subject of the following lines was a person who comes under the character before mentioned, who as her life was exemplary, so her memory is and will be precious to all those who were acquainted with her."

"Her whole life was a continual monitor and was as a preacher, whether considered as a wife, a mother, an elder in the church, a mistress, a neighbor or a friend."

"As her life was righteous, so her death was sweet and the Father of mercies was graciously pleased, according to her desire to favor her with her [faculties] even to her last moments."]

EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF MRS. HENRY  
DRINKER, OF PHILADELPHIA, FROM SEPTEMBER  
25, 1777, TO JULY 4, 1778.

1777, *September 25.*—This has been a day of great confusion in ye city. Enoch Story was the first to inform us that the English were within 4 or 5 miles of us—we have since heard they were by John Dickinson's place—and are expected to-night. Most of our warm people have gone off. G. Napper brings word that he spoke with Galloway, who told him that the inhabitants must take care of the city to-night, and they would be in in the morning. As it rained, they fixed their camp within 2 miles of the city. Numbers met at the State House since 9 o'clock to form themselves into different companies to watch the city.

*Sept. 26.*—Well! here are the English in earnest! About 2 or 3000 came in through Second Street, without opposition. Cornwallis came with the troops—Gen. Howe has not arrived.

*Sept. 27.*—About 9 o'clock this morning the Province and Delaware frigates, with several gondollas came up the river with a design to fire on the city, but they were attacked by a battery which the English had erected at the lower end of the city. The engagement lasted about half an hour—many shots were exchanged; one house struck, but not much damaged, and no body that I have heard, hurt on shore. The cook on the Delaware 'tis said had his head shot off, and a man wounded. She ran aground, and by some means took fire, which occasioned her to strike her colors. The English boarded her and the others drew off. Admiral Alexander and his men were taken prisoners. Part of this scene we witnessed from the little window in our loft.

*Sept. 29.*—Some officers are going about this day numbering the houses with chalk on the doors. A number of the

citizens taken up and imprisoned, among them are John Hall, Jacob Bright, Tom Leech, Jacob Douché and William Moulder.

*October 1.*—Several fire-rafts which were sent down the river in order to annoy the fleet, ran ashore and were burnt.

*Oct. 4.*—Before I arose this morning I heard cannon firing; understood from inquiry that a part of Washington's army had attacked the English picket guards near Chestnut Hill. This has been a sorrowful day in Philadelphia, and much more so at Germantown and thereabouts. It was reported in the forenoon that 1000 of the English were slain, but Chalkley James told us that he had been as far as B. Chew's place, and could not learn of more than 30 of the English being killed, though a great number were wounded and brought to the city. He counted 18 of the Americans lying dead in the lane from the road to Chew's house, and the house is very much damaged as a few of the English troops had taken shelter there, and were fired upon from the road. The last accounts towards evening was that the English were pursuing Washington's troops, who were numerous, and that they were flying before them. The Americans are divided into three divisions, one over Schuylkill, another near Germantown, and the third I know not where, so that the army with us are chiefly called off, and a double guard this night is thought necessary. Washington is said to be wounded in the thigh.

*Oct. 6.*—The heaviest firing I think I ever heard was this evening for upwards of two hours; supposed to be the English troops engaged with Mud Island battery. An officer called this afternoon to ask if we could take in a sick or wounded captain, but I put him off by saying that as my husband was from me, I should be pleased if he could obtain some other place.<sup>1</sup> Two of the Presbyterian meeting-houses are made hospitals of for the wounded soldiers, of which there are great numbers.

<sup>1</sup> On September 2 Mrs. Drinker's husband was arrested by Colonel William Bradford, and with other Friends, on September 11, exiled to Virginia.

*Oct. 8.*—Sister with Billy, the two Hannah Catherels and Molly Pleasants, went to the play-house, the State House, and one of the Presbyterian meeting houses, to see the wounded soldiers.

*Oct. 9.*—Firing last night, and heavy firing this morning from 5 o'clock 'till between 6 and 7—it was the frigate and the gondollas playing upon the English, who were erecting a battery on or near the banks of the Schuylkill.

*Oct. 10.*—Jenny and Harry went to the State House with Coffee and Wine Whey for the wounded Americans—they are in the long room. Humphrey's paper came out to-day.

*Oct. 11.*—The battery on Province Island was taken this morning from the English, and retaken in half an hour.

*Oct. 18.*—The troops at Germantown are coming within two or three miles of the city to encamp. Provisions are very scarce; I paid 36 shillings for 24 lbs Candles; 2/6 per lb for mutton and 7/6 for butter to-day.

*Oct. 20.*—There has been a skirmish this morning between Germantown and the city; and this afternoon heavy firing below the city. About 18 flat boats came up last evening, safely passing the gondollas. Tom Prior taken up to-day on suspicion of sending intelligence to Washington's army.

*Oct. 22.*—From our garret window I saw 2000 Hessians carried on flat boats to Jersey. There has been application made by the English for blankets, as the fleet is at a distance, and they lost a great number in the battle near Germantown.

*Oct. 23.*—Richard Waln was arrested and sent to New York. He had the choice of three things, either to go to jail, take the Test or go within the English lines—the latter was chosen. The Hessians who crossed the river on the 22d were driven back in endeavoring to storm the fort at Red Bank. The firing this morning was incessant from the battery, the gondollas and the Augusta 64. The latter took fire and after burning near two hours blew up. The loss of this fine vessel is accounted for in different ways—some say she took fire by accident, others that it was occasioned by red-hot shot from Mud Island battery. Another English vessel, somewhat smaller, was also burned. Many of the

inhabitants are very much affected by the present situation and appearance of things, while those of the other side of the question are flushed and in spirits. It was near noon when the *Augusta* blew up; many were not sensible of any shock, others were, but it was very plain to all those who were at meeting, and felt like an earthquake.

*November 5.*—A soldier came to demand blankets, which I did not in any wise agree to, but notwithstanding my refusal, he went up stairs and took one, and in seeming good nature begged I would excuse his borrowing it, as it was by Gen. Howe's orders. We have not bought a pound of butter for three or four weeks—all we get from our cow, is about two pounds per week.

*Nov. 7.*—Sally and Nancy, with Hannah Drinker and Nancy Waln went this afternoon to Philips's Rope-walk to see the redoubts which are erected thereabouts.

*Nov. 12.*—Poor beef is now sold for 3/ per lb.; Veal, 4/; Butter, 7/6; Chocolate, 4/6; Brown Sugar, 6/; Candles, 2/6; Flour, what little there is at £3 per 100; Oak wood as it stands 17/ to 20/ per cord, and scarcely possible to get it cut or hauled.

*Nov. 16.*—The Mud Island battery is at last taken; the Americans left it about midnight, when it was supposed the English were about to storm it.

*Nov. 19.*—Gen. Cornwallis left the city the day before yesterday at 2 o'clock in the morning with 3000 men.

*Nov. 21.*—I was awakened this morning before 5 o'clock by the loud firing of cannon. The Americans had set fire to their whole fleet, except one small vessel and some of the gondollas, which passed by the city in the night. Billy counted eight vessels on fire at once in sight—one lay near the Jersey shore opposite our house. We heard the explosion of four of them, and had a fair sight of them from our upper windows.

*Nov. 22.*—There has been skirmishing several times to-day between the Americans and the picket-guards. About 11 o'clock they drove them off, when some took shelter in John Dickinson's house and others thereabouts; the Eng-

lish thereupon set fire to these houses and burned them to the ground. The burning of these houses 'tis said is a pre-meditated thing, as they serve for skulking places and much annoy the guards—they talk of burning all houses within four miles of the city without the lines. John Dickinson's house, that in which C. Tomson lived, Jon. Mifflin's, the widow Taylor's, John Bayard's, A. Hodge's and many others were burned.

*Nov. 24.*—It is an agreeable sight to see the wharves lined with shipping, and numbers have come up to-day. The poor people for sometime have been allowed to go to Frankford mill and other mills in that direction for flour.

*December 1.*—There is talk to-day, as if a great part of the English army were making ready to depart on some secret expedition. The old wind mill on the island, was pulled down one day last week.

*Dec. 2.*—M. Story called to borrow for Joseph Galloway, who is going to housekeeping, some bedding, tables, &c.

*Dec. 18.*—An officer who calls himself Major Cramond called this afternoon to look for quarters for some officers of distinction. I plead off, but he would persuade me that it was a necessary protection at these times to have one in the house—he will call again in a few days. He behaved with much politeness, which has not been the case at many other places.

*Dec. 19.*—Lord Cornwallis has sailed for England, which occasions various conjectures, and Lord Howe is going to New York. Gen. Howe intends 'tis said to winter with us, and I hope he is a better man than some people think him.

*Dec. 20.*—A meeting was held at Mary Pemberton's, as the Fourth Street meeting-house is taken for the poor, who are turned out of the House of Employment, for the soldiers.

*Dec. 25.*—Last night an attack was made on the lines, but did not succeed—a cannon ball came as far as the barracks.

*Dec. 27.*—A certain something, a piece of clockwork, a barrel with gunpowder in it, was found in the river near the Roebuck man-of-war, and destroyed a boat near it. Several others have been found. [“Battle of the Kegs.”]

*Dec. 29.*—Major Cramond,<sup>1</sup> we have at last agreed to his coming here—he stayed to tea.

*Dec. 30.*—Major Cramond took up his abode with us to-day, with one servant (two others he boarded at Wells'). He has two horses and a cow.

*Dec. 31.*—Major Cramond, who is now one of our family, appears to be a thoughtful, sober young man, and his servant orderly, which is a great favor to us.

1778, *January 1.*—Major Cramond has three horses, three cows, two sheep, two turkeys with several fowls, in our stable. He also has three servants, two white and one black boy named Damon.

*Jan. 5.*—Major Cramond had eleven or twelve officers to dine with him to-day—they made very little noise and left at a seasonable hour. Most of our acquaintances seem much taken with our Major, and I hope he will continue to deserve their good opinion. A number of those floating barrels of gunpowder continue coming down the river; there has been frequent firing at them to-day.

*Jan. 20.*—The play house was opened last night for the first time. Our Major attended.

*Jan. 27.*—The troops returned from two days foraging, and it is amazing to see the great quantities of hay they brought in—(70 loads have been taken from Abel James). What will they do when the present supply is gone, large as it seems? I am told it will last but a little time, for 'tis said *twenty four tons* per day are used.

*Jan. 29.*—Our Major staid out last night 'till between 12 and 1 o'clock, at a concert at head-quarters, and I fear he will do the same to-night, as he is gone to an Assembly.

*March 17.*—A great crowd of Irish soldiers went by this afternoon, with one on horseback representing St. Patrick.

*April 5.*—I left home after dinner, went to Molly Pleasants; where a great number of our Friends met to take leave of us [to go to see her husband]. We (S. Jones,

<sup>1</sup> John Cramond, of the Fourth, or "The King's Own," regiment of Foot.

Phœbe Pemberton, M. Pleasants and myself) took coach about 2 o'clock with four horses and two negroes who rode postilion. Owen Jones, Mary and Hannah Pemberton, accompanied us to the Ferry, over which we passed without difficulty. We went no further than John Roberts's mill, about 10 miles from home, where we were kindly received by the woman of the house and her daughters,—the owner at this time being a refugee in town. In the evening came a scouting party of near 100 men. Two of their officers came into the house, saying that they heard there were ladies from Philadelphia; asked how far it was to the city; they were strangers, and had recently come from New England.

*April 6.*—Left Roberts's after breakfast, and proceeded to the American picket guard, who upon hearing that we were going to head-quarters [Valley Forge], sent a guard with us to Col. Smith, who gave us a pass. Arrived at head-quarters about half-past one o'clock; requested an audience with the general; sat with his wife (a sociable, pretty kind of woman until he came in); a number of officers there, who were very complaisant—Tench Tilghman among the number. It was not long before G. W. [George Washington] came and discoursed with us freely, but not so long as we could have wished, as dinner was served, to which he had invited us. There were fifteen of the officers, besides the General and his wife, Gen. Greene and Gen. Lee. We had an elegant dinner which was soon over, when we went out with the General's wife to her chamber and saw no more of him. He told us that he could do nothing in our business further than granting us a pass to Lancaster, which he did, and gave a letter to Israel Morris for Thomas Wharton. After dinner, as we were coming out of the room, who should we see but Isaac Penington and Charles Logan, who had been captured at Darby. They are to be sent back to the city, the general giving them a pass. We all came together to James Vaux's, who came over to invite us; crossed the large bridge over the Schuylkill just by his house, and lodged there.



*April 7.*—Left James Vaux's after breakfast; changed one of our horses for C. Logan's; found the roads very bad. Dined at Randall Mellor's, proceeded to Robert Valentines, where we lodged.

*April 8.*—Left Valentine's after breakfast, and dined at Thomas Truman's on the usual fare, Bacon and Eggs. Lodged at James Moore's in Sadsbury, Lancaster County.

*April 9.*—Becky Moore and her husband breakfasted with us. Dined at James Gibbons, and while we were at dinner several Friends arrived from meeting, from whom we learned that our Friends by order of the Council had been taken to Shippensburg and there discharged. When we reached Lancaster we drove directly to Thomas Wharton's door, we were admitted with others, but desired to speak to him by himself. We had half an hour conversation with him, but not very satisfactory. As they were going to Coffee, we drank a cup with his wife and the rest of the company. We returned to Webbs by moonlight, where we lodged. Timothy Matlack paid us a visit this evening.

*April 10.*—We arose by times this morning, and after breakfast went to Lancaster. Timothy Matlack waited on us and undertook to advise us—perhaps with sincerity. We visited three of the Councillors. After the Council had sat sometime Timothy came for our address, which was signed by all the women concerned; he would come for us at the proper time. After waiting above an hour he informed us that our presence was not necessary, and put us off in that way.

*April 25.*—I can recollect nothing of the occurrences of this morning. About one o'clock my Henry [Drinker] arrived at Webb's, just in time to dine with us. All the rest of the Friends came this day to Lancaster.

*April 27.*—We were visited by several Menonists and many others. Our Friends applied to the Council this morning for a proper discharge, which was not granted, but permission to pass to Pottsgrove was all that would be given.

*April 28.*—About 8 o'clock we took leave of the family, and turned our faces homeward.

*April 30.*—We reached the city about 11 o'clock and found our families all well.

*May 9.*—Gen. Clinton arrived here yesterday.

*May 14.*—Major Cramond had a concert this afternoon, seven or eight officers with him; Dr Knowles one of them came into our parlor and had some conversation with Henry. There are some movements in the army, which we do not understand—the heavy cannon are ordered on board the ships, and some other things look very mysterious.

*May 16.*—Yesterday Col. Gordon drank tea with us. Some of the officers have orders to pack up their baggage.

*May 18.*—This day may be remembered by many from the scenes of folly and vanity, promoted by the officers of the army under pretence of showing respect to Gen. Howe, now about leaving them. The parade of coaches and other carriages, with many horsemen, through the streets towards the Northern Liberties, where great numbers of the officers and some women embarked in three galleys and a number of boats, and passed down the river before the city, with colors displayed, a large band of music, and the ships in the harbor decorated with colors, saluted by the cannon of some of them. It is said they landed in Southwark and proceeded from the waterside to Joseph Wharton's late dwelling, which has been decorated and fitted for the occasion in an expensive way for this company to feast, dance and revel in. On the river sky rockets and other fireworks were exhibited after night. How insensible do these people appear, while our land is so greatly desolated, and death and sore destruction has overtaken and impends over so many.

*May 19.*—De Demar, an Anspach officer took tea with sister—he quarters at Folwells. A large number of the British troops marched out this evening,—the light-horse and cannon also.

*May 20.*—The troops which left the city last evening returned to-day, having accomplished nothing.

*May 22.*—The officers have orders to put their baggage on board the vessels. Our Major [Cramond] packed up his matters to-day for that purpose.

*May 23.*—The army 'tis thought are going in reality to leave us—to evacuate the city. Some hope 'tis not the case, though things look like it, and many of the inhabitants are preparing to go with them.

*May 24.*—The baggage of the officers going on board all day.

*June 6.*—The Commissioners arrived to-day from England, also Lord Cornwallis. A visit from Gen. Washington is not so soon expected, as a day or two past, nor does it look so likely that the British troops will so soon leave us.

*June 8.*—Orders this day for the two regiments of Anspachers to embark; our Major goes with them. The troops appear to be all in motion. J. C.[ramond] sup'd with us and has gone to bed, to be called at one o'clock to go off with his company. I intend to sit up until he goes.

*June 9.*—Our Major left us a little past one this morning, and was very dull at taking leave. Sister and self remained at the door until the two regiments (which were quartered up town) had passed. J. C. bid us adieu as they went by. It was a fine moonlight morning.

*June 15.*—Three regiments of Hessians passed our door, to take boat up town.

*June 16.*—The troops moving all day. Enoch Story took leave of us; he and his family are going with the fleet.

*June 17.*—Troops still crossing the river. Capt. Ford and Richard Waln took leave of us to-day, as did our John Burket; Sammy Shoemaker has gone on board one of the vessels and many others of the inhabitants.

*June 18.*—Last night it was said there was 9000 of the British troops left in town, 11,000 in Jersey. This morning when we arose, there was not one red-coat to be seen in town, and the encampment in Jersey had vanished. Col. Gordon and some others had not been gone a quarter of an hour, before the American light-horse entered the city, not many of them—they were in and out all day. A bellman went about this evening by order of one Col. Morgan, to desire the inhabitants to stay within doors after night, that if any were found on the streets by the patrol, they would be

punished. The few that came in to-day had drawn swords in their hands, galloped about the streets, and frightened many by their appearance.

*June 19.*—The English have in reality left us, and the other party took possession again—they have been coming in all day, part of the artillery, some soldiers and the old inhabitants. Washington and his army have not come, 'tis said they have gone otherways.

*June 22.*—The store and shopkeepers ordered to shut up and render an account of their goods.

*July 2.*—The Congress came in to-day, and cannon were fired.

*July 4.*—A great fuss this evening, it being the anniversary of Independence—firing of guns, sky rockets, &c. Candles were too scarce and high for illuminations.

THE ORDINANCE OF 1787.

BY FREDERICK D. STONE.

In the April number of this magazine for the year 1888 we printed some extracts from the "Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler," describing his visit to New York and Philadelphia in the year 1787, and took occasion to say that we could not agree with the views expressed elsewhere in the volumes, that in the formation of the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest territory Dr. Cutler rendered an all-important influence. It was our intention to have returned to the subject long before this, and, now that it is again taken up, we find that it has been the theme of a number of essays and addresses called forth by the celebration in 1888 of the centennial anniversary of the settlement at Marietta under the auspices of the Ohio Company. These investigations have been so numerous that any further consideration of the matter may look like a work of supererogation; but in all that has appeared, that we have met with, the same conclusion has been reached, that when Dr. Cutler visited New York in July, 1787, to negotiate for the purchase of a tract of land for the Ohio Company, he shaped the Ordinance adopted by Congress on July 13, 1787, for the government of the Northwest territory. Some indeed go so far as to argue that Dr. Cutler brought the Ordinance with him from New England and made the adoption of certain provisions found in it a *sine qua non* in the purchase of land.

The most thorough piece of work called forth in this discussion is the address by John M. Merriam, Esq., before the American Antiquarian Society, entitled "The Legislative History of the Ordinance of 1787," in which he shows that nearly every distinctive feature of the Ordinance was

before Congress, at one time or another before it was framed. Towards the close of his argument, however, Mr. Merriam falls in line with the other investigators, and after quoting from the diary of Dr. Cutler, describing a visit he paid to General Rufus Putnam previous to his journey to New York, Mr. Merriam says, "These passages from Cutler's diary show conclusively that he went to New York armed with great power, and for definite purposes which had been discussed and agreed upon with Rufus Putnam before he started. The precise articles in the final Ordinance which were due to the foresight and wisdom of Putnam and Cutler cannot now be precisely pointed out. It seems probable, however, in view of the earlier stand taken by Putnam and Pickering and their associates, that provisions for the support of religion and education, and the prohibition of slavery, were among the terms of the negotiation. It is only upon this supposition that the readiness of Congress to agree upon the sixth article (that prohibiting slavery) can be explained."

The Hon. George F. Hoar, in his oration delivered at Marietta, April 7, 1888, after reviewing the whole subject, said: "From this narrative I think it must be clear that the plan which Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler settled in Boston was the substance of the Ordinance of 1787. I do not mean to imply that the detail or the language of the great statute was theirs. But I cannot doubt that they demanded a constitution, with its unassailable guarantees for civil liberty, such as Massachusetts had enjoyed since 1780, and such as Virginia had enjoyed since 1776, instead of the meagre provisions for a government to be changed at the will of Congress or of temporary popular majorities, which was all Congress had hitherto proposed, and this constitution secured by an irrevocable compact, and that this demand was an inflexible condition of their dealing with Congress at all."

Dr. William F. Poole, in his address delivered as president of the American Historical Association, at a meeting of that body at Washington, December 26, 1888, after re-

viewing the history of the Ordinance of 1787, summed the matter up in the following language :

“In view of its sagacity and foresight, its adaptation for the purpose it was to accomplish and the rapidity with which it was carried through Congress, the most reasonable explanation, as it seems to me, of the origin of the Ordinance is, that it was brought from Massachusetts by Dr. Cutler, with its principal and main features developed ; that it was laid before the land committee of Congress on July 9 as a *sine qua non* in the proposed land purchase, and that the only work of the Ordinance Committee was to put it in a form suitable for enactment. The original draft may have been made by either of the eminent men who were the directors of the Ohio Company,—Rufus Putnam, Manasseh Cutler, or Samuel Holden Parsons,—but more likely was their joint production. Dr. Cutler says that on the day he left Boston he met General Putnam and ‘settled the principles on which I am to contract with Congress for lands, on account of the Ohio Company.’ In passing through Middletown, Conn., on his way to New York, he spent one day with General Parsons, and says, in his journal, ‘It was nine o’clock this morning before General Parsons and I had settled all our matters with respect to my business with Congress.’ They were the persons most interested in the enactment of such an Ordinance ; and without it their scheme of Western settlement would have failed. The New England emigrants must feel that they were taking with them to the Northwest their own laws and institutions. Hence the draft was made largely from the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, which these settlers had helped to frame. By this constitution slavery was abolished, personal rights secured, institutions of religion and education fostered, and the most advanced principles in the settlement of estates and the administration of justice established. Mr. Dane, as the Massachusetts member of the committee, and most familiar with its laws, was the person to whom the duty of writing the final draft and reporting it to Congress would naturally be assigned.” Mr. Dane, Dr. Poole says, in another part

of his address, was the "scribe of the committee," and again, "Mr. Dane's record does not favor the theory that the Ordinance was his."

The editor of the life of Cutler, while treating the matter more generally, and endeavoring to trace the idea of the erection of a State in the Western territory and its government from its earliest inception, is scarcely less positive in the opinion he expresses that nearly every distinctive feature in the Ordinance was so in accord with the known sentiments of Cutler and his associates that it is obvious that these features were the result of their influence, and that the Ohio Company of Associates was organized "for the purpose of carrying into effect the long-cherished objects connected with their future homes." Dr. Cutler, he continues, in dealing with Congress, "kept steadily in view the two great objects of his mission: one was to procure land upon terms that would be acceptable to the Associates; the other to secure such organic law as would make the new State a congenial home for himself and his neighbors." And again, "It was just as necessary to yield to the wishes and plans of the Associates in the governmental system that was to be imposed upon their future homes as it was to meet their views in regard to land purchase." And "When Dr. Cutler placed this scheme before Congress he could appeal honestly and urgently for the establishment there of such civil and social institutions as would meet his own wants and those of his neighbors as pioneer settlers."

The Rev. Edward Everett Hale, in an address at Marietta, after asserting that Dr. Cutler "succeeded in doing in four days what had not been done in four years before," said, "What was the weight which Manasseh Cutler threw into the scale? It was not wealth; it was not the armor of the old time. It was simply the fact, known to all men, that the men of New England would not emigrate into any region where labor and its honest recompense is dishonorable.

"The New England men will not go where it is not honorable to do an honest day's work, and for that honest day's work to claim an honest recompense. They never have



done it, and they never will do it; and it was that potent fact, known to all men, that Manasseh Cutler had to urge in his private conversation and in his diplomatic work. When he said, 'I am going away from New York, and my constituents are not going to do this thing,' he meant exactly what he said. They were not going to any place where labor was dishonorable, and where workmen were not recognized as freemen."

Before entering into any argument or expressing any dissent to the above views we will endeavor, for the benefit of those unacquainted with the facts of the case, to give briefly and impartially the essential portions of the evidence connected with the history of the "great Ordinance."

As early as 1783, when the army of the Revolution was about to be disbanded, a number of officers from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Maryland petitioned Congress for a grant of land on the Ohio, on which they proposed to settle. It was their intention to establish a "new State," and for this object an agreement was drawn up, one clause of which provided for the exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the constitution. This, it is believed, was the work of Timothy Pickering, who, with Rufus Putnam, was active in forwarding the proposed settlement. The company also hoped to obtain a grant of land for the support of the ministry and schools. The Western territory, however, had not at that time been ceded to Congress by the several States claiming it, and nothing was done in the matter.

In 1784, after Virginia had ceded her right to the Western territories to the United States, a report was presented to Congress by a committee appointed to prepare a plan for the temporary government of the Western territory. This is known as Jefferson's plan, as it was drafted by him. It provided for the government of the territory ceded or to be ceded by the individual States, whensoever the same shall have been purchased of the Indian inhabitants and

offered for sale by the United States. By it the territory ceded was divided into ten States, and each one was enabled to adopt the constitution of any of the original States for its temporary government, subject to such amendments as a Legislature might suggest. Each State, thus organized, could send a member to Congress, with the right of debating, but not of voting, and upon gaining a population of twenty thousand was to be admitted into the Union under a permanent constitution, and to full representation in Congress when its population should equal that of the least numerous of the original States. It provided that both the temporary and permanent constitutions of the States be established on the principles that they should forever remain a part of the United States, and that their governments should be republican in form; that they should be subject to the Articles of Confederation the same as the original States were, and obliged to pay their share of the Federal debt as apportioned by Congress. They were not to interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States, and under the temporary government the lands of non-residents were not to be taxed higher than those of residents.

The articles of this Ordinance were made a compact between the original States and the States it was proposed to form. In Jefferson's original report the following clause was made one of the principles on which the State constitutions should be formed, and a part of the compact: "That after the year 1800 of the Christian era there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty." It was, however, stricken out by Congress, and the Ordinance as amended remained in force until it was repealed by the final clause of that of 1787.

On March 8, 1785, Timothy Pickering wrote to Rufus King, then in Congress, earnestly protesting against the admission of slavery into the Western territory. "For God's sake, then," he wrote, "let one more effort be made to prevent so terrible a calamity! The fundamental constitutions

of those States are yet liable to alterations, and this is probably the only time when the evil can certainly be prevented." In the same letter he said, "I observe there is no provision made for ministers of the Gospel, nor even for schools and academies, though after the admission of slavery it was right to say nothing about Christianity."

Eight days after this letter was written, King offered the following resolution in Congress: "That there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the States described in the resolves of Congress of the 23d of April, 1784, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been personally guilty; and that this regulation shall be an article of compact, and remain a fundamental principle of the constitutions between the thirteen original States, and each of the States described in the said resolve of the 23d of April, 1784."

The resolution was referred to a committee of three, of which King was chairman, his colleagues being Howell and Ellery, of Rhode Island. Their report was presented on April 6. It went back to Jefferson's proposition of 1784, prohibiting slavery after the year 1800, and coupled with it the fugitive slave clause as subsequently incorporated in the Ordinance of 1787. Its operation was confined to the proposed States. It was to be considered on the 14th of April, but a land ordinance was then being formed by Grayson, who on May 1 wrote to Madison that King would reserve his resolution prohibiting slavery in the new States until the land ordinance was passed. King's resolution does not appear to have received further attention. The land ordinance, that Grayson spoke of, as first framed reserved the central section of each township for the support of schools, and the one north of it for the support of religion, but as the act passed on May 20, the provision for the support of religion was omitted.

In 1786 a committee was appointed to report a temporary government for the "Western States." The object was to supply a uniform temporary government for the new States, in which the persons and rights of settlers would be pro-

tected, in place of permitting the citizens to select the constitution and laws of one of the older States and adapting it to their purposes by amendments. Monroe was chairman of the committee, and its report bears his name. It recommended a redivision of the territory as soon as the consent of the individual States that ceded it had been obtained. It proposed that Congress should appoint a governor, a council of five members, and a secretary for the territory or States. The duties of these officers were defined. It also provided for a court of five members, who should have common-law and chancery jurisdiction, and an existing code of laws was to be adopted to suit the occasion. When a population of a certain size was reached by a State, a House of Representatives was to be chosen to act with the governor and council, and from that time until the State was fully represented in Congress it could maintain a sitting member. The limit of the temporary government was fixed as in Jefferson's plan. Nearly all of its provisions were adopted, but the clause making it a compact binding on both the old and new States was omitted. The plan as presented to Congress on May 10 was a mere outline, and it was recommitted. Before it was completed, petitions were received from the inhabitants of the Western territory, praying for the establishment of a government that would make some provisions for both criminal and civil justice. Monroe's colleagues were Johnson, of Connecticut; King, of Massachusetts; and Kean and (Charles) Pinckney, of South Carolina. Before the committee had completed its report, Monroe, King, and Kean were succeeded by Melancthon Smith, of New York; Henry, of Maryland; and Dane, of Massachusetts. The committee thus formed, of which Johnson was chairman, presented its report on the 21st of September. It was an elaboration of Monroe's plan. It provided for a governor, council, secretary, a court, and the adoption of a code of laws. The duties of the officers were defined, and were about the same as Monroe proposed. The court was to consist of three members. A House of Representatives was to be elected as soon as five thousand

free male adults resided within a district. The qualifications for a representative were based on Monroe's report. The inhabitants were to pay part of the Federal debts, contracted, or to be contracted, as the citizens of the other States, and were entitled to the benefits of the act of *habeas corpus* and of the trial by jury. No provision was made for a non-voting member in Congress, and the States could not be admitted to full representation until their population was equal to one-thirteenth part of the citizens of the original States and the consent of Congress. Like Monroe's plan, it contained no clause making it a joint compact between the States, as proposed by Jefferson.

It was discussed on the 29th, and then all sight is lost of it until the 26th of April, 1787, when it was presented by the same committee to the new Congress. It reached a second reading on May 9, and was made the order of business for the 10th. On that day its consideration was postponed, and on the 12th it was found that so many members had left New York to attend the Federal Convention in Philadelphia that a quorum did not attend. No business was transacted after that until July 4.

While the attention of Congress was thus directed to the importance of furnishing a more efficient form of government for the Western territory, than the Ordinance of 1784, events elsewhere show that the subject of Western emigration was being seriously considered.

In January, 1786, Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper, two of the signers of the petition to Congress asking for a grant of land in 1783, issued a card in a newspaper of the day, inviting the Massachusetts soldiers who were entitled to land in the Western territory, under an act of Congress, to meet together and organize an association to be known as The Ohio Company, to form a settlement in the Ohio country. The meeting was held on March 1, and articles of agreement were entered into, one of which provided for "the purchase of lands in some one of the proposed States northwesterly of the river Ohio, as soon as those lands are surveyed and exposed for sale by the commissioners of Con-

gress, according to the ordinance of that honorable body, passed the 20th of May, 1785, or on any other plan that may be adopted by Congress not less advantageous to the company." The scheme was well received, and attracted wide attention; but it was found that under the land ordinance of May 20, 1785, it would not be possible for the company to purchase a compact body of land, and the price asked by Congress was considered too high. To overcome these difficulties, on March 8, 1787, a committee composed of General Samuel Holden Parsons, General Rufus Putnam, and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, was appointed to make application to Congress "for a private purchase of land," or, in other words, for a purchase on terms different from those proposed in the ordinance.

Parsons was selected to bring the matter before Congress, and on the 9th of May he presented his memorial to that body. Before it was acted upon, however, so many members of Congress absented themselves to attend the Federal Convention in Philadelphia that it was impossible to obtain a quorum, and he returned to his home in Connecticut. The proposition he made to Congress did not, it appears from a letter of Cutler, meet with the approval of the company, as they did not think well of the location which he proposed. Suspicions were indeed excited that General Parsons might have views separate from the interest of the company, and it was decided that as soon as Cutler learned that a quorum of Congress had assembled he should attend as agent of the company in place of Parsons. In the latter part of June he prepared to visit New York. On June 25 he was at Cambridge, and records in his journal that he rode to Boston, "conversed with General Putnam. Received letters. Settled the principles on which I am to contract for lands on account of the Ohio Company. . . . Left Boston for Dedham half-after six."

On the evening of the 30th he reached the home of General Parsons. The next day being Sunday, he preached for Mr. Huntington, and spent the afternoon with him, and on July 2 he recorded: "It was 9 o'clock this morning before

General Parsons and I had settled all our matters with respect to my business with Congress."

On July 5 he arrived in New York, and on the 6th he says: "At 11 o'clock I was introduced to a number of members on the floor of Congress chamber in the City Hall by Colonel Carrington, member from Virginia. Delivered my petition for purchasing lands for the Ohio Company, and proposed terms and conditions of purchase. A committee was appointed to agree on terms of negotiation and report to Congress.

Monday, July 9, "Attended the Committee before Congress opened." The same day he dined with some clergymen at Dr. Rodgers's. "It was with reluctance," he says, "that I took my leave of this agreeable and sociable company of clergymen, but my business rendered it necessary. Attended the committee at Congress Chamber. Debated on terms, but were so wide apart that there appears little prospect of closing a contract." On the same day Congress referred the report, that had been interrupted on its third reading on May 10, to a new committee, consisting of Carrington, Dane, Richard Henry Lee, Kean, and Smith.

July 10. "This morning," writes Cutler, "another conference with the committee. . . . As Congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal territory, for which a bill had been prepared and a copy sent to me, with leave to make remarks and propose amendments, and which I had taken the liberty to remark upon, and to propose several amendments, I thought this the most favorable opportunity to go on to Philadelphia. Accordingly, after I had returned the bill with my observations, I set out at 7 o'clock, and crossed North River to Paulus Hook."

The Ordinance Committee made its report on July 11. It was read a second time on the 12th and a third time on the 13th, when it finally passed. This was the great Ordinance. It provided that the territory northwest of the Ohio River, while under temporary government, should be one district, to be divided into two when found necessary. It provided for the distribution of estates of residents and non-

residents dying intestate, a widow to receive one-third of the personal estate and a life-interest of one-third of the real estate, the remainder being equally divided between the children or their heirs. From Johnson's report was taken the proposition of appointing a governor, council, secretary, and court, nearly the same language being used in defining their duties. A House of Representatives was also to be chosen when the population of a district reached five thousand. A delegate to Congress, with the right of debating but not of voting, as proposed by Jefferson and Monroe, was conceded to the States until admitted to full representation.

That portion of the Ordinance which related to the time when the States would be under a temporary form of government was followed by six articles which it declared should be considered as a compact between the original States and the people and States in the territory, and to forever remain unalterable unless by common consent. This idea was taken from Jefferson's report of 1784.

The first and second articles were evidently copied from the Bill of Rights of one or more of the original States. They secured to the people civil and religious liberty, trial by jury, and the benefit of the writ of *habeas corpus*. Here it was also said that no law ought ever to be made or have force in the territory that should interfere or affect private contracts or engagements previously formed.

The third declared that religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary for good government and the happiness of mankind, and schools and the means of education should forever be encouraged. It also provided that good faith be observed towards the Indians.

The fourth article contained, in substance, the six provisions in Jefferson's report, together with that securing navigation of the waters leading into the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence.

The fifth provided for the division of the territory into not less than three nor more than five States. When a State contained sixty thousand free inhabitants its delegates were to be admitted into Congress on an equal footing with



those of the original States. Its permanent constitution was then to be formed, which was to be republican, and in conformity with the principles of the Ordinance.

The sixth article was that which forever prohibited slavery in the territory. The language used was that of King's original resolution, coupled with the fugitive slave clause, taken from the report of the committee to which his resolution had been referred. This article was added on the second reading of the bill.

The most minute contemporaneous account we have of what was done in Congress while the Ordinance was being considered is in a letter from Nathan Dane to Rufus King, then in Philadelphia, dated July 16, 1787. In it he enclosed him a copy of the act, and said, "We have been employed about several objects, the principal of which have been the government enclosed and the Ohio purchase; the former, you will see, is completed and the latter will probably be completed to-morrow. We tried one day to patch up M.'s system of W. government, started new ideas and committed the whole to Carrington, Dane, R. H. Lee, Smith, and Kean. We met several times, and at last agreed on some principles; at least Lee, Smith, and myself. We found ourselves rather pressed. The Ohio Company appeared to purchase a large tract of the federal lands—about six or seven millions of acres—and we wanted to abolish the old system and get a better one for the government of the country, and we finally found it necessary to adopt the best system we could get. All agreed finally to the enclosed plan except A. Yates. He appeared in this case, as in most others, not to understand the subject at all." [Mr. Dane then gives his views on the division of the territory and the population necessary for the admission of a State, and continues], "When I drew the Ordinance (which passed a few words excepted as I originally formed it), I had no idea the States would agree to the sixth article prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts, of the Eastern States, was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft; but finding the house favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other

parts I moved the article, which was agreed to without opposition. We are in a fair way to fix the terms of our Ohio sale, etc. We have been upon it three days steadily. The magnitude of the purchase makes us very cautious about the terms of it, and the security necessary to insure the performance of it.”<sup>1</sup>

The day after the letter was written, Dr. Cutler returned to New York from Philadelphia, and renewed his negotiations with Congress, and it was not until the 19th that he was furnished with a copy of the Ordinance. “It is,” he wrote, “in a degree new modeled. The amendments I proposed have all been made except one, and that is better qualified.” It was regarding Congressional taxation and representation.

This in brief is all the contemporaneous evidence there is, and the reader has before him an epitome of everything of that character on which the conclusion is based that Dr. Cutler and his colleagues were virtually the authors of the Ordinance of 1787. In reviewing it, we wish it distinctly understood that we would gladly accord to Dr. Cutler all the honor that has been claimed for him were it not that we consider such a verdict at variance with the truth of history and unjust to many others who did much to create the Ordinance.

The Ohio Company was without doubt the outcome of the proposition that was made by the officers of the army in 1783 to establish a new State in which slavery should be unknown and in which religion and education should be encouraged, as some of the men prominent in the old scheme were prominent in the new. The circumstances, however, under which the Ohio Company was formed were very different from those that existed in 1783. Then there were no provisions for the government of the territory or for the sale of land, but in 1784 a resolution for the former passed Congress, and in 1785 an ordinance for the latter was adopted. Consequently, when the Ohio Company was formed it did not propose to establish a new State, but to

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft's "History of the Constitution," Vol. II. p. 430.

purchase land in one of those that it was proposed to erect under the resolution of April 23, 1784, and their purchase was to be made in accordance with the land ordinance of May 20, 1785.

There is nothing but argument to support the assertion that the government of the territory was the subject of conversation between Cutler and Putnam and Cutler and Parsons when the good doctor was on his way to seek an interview with Congress. This argument is based on the entries in Cutlers's diary that with Putnam he settled the principles on which he was to contract for lands, and that it was nine o'clock on the morning of July 2, before General Parsons and he had settled all matters with respect to his business with Congress. We do not see that the language here used indicates that anything but pecuniary matters were the subject of discussion, and to assert otherwise is, we think, going beyond safe historical conclusions. The interviews, it will be noticed, were brief. With Putnam Cutler spent but the portion of a day; with Parsons he remained longer, but the greater part of the time being Sunday was occupied in preaching for and visiting Mr. Huntington. And here let us ask, Which is the most probable, that this instrument, so admirably suited for the work it was to perform, whose wisdom has called forth such unstinted praise, and which exercised so powerful an influence in shaping the destinies of the country,—which is the most probable, that this should have been the result of the hasty visits that Cutler paid to Putnam and Parsons, or the work of a deliberative body, appointed for the purpose, composed of men some of whom had already given the matter serious attention, and all more or less familiar with the character of the work required, having at their command the archives of Congress containing the record of all that Congress, or the committees of Congress, had ever done in the matter?

There is not a scintilla of evidence that Dr. Cutler ever made the adoption of what are claimed as his views in the ordinance of 1787 a *sine qua non* in the purchase of land. Great stress has been laid upon the frequent mention made

in his diary of his conferences with the committee, but the committee thus alluded to was the one to which his memorial for the purchase of land had been referred. He makes no mention of the committee having the ordinance for the government of the territory in charge. He merely says Congress was now engaged in settling the form of government for the Federal territory.

When Dr. Cutler returned to New York after visiting Philadelphia he renewed his negotiations for the purchase of land. On several occasions he despaired of bringing them to a successful conclusion, and threatened to withdraw his offer and purchase of some of the States having unoccupied land for sale. These threats the Doctor confessed were only "bluff," but it has been argued that they were to induce Congress to incorporate his views in the Ordinance for the government of the territory. Nothing can be farther from the truth. When Dr. Cutler returned to New York on the 17th of July the Ordinance was a law, and after its final passage no attempt was made for years to alter it in any way whatever.

The strongest evidence there is to show that Dr. Cutler exercised any influence in the formation of the Ordinance of 1787 are the entries in his diary that a draft of the plan proposed for the government of the territory was sent to him and he was invited to make remarks on it and propose amendments; that he did so, and after the final passage of the Ordinance found that with one exception all that he had suggested had been incorporated in it. Sixty-five years after the Ordinance had passed, Dr. Cutler's son said that his father had told him in the winter of 1804-5 that that portion relating to the prohibition of slavery had been prepared by him. A copy of the Ordinance is also said to have been seen in the papers of the Ohio Company, with a memorandum on it that the provisions relating to religion, education, and slavery were inserted at Dr. Cutler's instance. This is not good historical evidence; but suppose it all true, does it show anything but that he suggested what had been again and again before Congress for its consideration?

It is also claimed that it was absolutely necessary for the success of the undertaking that the law for the government of the territories should be in perfect accord with New England ideas, and that New England men would not have gone there if slavery had not been prohibited and civil and religious liberty secured as they were under the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. Unfortunately for the argument, the Association entered into by the members of the Ohio Company contradict it. The company was formed March 3, 1786, to purchase land in the Ohio country under the land ordinance of May 20, 1785. No provision was made for the purchase of land anywhere else, and at that time the territory was under the government of Jefferson's resolution of 1784, and by it (as passed) slavery was not prohibited or civil and religious liberty secured.<sup>1</sup> On May 30, 1787, Putnam and Cutler, writing to Sargent, said, if they could not secure the land they had in view, "we think of giving up the idea of making a purchase as a company." Nowhere in their correspondence, or in the journal of Cutler, is there the slightest hint that the government of the territory, or the admission of slavery into it, would influence their action, nor in the pamphlets issued by the Ohio and Scioto Companies do we find this feature of the Ordinance dwelt upon as one that would encourage emigration.

So far from Dr. Cutler's considering the prohibition of slavery in the territory an essential matter that would influence him in purchasing land of Congress, it does not appear to us that it had any weight with him whatever. If it had been otherwise we do not believe he would have

<sup>1</sup> It was well, indeed, for the future of the Northwest territory that the question of admitting slavery into it was not allowed to rest on the uncertain language of the Massachusetts constitution of 1780. The only clause in it touching on slavery is the first article of the Declaration of Rights, declaring that "all men are born free and equal, and have certain natural essential and inalienable rights." The same clause is to be found in the constitutions of several of the other States and in the Declaration of Independence. But nowhere else was the construction placed on it that it abolished slavery, and it was not until 1783 that that conclusion was reached in Massachusetts.

chosen the very time the question was coming up before Congress for consideration to have left New York and visited Philadelphia. Dr. Poole acknowledges this, but thinks that Dr. Cutler knew the disposition of the committee and of Congress, and was confident that the Ordinance would contain the article prohibiting slavery. Setting aside the improbability of Dr. Cutler being able to obtain the sense of Congress on a bill that had not been framed, or of his attempting such a piece of lobbyism, we have incontrovertible evidence that when the Ordinance was presented to Congress the article prohibiting slavery was not in it. Dr. Poole thinks that the article was agreed upon in the committee, and was omitted by Dane, who *restored* it when on the second reading he found the House would consider it favorably. This is supported by the language of Dane's letter to King of July 16, which reads: "When I drew the Ordinance (which passed a few words excepted as I originally formed it), I had no idea the States would agree to the sixth article prohibiting slavery, as only Massachusetts, of the Eastern States, was present, and therefore omitted it in the draft; but finding the house favorably disposed on this subject, after we had completed the other parts I moved the article, which was agreed to without opposition." Before writing this, however, Dane said that the subject of the government of the Western territory had been discussed by Congress, that new ideas had been started and the whole sent to a committee. That the members met several times, "and at last agreed upon some principles." Now, if it had been decided in the committee to report the article on slavery, is it probable that Dane would have taken the responsibility of omitting so important a feature? Taking Dane's entire letter into consideration, it conveys the idea to our mind that the matter was called to the attention of the committee, and that it was either decided to omit it, or it was left an open question, and that Dane acted on his own responsibility.

With regard to the willingness of Congress to exclude slavery from the Northwest territory in 1787, after having

voted down Jefferson's resolution in 1784, the reason is clear so far as the earlier vote is concerned. Jefferson's ordinance was for the government of territory ceded, or to be ceded, to the United States by the individual States. His first draft provided for the division of territory as far south as the thirty-first degree of latitude, which would have included all of the present States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, and Mississippi. As enacted, only the territory north of the Ohio was divided into States, but the words "ceded or to be ceded" were allowed to remain. The Ordinance of 1787 was only for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio River.<sup>1</sup>

From this it is obvious that the Southern States would not vote for Jefferson's proposition because it would have prohibited slavery in the Southwest when that country should be ceded to the general government, but when and why they were willing to accept the Ohio River as the division between slave and free territory is not so clear. That they would have done so in 1784 is doubtful. The next year, when King proposed to at once prohibit slavery north of the Ohio, the delegates of every State south of Maryland in Congress voted against it with the exception of Grayson of Virginia. Maryland gave two votes in its favor and one opposing it. Every State from there north (with the exception of Delaware, which was not represented) voted unanimously in favor of the proposition. From this it will be seen that at that time party lines were in accord with geo-

<sup>1</sup> Its title was copied from the amended title of Johnson's ordinance, which at first read, "For the Temporary government of the Western Territory of the United States." Amended, it read, "For the Temporary Government of the United States Territory North West of the Ohio River," and so read the Ordinance of 1787 with the exception of the word temporary. Jefferson's proposition has been criticised by writers when considering the Ordinance of 1787, because it permitted slavery to exist in the Northwest until 1800, and it has been argued that to have allowed the institution to take root in the territory would have been a fatal mistake. The fact appears to have been overlooked that *it* was intended to have had effect over the Southern territory, where slavery did exist, and it is probable the sixteen years were allowed to permit the citizens to prepare for the change.

graphical lines. When King's resolutions had been altered so as to permit slavery in the Northwest until the close of the century, Grayson wrote, "I expect seven States may be found liberal enough to adopt it." About the same time, however, Charles Thomson, the secretary of Congress, said in a letter to Richard Peters that there was great dissatisfaction "on account of the backwardness in the Southern States to cede to the United States their claim to Western lands. And now it seems the measures necessary to be taken to render useful the cession and purchases made, are to be obstructed by men of the South, because the East and North wish to keep slavery out of the new States."

From the first agitation of the question, there were men in the South like Jefferson and Grayson, who would gladly have prohibited slavery, not only in the Northwest territory but in any territory that should ever come under the control of Congress. So also, there were Southerners like Carrington who with wonderful foresight saw, in the sale to the Ohio Company, the "means of introducing into the country, in the first instance, a description of men who will fix the character and politics throughout the whole territory and which will probably endure to the latest period of time." But these men were men of fixed principles. They did not join a majority, but a majority joined them, and it is for the causes that brought this about that we must look.

The wonderful unanimity shown by the Southern members on July 13, 1787, in favor of the Ordinance is pretty good evidence that they thought Southern interests would be served by its passage. Grayson writing to Monroe twenty-six days after its passage said, "The clause respecting slavery was agreed to by Southern members for the purpose of preventing tobacco and indigo being made on the northwest side of the Ohio as well as for several other political reasons." Grayson's opinion on this point is worthy of great consideration. A Virginian himself, and at the time acting president of Congress, no one could have known better than he did the arguments that moved the Southern members. Nevertheless we think it must have been the



political reasons not specified that had the greatest weight. What they were we can only surmise. The financial condition of the country made it important that no reasonable opportunity should be lost to dispose of public lands, and it is certain that the final consideration of the Ordinance of 1787 was precipitated by the offer of the Ohio Company to purchase a large tract. Grayson also thought that the settlements on the Ohio would shortly extend to the Mississippi, thus forming a barrier between the Indians and Kentucky, "greatly validating the lands on the" south of the Ohio.

There was another political reason that undoubtedly had weight with Grayson, and may have influenced some of his followers, as it could not but affect a question of all-absorbing interest to the South. Between 1784 and 1787 the Southern States were greatly excited over the refusal of Spain to permit of a free navigation of the Mississippi. Their territory extended to that river, and they feared that unless their back settlements were allowed free access to the Gulf of Mexico they would cut loose from the Confederation and seek an alliance with Spain. It was evident that the North and the East would sacrifice the right to navigate the Mississippi for commercial privileges that would only benefit themselves. To overcome their preponderance in Congress the South "neglected no opportunity of increasing the population and importance of the Western territory," and hoped to draw there the inhabitants of New England "whose ungrateful soil . . . favored emigration." By this means they expected in a short time to increase the Southern vote in Congress. That these were their aims in 1786 is asserted by Otto, the French *chargé* at New York, in a letter to Vergennes.<sup>1</sup> Otto came into con-

<sup>1</sup> "The Southern States," wrote Otto, "are not in earnest when they assert that without the navigation of the Mississippi the inhabitants of the interior will seek an outlet by way of the lakes and will throw themselves into the arms of England. They know too well the aversion of their compatriots to that power, and the difficulty of conveying heavy cargoes through the rivers which lead to Canada. But the true motive of this vigorous opposition is to be found in the great preponderance of the Northern States, eager to incline the balance toward their side; the

stant contact with the Southern members, and watched with jealous interest everything touching the relationship of Spain with the United States and reported it to his master. When he wrote of the South endeavoring to increase the population of the Western territory he evidently spoke of the Southwest territory, as no settlements of importance had been made north of the Ohio. If the South was actuated by these motives in 1786 in order to secure the freedom of the Mississippi, and quiet the dissatisfaction in its Western territory, is it not highly probable that it would have followed the same course towards the Northwest in 1787, under the supposition that when that country, watered by the tributaries of the Mississippi, was settled, the inhabitants, no matter where from, would affiliate with them in demanding the right to float with the current of the Mississippi to the sea?

That these reasons influenced Grayson are evident from his speeches made in the Virginia Convention to consider the Federal Constitution, just one year after the passage of the Ordinance of 1787. In them he so clearly echoes the

Southern neglect no opportunity of increasing the population and importance of the Western territory and of drawing thither by degrees the inhabitants of New England, whose ungrateful soil only too much favors emigration. Rhode Island has already suffered considerably from the new establishments of Ohio, and a great number of families daily leave their homes to seek lands more fertile and a less rigorous climate. This emigration doubly enfeebles New England, since on the one hand it deprives her of industrious citizens, and on the other it adds to the population of Southern States. These new territories will gradually form themselves into separate governments; they will have their representatives in Congress, and will augment greatly the mass of the Southern States.

“All these considerations make evident to the South the necessity of promoting by all sorts of means their establishment in the West, and from this point of view a treaty with Spain appears to them most desirable. But if this treaty contains only stipulations in favor of Northern fisheries, far from strengthening themselves against the too great preponderance of the Northern States, they would furnish them with new arms, by increasing their prosperity and the extension of their commerce.”—Otto to Vergennes, September 10, 1786, Bancroft's “History of the Constitution,” Vol. II., p. 392.

sentiments expressed in Otto's letter that the conclusion is irresistible that he was Otto's authority. His remarks in the convention were called forth by the fear that under the provision in the Federal Constitution for making treaties the Mississippi would not be as safe as under the Articles of Confederation. "If the Mississippi was yielded to Spain," he said, "the migration to the western country would be stopped and the Northern States would not only retain their inhabitants, but preserve their superiority and influence over those of the South. If matters go on in their present direction there will be a number of new States to the westward—population may become greater in the Southern States—the ten miles square may approach us! This they [the Northern States] must naturally wish to prevent."<sup>1</sup>

"Their language [the Eastern States] has been let us prevent any new States from rising in the western world, or they will outvote us. . . . If we do not prevent it, our countrymen will remove to those places instead of going to sea, and we shall receive no particular tribute or advantage from them."<sup>2</sup>

"If things continue as they now are," he argued, "emigration will continue to that country. The hope that this great national right will be retained, will induce them to go thither. But take away that hope by giving up the Mississippi for twenty-five years and the emigration will cease."<sup>3</sup>

"When the act of Congress passed respecting the settlement of the western country, and establishing a State there, it passed in a lucky moment.<sup>4</sup> I was told that that State [Massachusetts] was extremely uneasy about it; and that in order to retain her inhabitants lands in the province of Maine were lowered to the price of one dollar per acre."<sup>5</sup>

"If the Mississippi be shut up emigration will be stopped entirely. There will be no new States formed on the western

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, III., 292.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 343.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 349.

<sup>4</sup> But one Eastern State was represented. Dane could not understand why, when such was the case, the anti-slavery clause passed.

<sup>5</sup> Elliot, III., 350.

waters. This will be a government of seven States. This contest of the Mississippi involves this great national contest; that is whether one part of the continent shall govern the other. The Northern States have the majority and will endeavor to retain it. This is, therefore, a contest for dominion—for empire.”<sup>1</sup>

Arguing on the other side that the Mississippi would be safe under the Federal Constitution, George Nicholas said, and in these views Madison coincided: “The people of New England have lately purchased great quantities of land in the western country. Great numbers of them have moved thither. Every one has left his friends, relations, and acquaintances behind him. This will prevent those States from adopting a measure that would so greatly tend to the injury of their friends.”<sup>2</sup>

Madison’s language was: “Emigrations from some of the Northern States have been lately increased. We may conclude, as has been said by the gentleman on the same side (Mr. Nicholas), that those who emigrate to that country will leave behind them all their friends and connections as advocates for this right. . . . The Western country will be settled from the North as well as the South, and its prosperity will add to the strength and security of the Union.”<sup>3</sup>

Dr. Cutler says in his journal, under date of July 27, 1787: “The uneasiness of the Kentucky people with respect to the Mississippi was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union if a war with Spain took place, was universally acknowledged to be highly probable. And most certainly a systematic settlement of that country, conducted by men strongly attached to the Federal government, and composed of young, robust, and hearty laborers, who had no idea of any other than the Federal government, I conceived to be objects worthy of some attention.” This and the effect that settlements north of the Ohio would have on the Indian question were the arguments he used in urging Congress to accede to his terms for the purchase of land.

Now, when we find that in 1786 the South was endeavoring

<sup>1</sup> Elliot, III., 365.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 240, 312.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 312.

to draw New England men to the Southwest with a view of increasing Southern influence in the confederation and rendering their back settlements more secure; when we find that in 1787 Dr. Cutler was arguing that the settlement of the Northwest would strengthen the bonds that bound the Kentucky settlements to the Union; when we find that in 1788 Grayson, of Virginia, was strenuously arguing that if the Mississippi was closed emigration to the Northwest would cease, and the South would sink into a hopeless minority in Congress; when we remember that Grayson was the moving spirit on the floor of Congress when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed, is it not obvious that the South voted for the Ordinance containing the anti-slavery clause to bring about a settlement of the Mississippi question in accordance with their interests? That this was a concession to Northern and Eastern sentiments is shown by a comparison of the vote on King's motion with that on the Ordinance, but there is no evidence to show that it was the result of a demand. Indeed, as far as the evidence goes, it indicates that the South voluntarily abandoned its position. Dane's letter to King shows that the Ordinance committee did not entertain positive opinions regarding the anti-slavery clause, or it would have been in its report. It was not until the report had reached a second reading that Dane discovered that the House was "favorably disposed on the subject." The House at that time was composed of the representatives of five Southern and three Northern States, and it does not seem likely that Dane would have drawn such an inference from the opinions of a powerless minority.

The general impression we believe is that the ordinance fostered religion and education in the same effective manner in which it protected the soil from slavery. An examination of the document will show that it contains nothing that would have either encouraged or developed the one or the other without additional legislation. All that is found in it is that "Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools

and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." It also declared that the laws and constitutions of the States rested on the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, and to fix these principles as the bases of the laws and constitutions of the proposed States was one of the objects of the Ordinance. The legislative provision for the encouragement of education is found in the Land Ordinance of 1785, and when we remember that in framing it, Congress refused to reserve land for the encouragement of religion, is it not evident that it intentionally omitted to provide for its encouragement in the Ordinance for the government of the entire Northwest territory, and contented itself with the expression of the abstract idea that religion was essential for the good government and happiness of mankind, thus leaving what Dr. Schaff calls "a free church in a free state, or a self-supporting and self-governing Christianity in independent but friendly relations to the civil government?"

The Land Ordinance of 1785 and the record of its formation show that the encouragement of education and religion in the territory by government aid were subjects that had been discussed two years before the Ordinance of 1787 was framed.

The expression of these abstract ideas, however, was made good use of by Dr. Cutler, who succeeded in inducing Congress to extend to the Ohio Company the same provision for the support of schools to which the purchasers under the Ordinance of 1785 were entitled. He also obtained a grant of two townships for the establishment of a university and one lot in each township purchased by the company for the encouragement of religion. These provisions are found in the agreement with the Ohio Company. They formed no part of the organic law and were only extended to one or two other purchasers.

How generally the principles expressed in the Ordinance regarding education, religion, and slavery were entertained by men prominent in Congress is shown by the fragments of their correspondence that has been preserved. "It is cer-

tainly true," wrote Richard Henry Lee in 1784 (a member of the Ordinance Committee of 1787), "that a popular government cannot flourish without virtue in the people, and it is true that knowledge is a principal source of virtue; these facts render the establishment of schools for the instruction of youth a fundamental concern in all free communities."

In 1785, Charles Thomson, the secretary of Congress, said, "If it is or ought to be the object of government not merely to provide for the necessities of the people, but to promote and secure their happiness, and if the felicity or happiness of a people can only be promoted and secured by the exercise of humanity, virtue, justice, and piety, it would be unpardonable in Congress in creating new States, not to guard against the introduction of slavery, which has a direct tendency to the corruption of manners, and every principle of morality or piety."

That Dr. Cutler, in dealing with Congress, made use of the argument that the men he expected to settle in the territory were a class whose education and moral training was such as to entitle them to consideration is hypothetical. His friend Richard Henry Lee, who advocated his proposed purchase in Congress, and who was a member of the Ordinance Committee, wrote to Washington two days after it had passed, "It seemed necessary for the security of property among uninformed and perhaps licentious people, as the greater part who go there are, that a strong-toned government should exist." Lee's information regarding the character of the members of the Ohio Company was without doubt less accurate than Carrington's, but his letter shows that the argument attributed to Dr. Cutler did not convince all of the members of the committee, and justifies the doubt if he ever made it.

With all of this evidence before us it is no easy matter to award to each one who participated in the formation of the Ordinance their share of credit, nor is it likely that the result of any effort made in that direction will be considered as final.

Pickering's proposition in 1783 to erect a new State in the Western territory in which slavery should be unknown, Jefferson's effort to prohibit slavery in any portion of the territory after the year 1800, King's resolution in 1785 to immediately forbid its existence in any of the proposed States show that they voiced a general anti-slavery sentiment that doubtless had gained strength by the discussion of the spirit of liberty that the struggle for independence had called forth. The idea, however, of applying this sentiment to limit slavery to the original States appears to have originated with Pickering and Jefferson, and in view of the results their services should not be forgotten.

To Nathan Dane we would accord a much higher place than that of a scribe. He appears to us to have been rather the intelligent compiler. He was familiar with the action of Congress on territorial affairs. It was on his motion that the committee appointed in 1786, of which Monroe was chairman, for reporting a government for the Western States, and in September he was made a member of that committee. He was also a member of Johnson's committee, and while on it, with the assistance of Pinckney, drafted the report presented on May 9, 1787. In his letter to King, written three days after the passage of the Ordinance, he says he drew it, and that it passed, a few words excepted, as he originally formed it. This would be conclusive regarding authorship were it not for his subsequent statements and the proof we have that much of it was the work of others, which leads to the supposition that he did not intend to claim originality, but construction.

In the seventh volume of his "Abridgment of American Laws," he wrote: "This Ordinance, formed by the author of this work, was framed mainly from the laws of Massachusetts, especially in regard to land titles," etc.

In a note to the ninth volume, 1829, he says, "On the whole, if there be any praise or any blame in the Ordinance, especially in the titles of property and in the permanent parts," those that would not be changed by the admission of a State into the confederation, "it belongs to Massachusetts,



as one of her members formed it." He says he took from Jefferson's resolves in substance the six provisions in the fourth article of compact, and the words of the slave article from Mr. King's motion of 1785. "As to matter, his invention," he says, "furnished the provision respecting impairing of contracts and the Indian security, and some other smaller matters; the residue, no doubt, he selected from existing laws."

In 1830, in a letter to Daniel Webster, he said, "I have never claimed *originality*, except in regard to the clause against impairing contracts, and perhaps the Indian article, part of the third article, including also, religion, morality, knowledge, schools, etc."

In 1831, in writing to John H. Farnham, he endeavored to establish his claim to having first thought, in 1787, of renewing the effort to exclude slavery from the Western territory. He spoke disparagingly of the attempts of Jefferson and King, and said, "When the Ordinance of 1787 was reported to Congress, and under consideration, from what I heard I concluded that a slave article might be adopted, and I moved the article as it is in the Ordinance." Indeed, Dane does not appear to have remembered how much he was indebted to the circumstances and men that surrounded him for what he put in the Ordinance. His claim to some of the very parts that he said were original are easily invalidated.

The Indian article had really nothing new in it. The land ordinance provided for the sale of lands only after they had been purchased from the Indians, and, more than a century before, William Penn had proposed to enact laws for the protection of the Indians. Pelatiah Webster, in 1781, writing regarding the Western lands, pointed out the importance of cultivating a "good and friendly correspondence with the Indian natives, by a careful practice of justice and benevolence towards them."

It has been customary to attribute to Dane the clause against impairing contracts, and it has been suggested that its necessity was made evident to him by Shay's Rebellion in

Massachusetts; but Mr. Bancroft calls attention to the fact that views similar to his were held by his colleague, Richard Henry Lee, and it is probable that the honor should be divided. It is a very serious obstacle to the acceptance of Dane's statements that he should have said that he originated the clauses relating to religion, morality, knowledge, schools, etc., while we know that these suggestions had already been considered by Congress. Nevertheless, as we have said, we believe him to be entitled to a higher place than that of a scribe. He does not seem to have originated, but to have written with a well-stored mind, and to have drawn from his surroundings what was best suited to the purpose. To us it appears that he had more to do with the framing of the Ordinance than any other man.

In speaking of the passage of the amendment prohibiting slavery, Mr. Bancroft says, "Everything points to Grayson as the immediate cause of the tranquil spirit of disinterested statesmanship which took possession of every Southern man in the Assembly." That he possessed great influence in Congress, and exerted it to the utmost in favor of the Ohio purchase, is attested by Cutler's diary. Knowing his sentiments, we believe that he favored the Ordinance also, as by doing so he would have advanced two cherished objects, the limitation of slavery and the freedom of the Mississippi River. In 1819, Taylor, of New York, in a debate on the admission of Missouri, quoted Hugh Nelson, of Virginia, as having said that in the convention of 1787 Grayson drew the Ordinance excluding slavery from the Northwest territory. While it is probable that the use of the word convention in place of Congress was a *lapsus lingue* on the part of either Nelson or Taylor, the statement was evidently a loose one that cannot be considered when it is confronted with the facts that Grayson was not on the Ordinance committee, and that Dane, three days after it passed, said that he drew it. That Grayson was in any sense of the word the author of the clause prohibiting slavery seems impossible. The language is that of King's motion of 1785. Dane says he copied it from there, and the original is in Dane's hand-

writing. The tradition, however, is of interest, as it connects Grayson's name with the clause, and may have grown out of the zeal he took in securing the passage of the Ordinance.

Manasseh Cutler undoubtedly suggested, at an opportune moment, that certain features be added to the Ordinance that he failed to find in it when it was submitted to him for criticism. What they were there is no contemporaneous evidence to show, but the entry in his diary that after the Ordinance had passed he found all of his amendments, but one, had been adopted is proof that they are there. Heresay and after-evidence affirm positively that these were the parts relating to religion, education, and slavery, and Dr. Cutler's successful efforts to obtain from Congress land grants for the support of the first two uphold the assertion. That he suggested the anti-slavery clause rests on tradition alone. There was certainly nothing original regarding the suggestions, in connection with Territorial government, and the credit of having recalled them at a critical time is all that can be awarded to him. With the suggestions that his diary says he made, we believe the services of Dr. Cutler in the formation of the Ordinance began and ended. There is nothing to show that when he came to New York he expected to have the Ordinance submitted to him, or that he had prepared anything to insert in it; nothing to show that having made the suggestions he ever attempted to force their adoption on Congress. The entry in his diary appears to cover all of his transactions in the matter with Congress,—namely, that a copy of the Ordinance was submitted to him with permission to make remarks and propose amendments; that he did so, returned it, and left New York for Philadelphia.

The fact is, the Ordinance was a political growth. Step by step its development can be traced in the proceedings of Congress. Monroe's plan, imperfect as it was in form when reported, provided for a more advanced state of civilization than Jefferson's, and in some respects was an improvement on it. Johnson's ordinance was an elaboration of Monroe's plan. The Ordinance of 1787 contained the most important

features of each, together with suggestions that had been made from time to time, and what could be found in the constitutions and laws of the States. There is no necessity of going outside of Congressional circles to account for its production or passage. It was formed in an era of constitution-making. The separation of the colonies from the mother-country had made the people familiar with the principles of civil liberty. Between 1776 and 1787 every one of the States, with the exception of Connecticut and Rhode Island, had formed new constitutions for their government. There was hardly a man in public life who had not assisted in some way in their adoption, and who was not familiar with their principles. Hundreds of essays on government were made public by the newspapers or in pamphlet form. The political atmosphere was impregnated with the subject, and it is doubtful if there ever was a time when the people of a country were more familiar with the principles of a government than were the inhabitants of the United States in 1787. To announce what at any other time might be looked upon as an original thought appeared only to echo an axiom. The discussion brought forth legitimate results, and while Congress was creating the Ordinance of 1787, the representatives of the States, assembled in another city, were engaged in the formation of the Federal Constitution.

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DU SIMITIERE, ARTIST, ANTIQUARY, AND NATURALIST, PROJECTOR OF THE FIRST AMERICAN MUSEUM, WITH SOME EXTRACTS FROM HIS NOTE-BOOK.

BY WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

“Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere,<sup>1</sup> whose last resting-place in St. Peter’s church-yard [Philadelphia], is unmarked and forgotten, may fairly claim our attention for a moment.

“Born in Geneva, in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, and endowed with considerable artistic talent, he became a painter, and by the practice of his profession gained a livelihood in the many foreign countries to which his wandering spirit led him. He appears to have arrived in the West Indies about 1750, and for the next ten years travelled about from one island to another, making water-color drawings, collecting coins, shells, and botanical specimens, and gathering material for the history of the European settlement of the islands. During this period, the greater part of which was spent on the islands belonging to Great Britain, he thoroughly mastered the English language, which, on his arrival in New York in 1764 or 1765, he was able to speak and write with great fluency. After leaving New York, he spent some time in Burlington, and then, in the early part of 1766, came to Philadelphia.

“In 1768 he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, and in [1776] 1777 [the latter part of 1779, from March, and 1781], one of the curators of the society. In [1777] he was drafted into the Pennsylvania militia, and a heavy fine was imposed upon him for not supplying a substitute. His petition to the Supreme Executive Council for

<sup>1</sup> By Mr. Charles R. Hildeburn. Bronson and Hildeburn, “The Inscriptions in St. Peter’s Church-yard, Philadelphia,” 1879.

the remission of his fine contains this passage in regard to himself and the object of his residence in America :

‘Your memorialist begs leave upon this occasion to represent to this Honorable Council that he is a foreigner and a native of the Republic of Geneva, that he has for many years travelled through various parts of this Continent and the West Indies, not without great expense and fatigue to himself, in pursuit of the natural and civil History of America, unsupported by any public or private encouragement. That your memorialist is in no public way of business whatever, nor settled in any part of the Continent—that he lives in lodgings wherever he is, and at considerable expense, for the defraying of which he now and then makes use of a little talent he has for painting among his acquaintance, and altho’ he has resided for some time past in this City, it has been entirely owing to the critical situation of public affairs, which did not admit of his removal elsewhere without great expense and the hazard of losing what he had collected at considerable cost and with much pains—that his long continuance here has also been extremely detrimental to his general pursuit of natural knowledge, the only object of his travel.’<sup>1</sup>

[He appears judiciously silent as to his having become a naturalized citizen of New York on May 20, 1769.<sup>2</sup>]

“He designed the vignette for the title-page of Aitkin’s *Pennsylvania Magazine* in 1775, and the frontispiece for the *United States Magazine* in 1779, and drew for the third number of the former a picture of a New Electrical machine. In 1776 the committee appointed by Congress to prepare designs for a medal to commemorate the Declaration and a national seal engaged his assistance. John Adams, one of the committee, in a letter to his wife, August 14, 1776, writes as follows :

‘There is a gentleman here of French extraction whose name is Du Simitiere, a painter by profession, whose de-

<sup>1</sup> Pennsylvania Archives, 2d Series, III., 121.

<sup>2</sup> Journals of the Legislative Council of New York, published at Albany, 1861, p. 1708.

signs are very ingenious, and his drawings well executed. For the medal he proposes, Liberty, with her spear and pileus, leaning on General Washington. The British fleet in Boston harbor with all their sterns towards the town; the American troops marching in. For the seal, he proposes, the arms of the several nations from whence America has been peopled, as English, Irish, Dutch, German, &c. each in a shield. On one side of them, Liberty with her pileus, on the other, a rifler in his uniform, with his rifle gun in one hand, and his tomahawk in the other.’<sup>1</sup>

“The committee’s report was not acted upon by Congress, nor was that of a committee appointed for the same purpose in 1779, which, it is said, also employed Du Simitiere.

“In the same letter Adams says: ‘This M. Du Simitiere is a very curious man. He has begun a collection of materials for a history of this revolution. He begins with the first advises of the tea ships. He cuts out of the newspapers every scrap of intelligence, and every piece of speculation, and pastes it upon clean paper, arranging them under the head of that State to which they belong, and intends to bind them in volumes. He has a list of every speculation and pamphlet concerning independence, and another concerning forms of government.’

“During the Revolution he drew portraits of many prominent men of the period. A series of thirteen portraits, comprising Washington, Steuben, Silas Deane, Joseph Reed, Gouverneur Morris, General Gates, John Jay, William H. Drayton, Henry Laurens, Charles Thomson, Samuel Huntington, John Dickinson, and Benedict Arnold, all engraved by B. Reading, were published May, 1783, in a quarto volume, now very rare, by W. Richardson, of London.

“The College of New Jersey conferred upon him, in 1781, an honorary degree of Master of Arts.

“He died in October, 1784, and was buried on the 10th of that month at St. Peter’s. In March following his administrators announced the sale of ‘The American Museum, collected by the late Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, Esq.’

<sup>1</sup> Letters of John Adams, addressed to his wife, Vol. I. p. 151.

The Philadelphia Library Company became the purchasers of his manuscript and broadsides, and the twelve volumes thus obtained are among its greatest treasures.”

The following sprightly introduction to an interesting letter was probably written by Colonel Bailey Myers, of New York, whose generosity was such—the writer of this article knows from personal experience—that he could not overlook what appeared to be meanness in others :

“ A RAPACIOUS COLLECTOR OF THE OLDEN TIME.<sup>1</sup>

“ If it were doubted that collectors are monomaniacs, the reading of the following letter would go far to remove the uncertainty. The portraits by Du Simitiere (of whose name the Marquis de Chastellux said it was more appropriate for a graveyard than an artist), consisting of those of Washington, Gates, Steuben, G. Morris, H. Laurens, Deane, Charles Thomson, Drayton, Dickinson, Huntington, Jay, and Joseph Reed, are still in great request, and the memory of the artist green among collectors ; but this letter has withstood the vicissitudes of time to afford a closer view of his character, and to enable us to appreciate the sufferings of his sitters, and of all who gave ear to his innumerable wants. That Colonel Lamb, ‘ who was my chiefest dependence,’ ‘ forgot our old acquaintance,’ and did not answer his letter, is a monument to the wisdom of that gallant officer, and, if we are not mistaken, the active, hard-worked patriot to whom this was addressed found himself too much occupied in the midst of his duties, civil and military, in the heat of a mighty struggle, to devote himself to picking up old books and pictures for this garrulous virtuoso. It is fortunate that postage stamps ‘ were not,’ or they would have been included,—all else he wanted. That any man capable of engraving a good picture should be so wanting in good taste as to address such a letter to so important a character seems inconceivable. We will wager that his collection was one of those of which the owner boasts that it never

<sup>1</sup> American Antiquarian, New York, by Charles de F. Burns, Vol. II., September, 1871, pp. 103, 104.



cost him a dollar, however many it may have cost his victims. But the letter speaks for itself."

"MONSR. DU SIMITIERE TO GOVERNOR GEORGE CLINTON.—  
MYERS COLLECTION."

'SIR:—The very obliging letter with which your Excellency honored me, in date of the 27th ult. I have to acknowledge the reception of, and to return you my grateful thanks for the favour you bestow on me by the continuation of your valuable correspondence. I am really happy to think the papers I did myself the honour to send you have been acceptable, and I beg to assure your Excellency that I shall take an uncommon pleasure to communicate everything of the kind that shall come within my reach, indeed it is well the least I can do in return for what your Excellency is pleased to inform me of your endeavors to procure some of the valuable curiosities of the late Sir William Johnson of whom I have formerly heard much, and that they will be very acceptable you can have no doubt of, as my extensive collection is very defective in that particular branch of Indian curiosities which has never been in my power to procure, and as no person is so well qualified as your Excellency for that purpose I make no doubt but your reserches will be attended with success. When I reflect on the great loss which your Excellency must have sustained in the conflagration at Kingston I have not in my power to lament what I may have lost in what you have been so kind as to collect for me, as my grief on that account is but trifling when compared to what I sincerely feel for your own loss, the fatal consequences of a war carried on by an ungenerous and cruel enemy. That your Excellency may never experience such disaster any more is my most sincere wish.

'I shall take the liberty to mention some articles for your Excellency's information which are within the compass of my cabinet under the denomination of curiosities and may perhaps by means of this hint fall under your future notice.

'It is a fact attested by the earliest historians that the

first settlers in the several parts of this continent made use and wore defensive armor in their wars with the natives and others, and yet as far as my inquiries have reached nothing of the kind has been discovered lately, but it seems to me that these weapons such as helmets and breast plates being made of lasting materials must have resisted in a great measure the injuries of time and that some such piece of antiquity might still be found among some of those families who came early and have formed lasting settlements which their posterity enjoys to this day, it is only by personal acquaintance with the local of the ancient settlements dispersed in various parts of the country that one could be able to meet with those remnants precious to antiquarians, and perhaps in the beginning of this war when every kind of old weapons were mustered up some such piece might have come to light.

‘Altho there were in the last century many capital engravers of prints all over Europe but especially in Flanders and Holland, yet the fashion of decorating appartments with prints, framed and glazed did not then exist, nor indeed has it become universal till very lately, the taste was then, particularly in the Netherlands to cover the walls with pictures chiefly painted in oyl, on boards in black ebony frames highly polished, of these kinds the Dutch settlers brought a great many with their other furniture, and the saving economical turn, the peculiar genius of that nation, has rescued that kind of ornamental furniture from the decay which will in a long course of years attend moveables. I have some of those pictures myself which your Excellency may perhaps recollect. I pickt them up in New York, in garrets, where they had been confined as unfashionable when that city became modernized, and no store was any more set by them. I shall leave entirely to your Excellency’s judgment when you should be able to procure any such, only adding that the good paintings were always in Ebony or Pear Tree frames highly polished, and sometimes the inner border near the picture covered with waved lines.

‘I have very considerably increased my collection of

American Books and Papers, since your Excellency was here last, for notwithstanding that I have not traveled out of this city for this four years and a half, yet I have procured several valuable materials from abroad by means of some acquaintances in different parts of the country, but from your state I have received nothing at all, tho I had at once great expectations, in particular from Col. John Lamb who was my chiefest dependence, but it seems he has forgot our old acquaintance as I have never received any answer to the letter I wrote him last November, which induce me to mention how acceptable it would be to me such books and papers both old and new, in Dutch or English, relating to the history, geography, Politics, Indian affairs, &c., of your State. I beg leave to add as a memorandum the titles of the books I have met with wrote by Dutch authors as very probably some of them might fall in your Excellency's possession; and I have none of them in my library.

‘Beschrijvinge van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, Nieuw Engelandt, en d’Eylanden Bermudes, Barbados en S. Christoffel &c.

Amsterdam by Joost Hartgers, 1651. 4to.

‘Beschrevinge van Nieuw Nederlandt. Ghelijck het tegenwoordigh in Stat is, &c—beschreeven door Adrian Vander Donck.

Amsterdam by Evert Nieuwenoff, 1656. 4to.

‘Korte Historiæ ende Journaels aenteyckeninge van verscheyden Voyagiens in de vier deeten des weerdts ronde &c. door David Pieterz De Vriez.

Alckmaer 1655. 4to.

‘N.B. the voyages of this writer in the New Netherlands are extremely curious, and give more insight into the history of that country than any other writer I have met with.

‘Korte Verhael van Nieuw Nederlandts. Ghedruckt in t’Jaar 1662. this I have never seen.

‘There are many other books and pamphlets published relating to the history of New York. I have a catalogue of all these that have come to my knowledge and if your Excellency should think it of use I would do myself the honor

to send you a copy. Of the modern political publications of your State I have little or nothing since the year 1772. I believe it might be in your Excellency's power to procure me the laws and votes of your Assembly since the revolution : they would be a valuable acquisition (when convenient should be glad also of your newspapers which I seldom sees) I am favoured here with the publications of Congress, by the Secretary, with the votes and laws of our Assembly by their clerk, the Secretary of the Council gives me what is published by that Board and I have also from some of our printers, copies of what they print also. Unwilling to engross the time of your Excellency to my tediousness I shall only add that another branch of my collection on which I lay great stress is the indian antiquities, it is a new subject and not touched upon by authors. I have many but I find every new specimen I get is different from the former ones, so that where there is such variety one cannot increase the number too much, those curiosities consists of stone hatchets, pestles, tomahaws, hammers, arrow heads and points of darts, cups, bowls of pipes, idols figures cut on clam shells and many other things found in the old burying places, for which there is no name. I should not forget their earthenware of which I have as yet but small fragments brought me from the western part of this state and from Virginia.

‘The highlands and mountains of your State must be productive of curious fossils such as ores, minerals, agaths, chrystals, marbles, petrifications, &c. I will only beg to add that the fossils enter into my collection and form a considerable part thereof.

‘Coins and medals ancient and modern I have a collection of, but now a days these are become scarce, notwithstanding I meet with some now and then.

‘I have gone through the principal articles I am in quest of and I now beg your Excellency's forgiveness for having taken so much liberty but I flatter myself to possess some share of your regard. I hope you will favorably receive my apology.

‘I beg your Excellency’s acceptance of the enclosed picture<sup>1</sup> as from the knowledge you have had of the original I make no doubt but it will be acceptable.

‘I have the honor to subscribe myself with great respect  
‘Your Excellency’s Most Obedient and  
‘Most Humble Servant  
‘DU SIMITIERE.

‘Philadelphia, April 26, 1779.

‘His Excellency GOVERNOR CLINTON.’”

The note-book of Du Simitiere gives a synopsis of this letter and others which he wrote to Governor George Clinton without receiving an answer. Under October 8 we find him complaining of not hearing from him, having written four letters. I have given these synopses in another part of this article. The remarks which precede the letter above printed seem to be just as regards its garrulity. While agreeing with the commentator in this particular, we disagree as to the estimate of the character of his collection. Du Simitiere was a man far ahead of his time; it is well for posterity that he could take a few rebuffs in a good cause. His enthusiasm was ably seconded by scientific men, as well as antiquaries, half a century later. Especially is this the case with the “indian antiquities,” of which he justly says, “it is a new subject and not touched upon by authors;” but what is the public taste to-day? We call special attention to the character of his “Indian relics” in the few extracts we shall give from his note-book to show how he anticipated the value of such things by about three-quarters of a century. Though his extracts from books are sources now known to the scholar, there is very little else that

<sup>1</sup> The note-book shows this was a portrait of Philip Livingston. In his letter to General John Lamb, Philadelphia, November 24, 1778, Du Simitiere says, “While I lived with the worthy Mr Ph. Livingston he always gave me the papers [newspapers, handbills, and all kinds of political publications] he received from thence [New York]. He died much regretted at Yorktown, last spring, in the faithful discharge of his trust to his injured country; and I have much lamented his loss; he was a good patron of mine” (“Life of John Lamb”).

is valueless in the collections. At the time they were made they were the result of original research. We have no hesitancy in claiming for him the title of the first and ablest *general* collector of judicious materials for North American history, collected and arranged in a systematic and methodical manner. Unfortunately his epistolary style, of which we have seen two other examples, does not indicate the superiority of his foresight and judgment as a collector. A critical examination of his manuscripts would have led his critics to another conclusion, and their hasty opinion would have given way to admiration and respect. The manuscripts show him to have been also a bibliographer of wide reading and research. The period of his residence in America, in which he resided for a short time in Boston in 1767<sup>1</sup> and 1768, about eight months, as well as in New York and Philadelphia in other years, comprises that portion of the last century of the deepest interest to the American of to-day. From the repeal of the Stamp Act to the Peace, 1765 to 1783,—he died one year after,—is the portion of the history of this country from its approaching birth to its recognition as a new infant Hercules among the nations. Du Simitiere was fully aware of what was passing before his eyes. There were many then who were doubtless unable to appreciate his knowledge of the wants and desires of posterity. He had to struggle with poverty and lack of interest when he gathered the materials which have been most serviceable to those of the present day. We sympathize with the scholar when, forced by poverty, we find him obliged to offer for sale a few of his books, which seemed to have found no buyers. The world has been tardy in recognizing the usefulness to mankind of botanists, entomologists, and antiquaries. Even in our day we have heard these studies sneered at by those who could not be ranked among the illiterate. In this youthful country perhaps the antiquary has been the last to be recognized as serviceable to his fellow-men; but we agree with Smithson, who says, "Every man is a valuable member of society who, by his observations, researches, and

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript Collections, Ridgway Library.

experiments procures knowledge for men." Du Simitiere's almost unique collection of newspapers and rare pamphlets are in the Philadelphia Library. The author of the "Life of General Lamb" erroneously states his collection belongs now to the Historical Society. We believe the statement made in that biography that "it is even said his cabinet formed the basis of Peale's Museum" to be correct. This, in our opinion, probably included the pictures, Indian and other relics, and natural history specimens. Peale's Museum was on exhibition at least as early as 1785, the year after Du Simitiere's death; probably a year or two earlier. His acquaintance numbered many among the best men of the day, not only in Congress and the Revolutionary army, but also the officers of the French army, and among the British. During the occupation of Philadelphia he had some earnest friends who caused his release when imprisoned, after a confinement of three weeks, which he mentions in his letter to General Lamb. We regret that space does not allow us to print this letter, much the best of those we have seen, and greatly superior to the rambling letter to Governor Clinton, given above. It is noteworthy that he expresses in it "his unaccountable aversion to letter writing." His associates in the American Philosophical Society during the years of his membership were those who figure among the scientific names of the day. His duties as a curator of this society he appears to have carried beyond the precincts of the hall. An interesting anecdote is narrated by Mrs. Deborah Logan, who had it from Charles Thomson.<sup>1</sup> Du Simitiere, being well acquainted with Major André, who was quartered in Benjamin Franklin's house, where there was much furniture and a fine library, as the British army were about to leave waited on him, desirous to solicit his protecting care in preventing any irregularities. He was very much shocked to find the major in the library, packing up some books and placing them among his own baggage, particularly a very scarce and valuable work in French of many volumes, a present, "if I rightly remember," says the

<sup>1</sup> PENNA. MAG., Vol. VIII., p. 430.

narrator, "from Louis XIV., King of France, to the Philosophical Society," in Franklin's care as president of the society. As a hint, in order that André might make the inference, he spoke of the honorable conduct of General Knyphausen, quartered in General Cadwalader's house, who, having himself caused an inventory to be made, had rendered an exact account of everything, leaving it as he found it, even to a bottle of wine; also paid Cadwalader's agent rent during his occupation. Among other things carried off by André, which is not stated in this anecdote, was a valuable portrait of Franklin.

The following extracts from the advertisement of his American Museum, coupled with the very wide-spread interest manifested in his collection, as shown by the numerous gifts of valuable books, engravings, water-color sketches, coins, fossils, Indian relics, and general antiquities, show that the museum antedating Peale's was a useful aid in forming public taste for the advent of the Historical Society, the Academies of Fine Arts and Natural Sciences. The American Museum, in Arch Street, above Fourth, was open to the public, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. The hours of admittance for each company, "Ten, Eleven and Twelve o'clock in the forenoon, and at Three and Four o'clock in the afternoon allowing an hour for each company," which he hopes will not exceed six in one set. Hours arranged beforehand. "Want of room prevents giving a syllabus of his collection for the present." He desires contributions of curiosities, "more particularly as he intends his cabinet to be hereafter the foundation of the first American Museum." Tickets to be had every morning, Sundays excepted, at his house in Arch Street, above Fourth, at half a dollar each.<sup>1</sup>

If he did not keep a circulating library, his note-book shows he endeavored to create a taste for literature by lending his books, the borrowers being many members of Congress, the officers of the army, and other distinguished visitors. Rarely does he appear as a borrower himself, but as an inveterate lender. Occasionally we find Dr. Benjamin

<sup>1</sup> See Penna. Journal and Weekly Advertiser, June 12, 1782.



Duffield lent him a few chairs, probably for a larger party than six, and they were promptly returned. The circulation of Du Simitiere's books was almost a daily event. Though many of them were most valuable, they were not always returned. We do not often find anything commonplace lent to his numerous friends. "Feb. 9 1782," this amusing abuse of confidence is recorded, "lent to Mrs. Rakestraw an old brown coat—returned the lining!" One of the incidental references to the collection in works of the day is that of the Marquis de Chastellux mentioned above in the letter from the American Antiquarian. He was here in 1780-'81 and '82. It will be seen that he did not say Du Simitiere's name "was more appropriate for a graveyard than for an artist." The pun has been somewhat assisted by the American writer.

"The morning was not far spent, and I had enough to employ it; I was expected in three places; by a lover of natural history, by an anatomist, and at the college, or rather university of Philadelphia. I began by the cabinet of natural history. This small and scanty collection is greatly celebrated in America, where it is unrivalled; it was formed by a painter of Geneva, called *Cimetiere*, a name better suited to a physician, than a painter. This worthy man came to Philadelphia twenty years ago to take portraits, and has continued there ever since; he lives there still as a bachelor, and a foreigner, a very uncommon instance in America, where men do not long remain without acquiring the titles of husband and citizen. What I saw most curious in this cabinet, was a large quantity of the *vice*, or screw, a sort of shell pretty common, within which a very hard stone, like *jade*, is exactly moulded. It appears clear to me, that these petrefactions are formed by the successive accumulation of lapidific molecules conveyed by the waters, and assimilated by the assistance of fixed air."

Grieve, the accomplished translator of de Chastellux's Travels, who had himself travelled in America during the same period, says, "It is certain that any person educated in Europe, and accustomed to the luxury of music and the

fine arts, and to their enjoyment in the two capitals of France and England, must find a great void in these particulars in America." . . . "After a long absence," . . . "he heard scarcely any other music than church hymns, the cannon and the drum; or viewed any paintings but the little sketches of *Cimetiere*, or the portraits of *Peele*, at Philadelphia."

It would seem, therefore, that Du Simitiere had exhibited these portraits of Revolutionary generals and statesmen before he sent them to be engraved in England and France. General Charles Lee, in a jealous rage at General Washington, published a set of "Queries" in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, July 6, 1779, reflecting on his character. In those and two other copies, the following lines are almost alike, except in a few unimportant words. He says:<sup>1</sup> "4th Whether, when Mons<sup>r</sup>. Gerard and Don Juan de Morrelles sent those magnificent pictures of his Excellency General Washington *at full length* by M<sup>r</sup>. Peal, there would have been any impropriety in sending over at the same time to their respective Courts, at least *two little heads* of Gates and Arnold by M<sup>r</sup>. de Ciemetiere?"

The first portrait of which there is any account is the following engraving of William Penn: "Drawn by Du Simitiere from a Bust in Alto Relievo done by Sylvanus Bevan, said to be a good likeness, Philadelphia October 1770. Engraved by John Hall, London, 1773."

Just at this time the subject of this sketch is best known by his portrait of Washington. Mr. William S. Baker, the highest authority on Washington portraits, states it to be the first profile portrait known, and with his usual accuracy gives the probable date of the original sketch, which he supposes to have been in lead-pencil or water-colors taken from life, in the winter of 1778-1779. The interesting entry in the extracts which we give from Du Simitiere's note-book fully confirm Mr. Baker's conjecture showing the date to have been February 1, 1779. The next day the artist writes

<sup>1</sup> Collections of the New York Hist. Society for 1873, New York, 1874, p. 336, "printed from a copy in Gen. Lee's own handwriting."

to Governor Clinton, of New York, at Poughkeepsie, and informs him of his good fortune, as he says in his brief record of this letter, "acquaint him of my having drawn General Washington in black lead for my collection." On March 6, he writes to Colonel Isaac Zane, of Marlboro' Iron-Works, Winchester, Virginia, and gives him an account "of the pictures Generals & other great men in America I have drawn for my collection." As these two letters probably contain some details of the illustrious sitter, we hope they have been preserved.

Of the engraving first executed by Brandi, in Madrid, in 1781, of which only two impressions are known, a second impression having come to the notice of Mr. Baker since his work was issued, then in London in 1783, and in Paris by Prevost, at the same date, Washington is represented "in a military coat with his hair carefully dressed and tied by a ribbon into a queue . . . while it may not strictly be termed an ordinary head, yet it reveals no particular force or ability, and represents rather a well-bred, courteous gentleman, neat in person, mindful of all the amenities of life, an officer probably but not a commander." For a further description we refer the reader to Mr. Baker's works, "Engraved Portraits of Washington . . . Phila., 1880."

What is known as Du Simitiere's profile head of Washington appears to special advantage on the "Washington cent of 1791." In Baker's "Medallic Portraits of Washington" several other coins and medals are given on which this portrait has been perpetuated.

Without further comment we shall introduce these extracts from the note-book of Du Simitiere, which have never before been published, cordially acknowledging our indebtedness to Mr. Spofford, the learned librarian of Congress, having it in charge as part of the collection of Peter Force. We have omitted nothing whatever in regard to "Paintings & Drawings done," among which are one hundred and eight portraits, several State seals and important sketches, collating them more than once, but want of space has occasioned brevity in other things. To Mr. Cecil Clay, of Washington,

who at our request has kindly copied a portion of these notes, under this head, we also make our acknowledgment.

- 1774 Drawings and Paintings done by me  
 9ber a drawing in Indian ink for the frontis piece of M<sup>r</sup> Aitken's new magazine  
 — a miniature of a Daughter of M<sup>r</sup> Burke of St. Croix  
 xber a Drawing in Indian ink of Ebenezer Robinson's new invented fire place and Stove for Mr. Aitken's new magazine  
 — a crayon picture of Cap<sup>t</sup> James Miller lately dead, done from memory.  
 — a miniature of the late M<sup>r</sup> Jenifer of maryland from a crayon picture done by Mr. Hopkinson.
- 1775 January a drawing in Indian ink for the Seal of the corporation of the wilmington grammar School.  
 a miniature of a Son of M<sup>r</sup> Burke of S<sup>t</sup> Croix  
 a drawing in Indian ink of a new Electrical machine for Mr Aitken's magazine  
 February. a crayon picture of an old man's head copied from an oyl painting belonging to Dr Morgan.  
 a drawing in Indian ink of a machine for threshing of corn.  
 a sketch in Indian ink of a horse in perspective  
 March a crayon picture of the great horned owl of Pennsylvania, from the living animal.  
 April a Drawing in Indian ink of the arms of Maryland for a newspaper for Mr. J. Dunlap.  
 May a crayon picture of Miss Polly Riche begun the latter end of January last.  
 — a miniature of Miss grace Riche begun last month  
 — a drawing in India ink of a machine for cleansing docks & harbour done for arthur donaldson the Inventor for the Pennsylvania magazine
- July a miniature of Mr Alston of S<sup>o</sup> Carolina  
 August a copy of our Saviour holding a [mound?] in crayons from a Small bust done in oyl, begun some time ago.  
 October a miniature of Mr. Wilshire of Barbadoes begun in June last.  
 — a miniature of D<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Drewer Smith's Lady
- November a miniature of Mr Cunningham of Virginia
- 1776 January a Picture in crayons of Miss C. Amiel, begun last month  
 February an allegorical drawing in Indian ink for the title page of Mr Aitken's last year's magazine  
 — a miniature picture of Mrs. Hawkins.  
 April a map of the maratime parts of Virginia for the Pennsylv. maga.  
 — a picture in crayons of John Jay Esq<sup>r</sup> of New York

- May a Picture in crayons of Capt Charles Biddle of this City.  
June a caricat. fig. with the Pen in Indian ink of G. V. carver & gilder  
B. given one of the same to M<sup>r</sup> Brown.  
August. a drawing in Indian ink for the great Seal of the State of  
Virginia in two sides of 4½ inches diameter. See Ev. Post  
July 18.  
—— a miniature in black lead of Philip Livingston of New York mem-  
ber of congress in the form of a medal  
7ber a drawing in Indian ink for a medal to be given gen<sup>l</sup> Washington  
on the english evacuation of Boston, begun some time ago.  
October. a drawing in Indian ink for the great seal of the State of New  
Jersey.  
Nov<sup>r</sup> a drawing in Indian ink of the broad Seal of the State of Georgia  
—— a picture of Mr James Potts in crayons begun in July last.  
decemb. a Picture of Capt. Nicholas Biddle in crayons.

Paintings and Drawings done 1777

- [1777] January a drawing in Indian ink of the great Seal of the State  
of Delaware.  
—— a profile in black lead of G<sup>l</sup> Thomas Mifflin form of a medal  
Febry. the picture in crayons of M<sup>r</sup> Stacy hepburn  
March the picture in crayons of Mr John Schenck  
—— a profile in black lead of G<sup>l</sup> Horatio Gates form of a medal  
—— a miniature from the crayon picture of Mr Sckenck [sic]  
April a crayon picture of Col. George Noarth, the largest I have done.  
—— a miniature of Mr Wm Semple  
—— a miniature of col adam Hubley  
—— a crayon picture of Major John Keppele  
May a miniature of Cap<sup>t</sup> Hubley  
—— a dto of Mr Wm aldricks  
—— a crayon picture of M<sup>r</sup> Benj<sup>a</sup> Davies  
July 1777 the picture in black lead of General Benedict arnold form of  
a medal

September

the picture of Madam Derricks in miniature begun last month

December

- a copy in crayons of a head in Oyl done for princess Sophia mother to  
George I. a fine painting belonging to Dr F. I begun it last  
august  
a miniature of Capt. Bartold of the Hessian grenadiers

January 1778

- a miniature of W. Br. Hockley of this city.  
a miniature of Capt De Stamford of the hessian grenadiers  
a miniature of Mr Frazer late of the 71<sup>st</sup> regt.

February

a miniature of Capt Harcup of the Engineers begun last month  
a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> Montresor of the 48<sup>th</sup> begun last month  
a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> Mason purser of the Roebuck

March

a miniature for a ring of M<sup>r</sup> Mason copied from the other  
a miniature of Capt Peebles of the highlanders begun last month  
a miniature of Capt Faucit of the 44<sup>th</sup> begun last month  
a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> Roberts of the 63<sup>d</sup> light inf.

April

a miniature of Cap<sup>t</sup> Needham's Lady begun last month  
a miniature of Cap<sup>t</sup> Faucett of the 44<sup>th</sup> his Lady begun last february  
a miniature of Mrs. Lee Coll Birch's Lady begun last month

May

a miniature copy Size of a ring of M<sup>r</sup> Frazer begun last month  
a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> Commissary Knecht of Glaris Switzerland  
a miniature of Capt adye Roy. art Judge advocate of the army  
a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> andré of the 7<sup>th</sup> Capt andré's brother

June

1778 the picture of Capt Montresor in black lead form of a medal  
a plan of the progress of the british army from their landing in Elk  
river to their taken possession of Philadelphia 26th Sept 1777  
copied from an original done by Capt andré  
a miniature of Capt Montressor Chief Engineer to the british army  
the picture of Gen S. W. Howe in black lead form of a medal copied  
from an original by Capt André

July

a miniature of Major Tiler of Col. Jackson's battalion of Boston  
a view of Fort Mifflin on Mud Island, copied from an original of Capt  
Montressors' begun last month

September

the Picture in crayons of Col Isaac Melcher B. M. G. begun last month  
the Picture in crayons of Miss Suckey Read

November

a Picture full length in water colours & miniature on paper, represent-  
ing Miss Willy Smith daughter of Rev. D<sup>r</sup> Smith of this city,  
drawn in the Dress she appeared in as Lady to one of the Knights  
of the burning mountain at the great entertainment given by the  
principal officers of the british army to Gen. Howe on the 18<sup>th</sup> of  
May last which they calld *meschianza*, her dress is a high turban

and veil ornamented with a black feather jewells, gold lace & Spangles a white Silk gown and waist flounced & Spangled and a Sash round her waist of white silk also tied with gold strings and tassels, She is in a Standing posture in the manner she received her Knight after the Tournament at her feet lay the broken lance & sword and on her Side his Shield against the Stump of a tree, the device of which is a Knight armed cap a pee with his sword lifted up riding on a black horse caparasoned red, and the whole on a gold ground the motto *swift vigilant & bold* behind on the other side is a distant view of the house near Philad<sup>a</sup> (late Joseph Wharton[s]) where the entertainment was given with one of the triumphal arches erected before it and the line formed by the troops and all the colours of the army thro' which the procession passed towards the house this picture was begun the 4<sup>th</sup> of June last the young lady Sat two days for it about 5 hours in all & after working a little more at the dress, it was discontinued till the beginning of this month when it was in hand almost every day to the end of it—the figure is ten inches high and the whole picture 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  high by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  broad. N.B. it is the first picture of the kind I have ever done.

December.

a miniature of Mons<sup>r</sup> Ducasse a french gentleman living in Connecticut.

Paintings & Drawings done

1779

feb<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> a drawing in black lead of a likeness in profil of his Excellency general Washington, form of a medal, for my collection.

NB the general at the request of the Hon. M<sup>r</sup> Jay President of congress, came with him to my house this morning & condescended with great good nature to Sit about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an hour for the above likeness, having but little time to Spare being the last day of his stay in town—

a picture of W<sup>m</sup> Henry Drayton Esq member of Congress for S<sup>o</sup> Carolina, in black lead form of a medal for my collection begun last July.

Paintings & Drawings done

a picture of Silas Deane Esq<sup>r</sup> late commissioner at the court of france in black lead, form of a medal for my collection.

— a picture of John Jay Esq<sup>r</sup> President of Congress, in the same manner

March a copy of Mr Phillip Livingston's picture in bl. lead

— a picture of his Excellency Monsieur Gerard minister of France Same manner.

April a drawing in Indian ink for the title page of M<sup>rs</sup> Steiner & Cist's Dutch Almanac

- another picture of his Excell. Mon<sup>r</sup> Gerard in black lead for my collection
- another picture of his Excell. Mons. Gerard for himself same as above
- a drawing in Indian ink for a Seal for the county of Rockingham Virginia
- May 3d a miniature of Col. Alex. McNutt of Nova Scotia, begun last week
- a miniature copy of Sir Wm Howe's pict. in bl. lead  
done in purple [sic]
- Camayeaux [cameo] on Ivory  
for Miss W. S. [probably Willy Smith]
- a miniature of M<sup>rs</sup> Jay, the Lady of the president of Congress, larger than usual
- a miniature of Col. Geo. Noarth, begun June 1777 copied from his picture in crayons.
- June. a picture in black lead of his Ex<sup>ty</sup> Joseph Reed Esq., President of Pennsylvania for my collection.

1779

## Letters Wrote

feby 2 to his Excellency George Clinton, Esq Governor of the State of New York at Poughkeepsie Sent three London magazines for Jan<sup>r</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> March 1778 Acquaint him of my having drawn general Washington'[s] likeness in black lead for my collection

1779

- feby 22 a letter to Col. B. Flower E. G. M. S. in this town, requesting him to write to his deputies at Fishkill Ridgefield or Danbury to inquire of them about the fragments of the King's Statue which was removed from New York under the care of a Col. Hugh Hughes, who resides now at Fishkill.
- March 2d to his Excell. Governor Clinton at Poughkeepsie Sent observations on the american revolution, & considerations on the mode & terms of Peace with an extract of a catalogue of books mss.
- March 6 to Isaac Zane Esq<sup>r</sup> Marlboro' Iron works virginia, answered his letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> ult return'd thanks for the collection of fossils &c. he proposes sending to me & of the drawing sent of Charles II's medal to the Queen of Pamunkey, recommend him to purchase it at any rate & that I shall be satisfied to take an exact drawing of it, that there is no glass to be had here for the print of Regulus after M<sup>r</sup> West & that even in England they import plate glass from Holland to frame that print, that I am so circumstanced about my house where I have lived alone all the winter that I can not think as yet of going down to see him according to his invitation, given an account of the Indian stone



instrument found at Egg harbour & of the pictures Generals & other great men in america I have drawn for my collection.

April 26 to Governor Clinton at Poughkeepsie sent May 4, return thanks for his letters & the curiosities he endeavour[ed] to procure for me. Sorry [to hear] of his loss at Kingston, mention the articles I want such as old armour, helmets & breast plates, brought over by the first Settlers, pictures of the dutch Settlers, books in dutch & English. Sent the title of four in dutch, request the laws and votes of the Assembly of N. Y. Since the revolution & the newspapers, the indian antiquities particularly the earthenware, fossils, coins &c. Sent him a picture in black lead of M<sup>r</sup> Phillip Livingston & also the pamphlet *Echo from the temple of wisdom*, & the piece of R. B. about the price of the spelling book & the grocers. request for a mohawk prayer book printed at N. York of which sent him a leaf.

Letters written to

1776

June 1 to D<sup>r</sup> William Bryant at Kingsbury near Trenton, Sent him a map of the coast of Virginia done for the magazine

1776

Books & other things lent

July 26 delivered to Capt. Biddle's sisters' servant his picture in crayon  
oct. 26 to M<sup>r</sup> Livingston his picture in black lead

Nov. 29 to young M<sup>r</sup> Lloyd at D<sup>r</sup> Moon['s] a drawing in Indian ink

Dec. 12 delivered to A Robeson M<sup>r</sup> Potts' picture with the picture & glass

1776

Books & Curiosities [in my possession]

1777 a plan Mss. of attack of the English & Hessian army on Fort Washinton done by a Hessian captain

[Given by] Mr. Dorré

1777

Books & other things lent

Jan<sup>y</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> to master Lloyd at D<sup>r</sup> Moon['s] a drawing in Indian ink frontis piece of the magazine, returned April 3

feb<sup>y</sup> 14. delivered to a genteman from New castle the drawing of the seal of the delaware state.

April 3 to Master Tom Lloyd a view of Edinburgh in Indian ink

1777

Books & other things lent

Sent to Miss patty Lynn the picture of major Kepple June, 4

June 16 Sent to M<sup>r</sup> Ben Davies his picture in crayons by a negro man.

Aug. 7 Sent to M<sup>r</sup> Jay at M<sup>rs</sup> Gibbons his picture in crayon

7ber 13 to master Tom Lloyd two drawings in black chalk returned one

1777 Books & curiosities by whom given

November a landskip in Indian ink done & given to me by master Tom Lloyd

December a view of Passaick fall in New Jersey done in india ink & given by master — Rawle of this city.

1778 Books, curiosities &c. by whom given

April

a cast of plaister representing in basso relievo the model of the equestrian statue of the King that was erected in New York in August 1770 & destroyed in July 1776, the statue in gilt on a [lost]

May

<p>a lance painted crimson &amp; white with its pennant of white &amp; red silk with silvered tassels &amp; silvered paint</p> <p>a Shield of Tin with two cocks fighting for device motto NO RIVAL</p> <p>a large antiqued Sword of Tin in a white leather scabbard with Silverd hilt</p>	}	<p>made use of at the Tournament given by the officers of the british army to Gen How on monday 18 May at Phil<sup>a</sup> &amp; they were given to me by Capt Andre aide de camp to Gen. Gray &amp; one of the white Knights of the tournament.</p>
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a drawing in colours representing a farm house.

a d<sup>o</sup> in black lead a naked figure sitting from a bas relief on the lanthorn of Demosthenes at Athens drawn & given by Capt Andre

June two drawings in black lead one the Conk shells of the coast of this continent, the other the chain of bladders, containing the young Conks, drawn & given me by Capt André

September

the almanacks printed at New York by William Bradford for the years 1694, 95, 96, 97, 98, & part of 1700 D<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Bryant.

Books & things lent

1778

Oct 18 delivered Col Melcher's picture to his negro man Mug.

decemb 14 To M<sup>r</sup> Charles Thomson general Du Coudray's memoir

— 22 delivered Col. Noarth's picture to a mulatto man sent by him.

1779 January 2. Sent to M<sup>r</sup> Aitken to be sold for eighty dollars the year 1775 of the Pennsylvania Gazette Journal Packet & Evening Post return'd unsold the 28 July

1778 June 11

John Montresor Esq<sup>r</sup> Ingenier in chief of the British Armies in America

made me present this day of the following collection of medals of Small bronze the work of Jean Dassier of Geneva

Hugo Grotius m 1645	Madame des Heulieres m 1694
le President de Thou m. 1617	Jean Racine m 1699
le Cardinal de Richelieu m. 1642	Pierre Bayle m 1706
René Descartes m. 1650	N. Boileau Despreaux m 1711
Le cardinal Mazarin m 1661	Nicholas Malebranche m 1715
Blaise Pascal m. 1662	De Fenclon arch de Cambray 1715
Nicholas Poussin m 1665	Phillipe Duc d'orleans m 1723
J. Bap. De Moliere m 1673	André Dacier m 1722
Pierre Corneille m. 1684	

1779 May 23 a letter to Jacob Rush Esq<sup>r</sup> informing him that my Landlord Mr Davison wants to raise my rent from 10 to 20 £ a month altho' the bargain made so lately as the 15th instant & my difficulties about it.

June 17 to governor Clinton at Poughkepsie. acquaint [him] of the time my last letter to him was sent give him the news of this place, added to my collection of pict. that of the minister of France also done a miniature of M<sup>rs</sup> Jay. Sent him the pamphlet anticipation & the address of Congress to the citizens of the united States beg when his leisure permits to let me hear from him. given this letter to M<sup>r</sup> Curtenius going to the State of New York.

— to D<sup>r</sup> William Bryant Trenton request to hear from him & about his lady's misfortune of losing her eye sight inclosed a few line[s] for M<sup>r</sup> collin[s] the printer & desire he will Send me what paper he shall give him by first opportunity

July 6 given Col. Palfrey P.M. G. a catalogue of twenty five Political tracts published in Boston Since the year 1770 for him to procure for my collection

#### Books and other things lent

1779 feby 4 return'd Mrs. Head's picture to her Sister's

March 17 Sent to M<sup>r</sup> Henry Miller a dutch folio bible to be sold for 100 dollars returned unsold [another entry shows this bible belonged to Madame Derricks]

— 29 given Mon<sup>s</sup> Gerard the minister of France two prints of W<sup>m</sup> Penn.

April 3. to Mr. Ben. Shoemaker the picture of the Lady of the Meschianza

April 8. given to Mon<sup>s</sup> Gerard the french minister, his picture in black lead

26 given to Mon<sup>s</sup> Gerard his picture in black lead [see under date April Paintings & Drawings done]

May 1. delivered to Mons. Coulleaux's servant his three vols of Monde primitif.

— 21 Sent to M<sup>r</sup> Cist six prints of William Penn to be sold at return'd

Curiosities, Books, Paintings &c  
by whom given

1779

September

a small profile bust in basso relievo representing Dr Franklin made of the french porcelain of seves [sic] near Paris (M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Wharton)  
N.B. I have fixed on a ground of black velvet in a round black frame with the inner moulding gilt & cover'd with a glass & for its fellow, a frame & glass of the Sort & Size with a likeness in black lead of Mons. Gerard form of a medal.

Books & Pamphlets relating to american affairs

October

1779 Considerations on the Subject of finance in which the cause of the depreciation of the bills of credit emitted by Congress are briefly stated and examined, and a plan proposed for restoring money to a certain known value 16 p[p] Dunlap Phil<sup>d</sup> 8°

This esssay had no title page nor printer's name, and was given away at M<sup>r</sup> Dunlap's printing office octob 25—

[Hildeburn records a copy with the same title and number of pages as being printed in Philadelphia: 1781. See No. 4089.]

[Du Simitiere, after giving a List of Laws, under "December 1779. Laws of Pennsylvania enacted in october & november 1779 folio," makes these remarks in his neat hand in red ink which shows that his collection met with the highest official patronage. It will be noticed that the same statement is made in his letter to Governor Clinton, printed above, April 26, 1779.]

"N.B. altho' this is the first time I have entered the Laws & minutes under this head, I have been Supplied with [them] constantly from the beginning of the war to the present times by M<sup>r</sup> John Morris late clerk of the house, M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Matlack & the present Clerk M<sup>r</sup> T. Payne, as also with other papers relating to Government."

Letters wrote

1779 Aug 1[2]? to his Excellency Governor Clinton at Poughkeepsie mention that I have no answer to the last two letters I wrote him. I suppose owing to the seat of war and his great occupations, will be glad to hear from him, request he will order his messengers to congress to call on me to take what letters and papers I may have for him refer for news to our papers request him to assist me in my collection of american papers for my memoirs of which I shall say further in my next, added to my col-

- lection of pictures President Reed & Col. Laurens, Sent the Eulogium of Brackenridge & the essay on free trade & finance.
- Septemb. 14 a letter to President Jay here, inclosing my collection of heads for Governor Livingston's inspection, requesting to know how long the Governor proposes staying in town wishing I might have an opportunity to take his likeness
- 16 delivered this day to monsieur Gerard minister of france fourteen drawings in black lead being portraits in profile in the form of a medallion of eminent Persons engaged in the American war and the next day delivered to him a memoir how I should wish the Subscription might be set on foot, as also instructions drawn up in french for the engravers of which I have copies and a list of the pictures, delivered. N.B. his own picture is to be added to it, and will make fifteen, he had it already before.
- 22 sent to Mons Gerard a new picture of Gen. Mifflin requesting him to return the first which is not fit to be engraven
- Oct. 8 To his Excell<sup>cy</sup> Governor Clinton at Poughkeepsie that I have now wrote four letters to him without receiving answer hope he has received them and found the contents agreeable his messengers to Congress have not called on me as I desired mention that I have given my collection of heads to Mons. Gerard to have them engraved in france by subscription Mention the rifle gun I have had lately from virginia, given the news of last night that the enemy in Georgia had surrendered to Gen. Lincoln burnt their shipping and that count D'estaing had taken Wallace, mention the unfortunate accident that happened in this city last monday. Sent Gov. Reed's proclamation on the occasion also two pamphlets, the School for Scandal and the Second Essay on finance with the principles of the constit. Society. [This letter] did not go till the 18<sup>th</sup> by M<sup>r</sup> Jay's brother
- 18 to Col. Isaac Zane Marlboro Iron Work virginia return thanks for his present of curiosities regret not having finish[ed] the picture remind him of the things he said he had viz the stone ring of white marble broken asunder [an indian relic it appears from another note prob. a chunkie stone] a small green stone cup, a crowbar incrust with stone, amber grease, petrific. of shells, stalactites, antique Sword Indian medal Thomas Harriot's Treatise, curious birds with long feathers growing betwixt the pinion of his wings. Mr. Jay and Mons Gerard going on board to-day added to my collection M<sup>r</sup> Huntingdon presid. of Con. & M<sup>r</sup> Gouverneur Morris

Letters memoirs &c wrote

- 1779 oct. 27 to Col. Proctor of the cont<sup>l</sup> artillery at Easton requesting him to send me a line of recommendation for his lady or daughter to procure from them an Indian curiosity called a *manitoe* which

he said he had brought from the western expedition and intended for my collection.

Nov. 30. To Isaac Zane Esq. . . . Williamsburg Virginia given an account of my affair before congress that the report was read last Saturday & left for consideration . . . . .

Dec. 24 to the president of Congress requesting that congress would come to some resolution about my affair. I have a copy of it . . this letter was read in congress Monday 27<sup>th</sup> and after some debate the further consideration was put off till fryday 31<sup>st</sup>

Curiosities Books Paintings &c by whom given

November

1779 a vizor or mask of wood representing a ghastly human face, the color of an Indian with a mouth painted red the eyes of yellow copper with a round hole in the middle to peep thro' the forehead covered with a piece of bear skin by way of a cap, found with several more to the number of about 40 in an Indian town called *Chemung* which was burnt by the Cont<sup>d</sup> army under Gen Sullivan in his expedition last Summer into the country of the Six nations. these visors are commonly called *manitoe faces* and serve for the Indian conjurors or Pawaws, in their dances and other ceremonies there is also a long horse tail that belonged to it with a coat of bear skins but this was destroyed by the soldiery N.B. all these masks were different from each other

Paintings & Drawings done

1779 August a likeness of Gen. Whipple member of Congress for N. Hampshire done in black lead form of a medal, for Col. Henry Laurens.

— a likeness of Col. Henry Laurens late president of Congress done in black lead form of a medal for my collection.

— a likeness of John Dickinson, Esq<sup>r</sup> member of Congress for Delaware done in black lead form of a medal for my collection.

September.—a likeness of William Fleming, Esq<sup>r</sup> of virginia delegate in Congress the fifth in descent from Pocahontus daughter of Powhatan Emperor of Virginia who was married to Mr. John Rolfe an Englishman in 1617 See Stith's Hist. of Virginia

— a likeness of Thomas Mifflin, Esq<sup>r</sup> late Major gen. in the American Army and quarter master gen. done in black lead form of a medal for my collection as well as the former.

October a likeness of Gouverneur Morris, Esq. member of congress for N. York done in black lead form of a medal for my collection.

— a picture in crayons of his Excell<sup>y</sup> John Jay Esq nominated minister from the United States to the court of Spain.

- a likeness of Samuel Huntington Esq. of Connecticut President of Congress in black lead form of a medal for my collection.  
— a miniature of Gouverneur Morris, Esq<sup>r</sup>.  
November a miniature of Col. James Ross of Lancaster.  
1779 Books and other things lent or given  
August 23—to Ch. Smith my butterfly net  
27 given Mon<sup>s</sup> Gerard a list of the members of the Philos. Society  
— Delivered to M<sup>r</sup> James Potts's negro his picture  
Sept. 28 deliver'd Col. Noarth's pict. to M<sup>rs</sup> Gibbs' negro woman.  
30 Lent to M<sup>rs</sup> Williams the pict. of the Meschianza.  
October 23 Sent to M<sup>r</sup> Bache the picture of the Princess Sophia belonging D<sup>r</sup> Franklin which he lent me in July 1777  
Decemb. 29 Sent the minister of france a paper mss. of a chronology of events since the war.

Paintings & Drawings done

1781

January

a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> Kirkpatrick of Lancaster County  
a picture in crayons 19½ inches high & 15½ inch broad representing the virgin Mary sitting by a table on which sets the child asleep against her breast holding in his hands a small cross and an apple. The virgin reading in a book and a candle burning on ye table. Copied from an oil painting done in Italy belonging to W<sup>m</sup> Bingham, Esq. of this city

March

a profile in black lead of Maj gen John Sullivan form of a medal

April

a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> Stacy Hepburn of this city began last February

May

a drawing in Indian ink of a silver plate chased & engraved given by King Charles II to the Queen of Pamunkey in Virginia

June

a profile in black lead of M<sup>r</sup> Benjamin Shoemaker.  
a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> James Seagrove of this city began last month

July

a profile in black lead of Robt Morris Esq. form of a medal for my collection

August

a profile in black lead of the pres. of Congress Thos. McKean form of a medal  
a ditto of James Duane member of Congress for y<sup>e</sup> State of New Jersey

## September

- a ditto of Major gen Arthur S<sup>t</sup> Clair form of a medal
- a ditto of Lieut Al. Frazer of South Carolina for himself.

## November

- a ditto of Chancellor Livingston Sec<sup>y</sup> for<sup>n</sup> affairs for my collection

## December

- a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> Rich<sup>d</sup> Wistar Mercht of this city
- a map of part of the state of New York comprehending the great Hardenburg patent done for Rob<sup>t</sup> R. Livingston Secretary for foreign affairs
- a picture in Crayons of Suckey Read granddaughter of James Read Esq.
- a miniature of the lady of Ralph Izzard, Esq of S<sup>c</sup> Carolina copied from a beautiful miniature done by Jeremiah Miers in London began last summer but could not finish it the owner going away.

## Books and other things lent or given

- 1780 Octob 14 to Miss Emilia Walker of Virginia the pict. in bl. lead of her uncle W<sup>m</sup> Fleming, Esq<sup>r</sup>.
- Nov 18 delivered Col. Du Buisson's Servant, Baron de Kalb's armour
- Fcb<sup>y</sup> 1 to Gen. Sullivan, a ms map of y<sup>e</sup> Indian Country & y<sup>e</sup> map of his march.
- March 30 to D<sup>r</sup> B. Duffield, the times a mss.
- Sept. 6. delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Constable, the miniature Set in gold of M<sup>r</sup> Seagrove
- 7 delivered to Robert Morris, Esq the miniature of Miss Livingston for M<sup>r</sup> Jay.
- Oct. 2. delivered to Mr Ralph Izzard the beautiful miniature he had lent me to copy
- 3 lent to Mons L'enfant a plan of Charleston Mss.

## 1782      Curiosities Natural and Artificial, Pictures &amp;c by whom given

## January

- a Stone chisel of a blackish Stone the edge well polished the middle rough, and terminate to a point about 6 inches long, *found on the plantation of Mr Joseph Cooper, on the Jersey Side of the Delaware opposite Philad<sup>a</sup>*
- a Picture about four inches Square painted on paper in water colours, it represents a young militia-man from the back parts of North Carolina, just return'd home from his first Campaign after the battle of Camden, he is represented Sitting on a Stool holding a bowl of grog, his clothes torn and ragged, facing him sits his old mother and behind her chair his Sister leans to hear the lute and



next to her sits another Sister with a sucking child at her breast listening also attentively, the expressions of the different passions that agitate their minds extremely well expressed in their countenance behind[?] the young man, a little boy has laid hold of his gun and accoutrements as if going to be a Soldier, two negroes in the back ground are laying the cloth whilst another is cooking something in the chimney the Scene is in a log house built and furnished in the manner that they are in that part of the country, the picture is inlaid in Sea-green border above an inch broad and set in a broad black and gold frame under glass invented and painted by Monsieur L'enfant ingeneer in the Service of the United States.

Curiosities natural & artificial Pictures &c by whom given.

1782

February

a very compleat and curious vocabulary of the *Shawnoe* Language drawn at my request by Col. Richard Butler of the 5<sup>th</sup> P<sup>a</sup> Regt.

March

a fine miniature picture on vellum, representing a young gentleman with a large flowing wig, a laced cravat, and scarlet cloak turned over the Shoulder Supposed by the dress to have been done in France in the begining of this century [The donor's name is added in red ink] by Mons<sup>r</sup> De Mcaux officer in the artillery of the french army of Count De Rochambeau who died in Phil<sup>a</sup>. from the hurt received by the lightning that struck the minister of France's house March 1782.

May

The Original engraved copper-plate of the Picture of Benjamin Lay a kind of Enthusiast in his way, who lived many years in Philadelphia and its environs, and was very remarkable for many peculiarities. I have had it varnished and put in a black and gold frame

Mr. John Dunlap

June

Muscles-Shells in which pearls are often found, from mill stone river in East Jersey. Mr. J. Sckenck of Green-brook N. Jersey

July

a Scalp taken from an Indian killed in September 1781, in Washington County near the Ohio in this State by *Adam Poe*, who fought with two Indians, and at last kill'd them both, it has as an ornament a white wampum bead a finger long with a Silver Knob at the end the rest of the hair plaited and tyed with deer skin. Sent me by the President and the Supreme executive Council of this state with a written account of the affair.

1782 Paintings & Drawings Done

february

a miniature of Col. Marberry of Georgia  
a miniature of Col. Rich. Butler of y<sup>e</sup> 5<sup>th</sup> Penn<sup>ya</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup>.

March

a miniature of Dr. Rush's Lady  
a picture of Mons<sup>r</sup> L'enfant french Ingeneer in water colours on paper.

April

May

June

a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> James Bayard of this city

July

a likeness in black lead of Maj. gen. Benj<sup>n</sup> Lincoln Secr<sup>y</sup> at War form  
of a medal, for my collection

August

a picture in crayons of an uncommon Species of Owl, from life, described  
in my memorandums of nat. & art. curiosities.

September

a miniature of M<sup>r</sup> Isaac Connely [query Commely?] begun last month.

December

finished the fine miniature copied from the original done by Jeremiah  
Miers in London for the Lady of Ralph Izzard Esq<sup>r</sup> of South  
Carolina—that I had in part done last year.

Books & other things lent or given

1782 feby 18 Mss Journals of Indian affairs & maps to M<sup>rs</sup> Dickinson  
March 12 lent to M<sup>rs</sup> Dickinson mss. Poems of her uncle Jos. Norris  
17 given to M<sup>r</sup> Secretary Livingston, four pasteboards, with square holes  
in them to write in cyphers  
18 delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Sam<sup>l</sup> Wallace his draught of the frontiers of Penn<sup>a</sup>.  
Octob. 7 left with M<sup>r</sup> Tho<sup>s</sup> Bradford for Sale one print of Gouv<sup>r</sup> Morris  
at 10<sup>s</sup>  
Octob. 7 left with M<sup>r</sup> Ja<sup>s</sup> Reynolds for Sale 6 prints of Gouv<sup>r</sup> Morris at  
10<sup>s</sup> each  
30 left with M<sup>r</sup> Reynolds for sale 6 prints of W<sup>m</sup> Penn at 8, 4y each  
Decb. 13. delivd to D<sup>r</sup> Hutchinson a letter from General Wayne to  
Presd<sup>t</sup> Recd dat<sup>d</sup> Ja<sup>y</sup>. 4, 1781  
14 left with M<sup>r</sup> Bradford for Sale two prints of Baron de Steuben at 10<sup>s</sup>  
each

— left with M<sup>r</sup> Reynolds for Sale four prints of Baron de Steuben at 10<sup>s</sup> each

1783 Paintings & drawings done

January

a likeness profil in black lead of John Holker, Esq.

April

a likeness profil in black lead of Mons<sup>r</sup> De Roquebrunne

October

a likeness profil in black lead of M<sup>r</sup> Manigault of South Carolina

December

a miniature of Major Augustine Prevost of the 60<sup>th</sup> reg<sup>t</sup> British  
a drawing in black & white chalk on brown paper of a scroll and small  
flowers for teaching a pupill of mine  
a Tulip in crayons on brown paper for the same purpose as above

Books & other things lent or given

1783 Jany 8 left with M<sup>r</sup> Reynolds for Sale the print of Gen. Washington at two dollars Ch. Thomson, M<sup>r</sup> Jo. Reed, Gov. Dickinson at 10<sup>s</sup> each

27 Sold a print of W. Penn to Mon<sup>sr</sup> Petry at the minister of France

Feb<sup>r</sup> 14 left with M<sup>r</sup> Reynolds for Sale a print of Gen<sup>l</sup> Read

18 lent to M<sup>r</sup> John White a drawing in bl. lead Am. convs<sup>on</sup>.

— delivered to M<sup>r</sup> Holker his picture in bl. lead fram'd and glazed.

27 given to M<sup>r</sup> Aitken upwards of an hundred Sermons

March 6. given to M<sup>r</sup> Hazard 8 prints N<sup>o</sup> 2, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 & arnold.

8 given to M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Henry of Lancaster a Print of William Penn

April 20 given to M<sup>r</sup> Restif going to France two prints of W<sup>m</sup> Penn viz.  
one for the Biblioteque du Roi at Paris & one for himself

27 given to Mon<sup>s</sup> De Roquebrune a print of W<sup>m</sup> Penn

29 given to Mon<sup>s</sup> Restif to deliver to Mon<sup>s</sup> Court de Gebelin at Paris  
Parsons Beaty and Jones Journals among the Indians the vocabulary of the Delaware language.

May 26 Sent to M<sup>r</sup> Reynolds a compleat Sett of 14 of my prints paid  
[From another part of the note-book] " May 83 Print of Parson Duché  
M<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Rawle"

July 10 lent to major L'enfant 3 drawings of Saratogha and a plan of  
Crown point

Indian antiquities

*New Jersey* at Delaware falls near Trenton opposite an Island there  
is a field on the Jersey Shore that has formerly been an Indian  
burying ground where the freshes having washed the bank there

have been found a variety of indian utensils &c, the place is just above y<sup>e</sup> mouth of y<sup>e</sup> creek that Trenton mill is built on  
from M<sup>r</sup> John Zane

in the fields of the Seat formerly Rob. Lettis hooper afterward D<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Briant now Col John Cox near the place mentioned above on the Jersey side, a little to the west of Trenton ferry have been plough'd up at different times in 1777, 78, 79, 80 *indians Stone hatchets* or ehissels of various Sizes and forms, *Stone pestles* of several size, a oval *cup of a stone* resembling asbestos, and arrow heads of various kinds of Stones and forms in abundance, all of which I have in my collection

On M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Cooper's plantation to the North of Samuel Cooper's farm opposite to Philadelphia runs a high bank along the shore of the river on the spot of which was formerly a large indian village, as we are informed by tradition and confirmed by an immense quantity of *muscle* shells, mixt with the earth for about a foot thick toward the surface of the ground, and also several fragments of *indian* earthenware and Stone arrow heads are found.

[Pennsylvania] at Kensington opposite to the above mentioned Spot it is said there stood also formerly an *indian village* the inhabitants of which were frequently at war with those of Cooper's Ferry

— at the falls of Schuylkill miles, from Phil<sup>a</sup> have been dug and been found abroad in the fields near that river several stone hatchets of various sizes, with a variety of forms of *Stone arrow heads*, At the plantation late D<sup>r</sup> John Kearsley's 4 miles from Philad<sup>a</sup> on the right hand of the Frankfort road was plought out of a field *the largest Stone hatchet* I ever saw, very intire and well finished it was found in May 1775 and given me by the owner for my collection

Curiosities natural & artificial &c by whom given

1781

October

a maneto-face or Mask of an Indian conjurer with a border of bear skin round the forehead and a tuft of feathers in the centre Sent me by his Excell<sup>y</sup> George Clinton

1781

May

a mezzotinto print of *General Washington*, posture Size by M<sup>r</sup> Ch. Wilson Peale from a painting of his own the gift of the author.

June

an engraved print of *General Washington*, a bust done in Paris by Aug. de S<sup>t</sup>. aubin graveur du Roi &c.

an engraved print representing the *marble monument* invented and executed at Paris in 1777 for General Montgomery engraved by the same

} Col  
John  
Shee

an *indian Spear head* of a grey Stone about 5 inches long 2 broad at the basis & but ill shaped from M<sup>r</sup> Joseph Cooper oppos. Kensington, Jersey

an *indian face* carved in a red stone, the same that the Indian chiefs pipes are made it is about an inch high and broad in proportion, it has behind the ears two Small holes thro' which Leather [thongs] were passed, and it was suspended to the neck of an Indian chief called the king of Kanadasego that was kill'd in the action between Gen. Sullivan's army and the indians & Tories near New Town August 29th 1779 the gift of General Sullivan

1781 April

a *Stone shaped in the form of a large Shoemaker's last* the heel part broke off, found in a meadow near the falls of Schuylkill supposed to be of Indian workmanship Gen Mifflin

1778 Letters wrote

Sept 1 [1?] To Adam Foulke, Capt of militia in this City, in answer to a notice of his for me to appear &c.

— To W<sup>m</sup> Henry Lieut of this city inclosing the above letter as Capt. Foulke is out of town.

— 25 a memorandum to Col Isaac Zane of Virginia to send me curiosities Such as books, pamphlets, laws, Seal, maps &c of Virginia, the title of Tho<sup>s</sup> Harriots' treatise, Indian antiquities, Fossils of all kind and some ancient weapons out of his collection.

Nov<sup>r</sup> 24 to his Excellency George Clinton Esq<sup>r</sup> Governor of the State of New York at Poukepsie

— to Col. John Lamb, under cover of Gov. Clinton apology for my not writing heard he was wounded at Danbury, Sent the epitaph of marsh. Rantzau, given an account of my imprisonment & what follows, asked about the fragment of the statue & the N. York Mss. some Stamp Act, also News papers &c

1778 Curiosities & Books by whom given

October

\* \* \* \* \*

N.B. these five volumes are given me by Mr. Henry Miller printer of this city as a compliment in return for a chronology of the most remarkable events of the present war, which I drew up for his german almanac.

a map of Nova Scotia or Acadia with the Islands of Cape Breton and St John from actual Surveys by Capt Montresor, Engineer dedicated to the Marquis of Granby, in four very large folio sheets 1768 bought at M<sup>r</sup> Aitken's for forty shillings

1778 Pamphlets relating to American affairs

1779 January,

A Sermon preached at Christ church Philad<sup>a</sup> (for the benefit of the poor) by appointment of and before the general communication of free and accepted Masons of the State of Pennsylvania on Monday December 28, 1778 celebrated agreeable to their constitution as the anniversary of S<sup>t</sup> John the Evangelist by William Smith D.D. Provost of the college & Academy of Phila<sup>da</sup> Dunlap 1779 dedicated to his Excellency General Washington.

[The foregoing is not in Hildeburn's Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania.]

Books, Prints, Maps & Curiosities & by whom given

1779 febr<sup>y</sup> a small mezzotinto of a head of Gen. Washington done by M<sup>r</sup> Peale, painter of this city, given by him

March

— A Mystical Book without title, set forth by one Ingham of Bucks county & published in Phila<sup>d</sup> about years ago, it is an unintelligible jargon of mystical notions about the revelations & a copper plate of the planets &c unintelligible it is printed with several sorts of Types & contains 282 pag. 8<sup>o</sup> besides the introduction of 52 pages, given by M<sup>r</sup> Ch. Cist

[See Hildeburn. No. 1904.]

Books, natural & artificial Curiosities & by whom given

1779 May a view of the house of Employment, Alms House, Pennsylvania Hospital & part of the city of Phila<sup>d</sup>

Nic. Garrison delin.

P. Kulett Sculp.

Mr. Cist

— June The minutes of the Committee of inspection and observation at Philadelphia from June 18 to July 11, 1774 inclusive

Mss folio given by his Excell<sup>ty</sup> the President of y<sup>e</sup> State.

7be 1775

A copper medal of the size of a Dollar, the bust of the king on one side and round it *George, king of great britain*, on the reverse an Indian shooting an arrow at a deer under a tree and the sun shining above, no inscription, nor date it has a string to hang it about one

bought

1781

May

a Silver medal 2½ inches diameter weighs 2½ Dollar[s] representing on one side the bust of the King of England and arms [or in arms?] & round it *Georgius III Dei Gratia* on the reverse a lean wolf coming out of a wood to attack a Lion that sits and behind which is a church &c. This medal with several others were sent from

England to be distributed among the Indians during this war and were found among the plunder of Post St Vincent by Col. Clark of Virginia in 1779

A Cast in Copper of a *Medal* made in Virginia last year to be given to the Indians having on one side Liberty trampling down a Tyrant round it, *Rebellion to Tyrants is Obedience to God*, On the top Virginia. On the reverse a white man and an Indian sitting on a bench under a tree with a pipe in the hand, round *happy while united*, in the exergue 1780, a pipe, an eagle's wing, on the top of the medal with an opening to suspend it by, the gift of Isaac Zane, Esq.

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As this number of the MAGAZINE is going through the press, we have received intelligence of, and regret to announce, the death of

WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON, Esq.,

a Vice-President of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Mr. Darlington was born in Pittsburg, Pa., May 1, 1815, and died there September 28, 1889. He was elected a member of the society April 10, 1854, and since 1875 has served as one of its Vice-Presidents.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES.

*Notes.*

NEW YORK IN THE AUTUMN OF 1776.—The following letter, addressed to Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, of Bethlehem, Penna., by Rev. E. G. Shewkirk, pastor of the Moravian congregation in the city of New York, gives interesting details of events following the occupation of that city by the British army in 1776 :

“MY DEAR BROTHER NATHANIEL,

“I will begin this to you tho’ I don’t know when and how I shall get it to you as all our communication with the Jerseys and consequently Pennsylvania is stop’d, and Letters are watch’d particularly. . . . My last I wrote to you was shortly before matters here took a Turn. I don’t doubt by one and the other Way you have heard at least in general how things have gone here. The city was summon’d time after time and the answer was as one hears to dispute it to the last, so that the King’s Generals were embarrassed what to do, wondering at the stupidity of the Rebels to have the Place and themselves destroyed; yet all the while they took every thing away of ammunition, Provisions, siek &c, and also all the Bells, which show’d plainly that they intended to leave the Town. However the King’s army form’d another Plan, unwilling to destroy the Place. They sent up men-of-war both to the North and East River with troops to land a couple of miles above the City. These Ships went up Friday in the afternoon, Saturday about the same time and Sunday morning (Sept. 15); each time they were fired at with a few paltry cannon that had been left on the Batteries, which was answered from the forts on Long and Governour’s Islands, and brought on a smart cannonading which made the houses shake, Brick flying about here and there and the Balls hiss thro’ the streets, especially on Sunday morning; Some took their refuge to our house; a large Ball struck against the North Church opposite us, broke, flew back into a cellar, the woman of which came running into our cellar. This was about Breakfast Time. It grew still again; all the Rebel troops hastened away; we had Preaching as usual, but I believe were the only ones that had service. About this Time the King’s Troops had landed, drove the Rebels before them towards Harlem and Kings Bridge, and there was a good deal of slaughter. Towards evening some of the King’s officers from the ships came on shore and were received with Joy. His Majesty’s Standard was put up again. The next day, Sept. 16th, the first English Troops came in in all stillness; they were drawn up in two lines in the Broadway; our dear Governor was also there. There were a great many of spectators; for it was a holyday for young and old, none worked. An universal Joy was spread over all countenances. Persons that never had taken notice of one another shook hands together and were quite loving. I myself met with several such Instances. The first that was done was that a great many, and many of the finest houses were marked as forfeited. To my Grief I found that also some of our People’s were marked: H. Waldrons, Kilbruns, Isaae Van Vleeks, Bouquets and Kings; the two latter doubtless on account their Husbands. ’Tis true



some had been marked by Persons that had no authority to do it, because it was publickly desired that the houses of all those that had been on the side of the Rebels might be marked. Waldron's and Kilbrun's was rubbed off again, by whom I don't know; I had made also application in their Behalf. It had been frequently talked of, that they would rather burn the town, than that the King's Troops should be in possession of it; and the removal of the inhabitants of the poor-house and other poor at public expense; the warning by the Cryer in the Streets, that all women, children and Infirm should leave the Town looked suspicious,—(it is now clear they did it only with an Intention to frighten as many People away as they could)—however it was now thought, that one had nothing to fear of that kind. But alas! on the 21st of Sept. soon after midnight a terrible fire broke out and raged ten or eleven hours with the greatest fury. It begun somewhere about the White Hall and swept away all that part of the Town along the North River as far as the College, a part of Broad Street, New Street, Beaver Street, several cross streets going to Broadway and the lower part and some of the upper part of the Broadway as far as St. Paul's, which was sav'd with the greatest Difficulty; but the old Lutheran Church, Trinity Church &c. were entirely destroyed. I was about the fire from the Beginning to the end helped what I could, 'till I could hardly walk any more my feet being so sore. At last it caught already the corner house of our street and if it had not been put out, our part of the City would have been in danger and consequently also our chapel and house. . . . I got them our Ladders, which they put to the roof of that corner-house, carried up Buckets with water and thus got it out. I had the pleasure to be of some comfort to our Neighbours, who cried for fear, especially the Women, and asked me frequently whether I thought the fire would come to our street too. Some of our People had retreated to our house and several brought of their effects, so that it was quite full below. When the fire was cried, I was quite alone in the house, for our Servant Girl went also into the country that Sunday morning when the King's Troops landed. Kilbrun's lost two handsome houses, worth about £1000, if not more. Pell's, three houses, what they were I don't know, (but one did let for £30. per year), Mrs Zöller, her Cottage and Mr Jacobsen, one. Others of our People lost of their Effects more or less either destroyed by the fire or stolen. There is great reason to think that the fire was caused or promoted by some men lost to humanity and hired perhaps for such a hellish design. Some were taken up furnished with large matches and other combustibles; they said they found upon a New Englandman £500. and the commission of an officer, who was endeavouring to promote the fire. A carpenter of this place was killed on the spot and hung up by the Heels, because he cut the handles of Buckets &c. Those that knew the man say he was always against the Rebellion and therefore cannot account for his doing so, unless he was drunk, as they suppose he was.

“This dreadful affair of the fire threw a great damp upon the former Joy and has been a source of complicated misery and Distress. A general distrust took seemingly place. More than a hundred, some say above 200 were taken up on suspieion to have had a hand in the fire, among whom was our old Conrad, or else to have been aiding the Rebellion. However the most were discharged soon. All House keepers were to give in their names and of those with them, to General Robertson commanding in New York. All Houses were searched, if there were some forbidden materials hidden. When they were in our Neighbourhood I opened the door for them, but they would not come in and said, they

knew I was no Congressman! After 8 o'Clock no man was to be in the Streets unless he knew the Counter-Sign. Many of the Inhabitants, some of whom had suffer'd much in the Woods, hills and the beach, came now to Town again, tho' some with much danger. But the women could not come, and this is the case with my own dear Ann who is still in the Jerseys. . . .

"In October a Petition was agreed to by the Inhabitants to the King's Commissioners to be taken again under the King's Protection and restored to peace &c.; it was signed by more than 900; another petition was put up, to the Governor to deliver the said petition to the Commissioners, which was also done by him. The most part of the month of October, I was sick and fell away very much, and so weak that I hardly could walk, yet I made shift to Preach on Sunday, tho' one time I was near fainted away before I could say the Blessing. My first walk was to go and sign the said Petition.

"As to the operations of the war, the Rebel army settled themselves between Harlem and King's Bridge, had an advantageous situation of Ground, many Intrenchments, and some strong Forts, and must have been reinforced too, for it seems there was there a great number together. More Troops arrived likewise from Europe and mostly all went that way, to drive the Rebels away. There were engagements from time to time and it seems a good many killed on both sides, tho' the Rebels would never face rightly the King's army. Many Prisoners were brought in, and it is not known where to put them. The new low Dutch church; the French church; Quaker new meeting, full of them; the new brick Presbyterian meeting a Hospital; the Baptist meeting, a storehouse; and thus all them used in one or the other way. As the troops were mostly drawn from Staten Island, the Rebels made now and then inroads, and plagued the People there. Thus it went on (on the Jersey side the King's troops had only Powl's Hook. Bergen, Hackensack, Newark, Elizabethtown &c. were in possession of the Rebels), 'till Nov. 16, when the King's troops attacked the lines and the strong Fort Washington, and carried it, and thus clear'd New York island. Before this they had taken King's Bridge, were masters of East and West Chester, and White Plains, where there had been a smart engagement, and the main body of the Rebel army retreated along the North River, and then as it is reported took into Connecticut Province. Those that were about and in Fort Washington were mostly either killed or taken prisoners, tho' many, especially of the Hessians fell that forenoon. The cannonading was so vehement that we heard it plainly. Those in the Fort surrendered and above 2000 were made prisoners that day. On Monday they were brought to Town. In the forenoon two officers, and two other gentlemen came to our house and chapel, and I showed it them. One of the officers ran from top to bottom and everywhere on the premises; the other officer hearing that the chapel was in use, said it is a pity to take it. It alarmed me not a little. I sat down and wrote a Petition to Gen. Robertson, commandant of the city, and another to Governor Tryon. I went first to the General and being not at home I left it there; I then went to the latter who was at home. I was shown into a Parlour and after a little while called in; he was friendly and desired me to sit down. He told me he could do nothing in the affair, as now all Power was in the Army; but he added a few lines to the General, viz. this Petition is referred to the favourable consideration of Gen. Robertson &c. . . .

"In the afternoon about four o'clock I saw a multitude before our house and one of the Guards knocked at the door and asked whether

this was the Moravian meeting; I told him yes. He reply'd I have been ordered to bring these 400 prisoners here. To the question on whose order, he answered Gen. Smith's and Robertson's . . . The Major and another came in; I opened the chapel; they said the place would not hold them, which was much urged by the other officer-like man, saying he had told it before, for he had been in the place before at a service. In short they began to doubt whether it was not a mistake, and that the North Church was meant. A young man of the Town who is always friendly to me, tho' I am not acquainted with him further, and who now hath the care of the Provisions for the Prisoners, had a key saying it was the key to our meeting; I told him it was not, for none had the key but myself. This seemed to confirm it that it was a mistake, and moreover this young man was sorry that the Prisoners should come into our place. There were many spectators gathered together by this time; I looked for a person to send for one of our Brethren, but could see none I knew; but after a little while Philip Sykes came of his own accord and glad I was to have one with me in the house. In the meantime the Major and the other two went to make new inquiry; one came back and said he had met with the Deputy Quarter Master who told him they must be here, for there were designed 800 for the North Church, and 400 for ours. Well! the gates were opened, for they would not that they should come thro' the house; the Sergeant of the Guard, a civil man, desired me to have everything that was loose taken away before they came in. This was done, which caused another delay and before it was ended the Major came again inquiring after the commandant; he was told there was none but the Sergeant, who was then in the chapel. 'Well,' says he to him, 'stop yet before they come in, I will go once more to the General.' When he returned he accosted me: 'Sir, if it is more agreeable to you, I will take them to another Place;' I thanked him heartily; 'Well,' said he, 'I believe they would be a disagreeable company to you,' and then he took them to the North Church. They were standing in the street before our door, I believe near an hour. . . . How it will go further I cannot tell; I am not without all apprehensions when the Troops come into Winter Quarters, that there may not be a new attempt. A creditable neighbor told me some days ago, that he believed there was none that wished it out of spite; that my character was known, but ours was a spacious building, and they did not know where to put all the People, especially since the fire destroyed so many houses.

"After Fort Washington was taken some thousands of the King's troops went over into the Jerseys; Fort Constitution or Lee was taken without a blow, leaving their canon, 400 000 cartridges &c. The Rebels would burn Hackensack but the inhabitants opposed them, and four hours after came the King's troops whom they received with joy. Last Sunday, Nov 24th., the Head Quarters of the Rebels were in Newark; today (Nov 27th) the report is that the King's troops are in Newark; and it is thought they will proceed straightway to Philadelphia. Fear seizes the Rebels, they flee or fall and the eyes of many are opened, and it is time; for often they have been deluded, they are left unprovided in most miserable condition.

"The most what concerns me now is, that my poor wife might come home, and I hope it will not be long. It was so difficult to get a Letter there, that a man asked two Dollars for getting one thither. Among the couple of hundred of officers that were brought in from Fort Washington, who were first put into the Methodist Meeting house, but now are in other houses and on their Parole walk about, is also Helm from Phil-

adelphia, who has been with me twice. What is become of Joseph Frohlich, the three sons of Reed, Allen, Zöller, I can't hear; John Cargyle's son was brought in a Prisoner, soon in the beginning, at last he enlisted in the King's service and is now on Long Island. Peter Conrad was also a prisoner for sometime, but was discharged. They say there were 5000 prisoners in town. Many die, I hear four to five are buried sometimes in one day, yea lately fifteen in two days. They get no coffins, but are laid in their clothes.

"It is but seldom at Night, I get a regular rest, because of the noise and racket in the street, especially as many prisoners are opposite our house. This Winter will doubtless be a hard one. Wood is not to be had; they give \$3 to \$4. for one load of Oak wood, for which and less a whole cord used to be bought. The case is much the same with bread, often people can get none; in general most things are as dear again as they were and some more: a pound of butter 3 to 4 shillings; 3 eggs one shilling; the riding of a load of wood which was formerly one shilling is now two or more. Fences, wooden buildings &c., are pulled down surprisingly and burnt by the army. It was a good luck and kind Providence that in July, shortly before the last troubles began I ventured it and bought a couple of cords of wood, which now is of great service to me; many had not a stiek when the Winter came in. How else we shall get thro' I don't know, for the Quarter from Michaelmas to Christmas we have but got as yet between £4 and £5. for our maintenance, for the most of our people are absent. You may perhaps, Dear Brother, think we might have escaped many of these troublesome scenes, if we had embraced your kind invitation of coming to you, but I believe when you weigh all circumstances, that you will see it was well that I stayed, at least it appears so to me. If I had been gone and our place shut up, very likely I had been reckoned to the number of the other ministers that are gone and we had got the name of Rebel; but this I know is not the case now, and it has pleased many people that I stood my ground, and they have said, that it is good there is one place where one may hear the Word. Besides this, I apprehend our Chapel and house would have been taken long before now for one and the other use.

"Yesterday Dec. 1st., Sunday, a number of officers came into the house and would have quarters there. They looked about, some talked of having the chapel, some of but some rooms, others my whole house, and one Cornet of Light horse marked one room on the second floor for himself, and desired me to move the things out of it this afternoon, and let him have a table and a couple of chairs, for which he would pay. After they left I went to Gen. Robertson; he told me he had given them no order for it; we should have asked them for their order. He took my name and the matter down, and then offered of his own accord to go himself to Alderman Waddel and inquire into the matter. On the way we met with one of the officers who said he would put people into the chapel, going to the General, upon which the latter returned with us. This officer talked quite in another strain in the presence of the General, who is a very clever old gentleman—he said he would not have any place disturbed where service was kept, and dismissed us. Well, I have wrote so much that I fear you will be tired to read it, and yet much more might be said. The people that have stay'd in the Town and are come back are certainly the best off. A new Proclamation has been published and a full Pardon offered to all that return to their allegiance within sixty days; certainly more cannot be done, and whosoever does not avail himself of it cannot be pitied afterwards. . . .

"Dec. 2, 1776.—

E. G. SHEWKIRK"

LETTER OF JOHN ROSS, ESQ., TO DR. CADWALADER EVANS, 1748.—The following letter from John Ross, Esq., a member of the Philadelphia Bar, to his friend Dr. Cadwalader Evans, at the date residing in Jamaica, West Indies, giving an account of the accidental death of John Kinsey, Jr., son of John Kinsey, formerly chief-justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, is contributed by Henry D. Biddle, Esq. :

“DEAR D<sup>r</sup> EVANS—

“I am going for New Castle early in the morning—I just heard of a vessel going to Jamaica before my return, so in haste determined to give you one scrawl, lest you should think the neighbourhood forgot you—but you may depend that will never happen—we gratefully and cordially remember you often; even at the widow Jones’s—I would tell you all the news in a word if possible with all haste.—to begin—Our neighbourhood just as you left us, only B. Franklin lives in your house. The Col. Hollier not yet gone to sea.—I think all your acquaintance continue well, save poor Johnny Kinsey junior on tuesday the 8<sup>th</sup> inst. by accident shot himself dead coming over Gray’s ferry by Schuylkill falls while in the boat.—He had loaded his gun, and as is supposed, let the butt drop on the bottom of the flat, the gun erect, in a line with his body by his side went off, when half cock’d—The whole load of shot struck his left cheek, and went up directly into his brain—he dropt and was dead in an instant—never groaned—Great sorrow attended his father and all his friends for the accident.—He had strange apparitions of his death the night before, which he informed his aunt Bowene of at breakfast that morning of the accident, which I must relate you, as it is as true as surprising—He talking with his aunt at breakfast concerning his being admitted as an attorney and going into business, said, he believed he had nothing to do with business, for his time he thought was not long in this world—He said that last night he was strangely disturbed in his sleep with dreams and apparitions—that his cousin Charles Pemberton who died last Spring appeared to him wrapped in a sheet and said to him, “Kinsey your hour is come you must go with me” and he disappeared.—Soon after appeared a person before him in the form of an angel (according to the idea he had of an angel) and said to him, “Kinsey, your hour is come you must go with me” and instantly he thought a flash of lightning struck him on the cheek and he instantly died: this was followed with a severe clap of thunder and lightning that awaked him from his sleep, and all these particulars came fresh to his memory, and gave him great uneasiness—(Note, no thunder or lightning that night)—Upon this he endeavoured to get to sleep again and after dosing a short time he was awaked again by the noise of a person walking across the room, giving one heavy groan—he heard or saw no more, but got out of bed, went into the other room called the Scotch boy to bring in his bed and lay by him the remainder of the night—In the morning at breakfast, tuesday last, he communicated all the before related to his aunt Bowene and Hannah Kearney—He seemed much dejected upon it.—was confident he was near his end: but to divert himself for that day he determined to take his gun and go fowling with young J. Desborow young Oxley and two or three more—They walked to Coulter’s ferry and crossed Schuylkill, and up to the Falls ferry—he told the company several times as they walked, he wished no accident might befall him before he got home.—On their return, crossing the ferry, in the boat, the unhappy accident happened him—Thus you have the particulars of this melancholy affair as fully as I could relate it, if with you.—And I chose to be particular in it, because I have met

with no story in history so well attested as this concerning the premonitions from Heaven of our dissolution.—The flash that struck his cheek when asleep clearly answered by the flash of the gun, and the shot thereof first striking—His aunts laboured to persuade him not to go a gunning that day, and he agreed; but afterwards meeting his company they prevailed with him as they had all agreed to go the night before.

“Our President Palmer is married to the young widow that lived at Harriet Clay.—Old Doctor Kearsley is to be married this week to M<sup>rs</sup> Bland M<sup>rs</sup> Usher’s niece that lives near the Burying ground—Doctor Bond is gone to spend the winter at Barbadoes in a low state of health; it is thought he will continue there if the climate agrees with him—Last week Judah Foulke had a son born—no small joy—About 20 of us baptized it last Monday at John Biddle’s in hot arraek puneh—and his name is called Cadwalader—John Smith has passed one meeting with Miss Hannah Logan—I would give you more, now my hand is in, if I could recollect; but I have wrote by this conveyance to my relation Doctor Ross, as duplicate of my letter by you, I pray you will say from me to him—And let me hear from you as often as possible and how you are like to succeed.—

“I shall write per next to Doct<sup>r</sup> Curnesby concerning Noxon’s estate—Your father and all friends are well.—

“I sincerely wish you all imaginable felicity and with all the haste I began I cannot help now concluding that I am

“your very affectionate Friend

“and Humble Servant

“JOHN ROSS—

“Philad<sup>a</sup>, Sunday Evening

“13<sup>th</sup> November 1748—

“To D<sup>r</sup> CADWALADER EVANS—

S<sup>t</sup> Anns Jamaica—”

MEGINNES’S HISTORY OF THE WEST BRANCH VALLEY.—The revised “History of the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna” is now completed, and makes a compact volume of 702 pages, with full index. It brings the history down from the advent of the whites to the close of 1799. All the Indian deeds for the purchase of the Susquehanna lands are given, together with full accounts of all the invasions and bloody massacres. The “Big Runaway” in 1778 is described, together with many thrilling accounts of captivities. The Journal of Colonel Burd, while stationed at Fort Augusta, is printed in full, together with that of Fithian, who made a trip up the valley in the summer of 1775, and tells what he saw and whom he met. The work has been entirely rewritten, and a large amount of new material introduced, making it practically a new book, and double the value of the old one of thirty-three years ago. There are illustrations of Indian antiquities, forts, historic buildings, portraits of Van Campen and Covenhoven, the celebrated scouts, diagrams of manors, a plan of the survey of Sunbury, in 1772, showing the name of all the original lot-holders, map of the Indian purchases, and one of the valley from Sunbury to Loek Haven, showing the tributary streams and the islands of the river, the locations of forts, and where many of the pioneers settled. Price \$5, in half morocco.

SAMUEL CARPENTER.—The following gives an indirect clue to Samuel Carpenter’s place of emigration in England: From a manuscript folio vellum-bound book in the Ridgway Library “Logan’s Letters” is a letter addressed “To Coll<sup>o</sup> Ez<sup>l</sup> Somersall in Jam<sup>a</sup>” (Jamaica), signed

“Thy affectionate Brother Jonath<sup>n</sup> Dickinson,” written probably in 1715. “Cap<sup>t</sup> Richmond Saith hee will take all the Care hee Cann There goes w<sup>th</sup> this Ship a pson wee have Great Regards for on[e] John Carpenter y<sup>e</sup> Son of old Sam<sup>l</sup> Carpenter I cannot but Recomend him to thy Notice as well as to Some others of my friends his father was an Intimate acquaintance in Our ffamily before wee left England & [a] pson of Great Esteem in this Province who Dyed Last Summer.” The next letter to Caleb Dickinson, J. Dickinson’s brother, in *Wiltshire*, April 18, 1715, would give the impression the Dickinsons may have come from that place.

W. J. P.

JOHN ADAMS ON TITLES.—The following letter is in the autograph collection of Mr. Charles Roberts of Philadelphia:

SIR

PARIS April 16, 1783.

In answer to the Inquiry of Mr. Fagel you will please to inform him that the Letters of Credence of Mr. Van Berckell should be addressed “To the United States of America in Congress assembled.”

“Friends and Allies.”

The King of France indeed has added the word “great.” “Great Friends and Allies.” But I think it would be much better to leave out the word great and all other Epithets. Congress have never assumed any other Style, and I hope they never will assume any other.

I have the honor to be sir, your respectfull and obedient Servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

MR. DUMAS.

COLLINSON READ’S ABRIDGED LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA.—

Just Published,

AND TO BE SOLD BY

MESS<sup>rs</sup>. HALL & SELLERS,

No. 51, Market street,

Mr. William M. Biddle, No. 30 Walnut street,  
and by the subscriber, No. 125 Race street,

*Price 5 Dollars,*

AN ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA,

With an Appendix,

CONTAINING a great variety of Precedents for the use of Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, Attornies, and Conveyancers.

All the public Laws of this State now in force are arranged under their proper heads and placed in alphabetical order with a compleat Index to the whole.

The above work having received the approbation of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and being allowed by act of Assembly to be read in evidence in the several courts of justice in this common-wealth, the Editor flatters himself that it will not only be of service to gentlemen of the law and public officers, but will also be found very useful to his fellow citizens in general.

COLLINSON READ.

Philadelphia, March 21, 1801.

N. B. A considerable discount will be allowed those who buy to sell again.

### Queries.

BOOK LOST.—I am minded to try the chances of recovering a book lent one hundred and nine years ago, and not yet returned. A copy, in perfect condition, of the first volume of Bishop Burnet's "History of his Own Time, London, printed for Thomas Ward in the Inner-Temple Lane 1724," folio (being the first edition), is in the possession of a descendant of Christopher Marshall, whose signature, with the mem. "2 vols.," appears on the margin of the title-page.

On page 236 of "Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall," edited by William Duane, Albany, 1877, occurs the following entry, under date of February 2, 1780, when Mr. Marshall was living at Lancaster, Penna.

"Dined with us, William Bispham; bought of him three and a half yards yard-wide tow linen; Paid him thirty-eight continental dollars; lent him the second volume in folio of Bishop Burnet's *History of his own time.*"

T. S.

HITCHCOCK'S SCHOOL.—Can any of the readers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE give me the location of Hitchcock's school in 1825?

Germantown.

B. S. W.

### Replies.

HITCHCOCK'S SCHOOL.—Ira Irvine Hitchcock's "Hill of Science Seminary" was located on Cherry near Fourth Street, and was a mixed school of boys and girls.

ED. PENNA. MAG.

ELTON.—Referring to the inquiry, PENNA. MAG., Vol. IX., p. 119, for maiden name of Hannah, wife of William Elton, it appears from records in an old family Bible in possession of Elizabeth Bromley, of Moorestown, N. J., that she was the daughter of Arthur and Margery Borradaile, born 8th of Twelfth Month, 1731, and died 25th of Fourth Month, 1799. She is thought to have been the daughter of Arthur Borradaile, who was the third child of John and Sarah (Frampton) Borradaile. Said Arthur was born 3d of November, 1706. The Borradaile record is taken from a family Bible in the possession of George Wolf Holstein, Belvidere, N. J.

R. J. D.

Burlington, N. J.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA GRADUATES AND MATRICULATES.—CLASS 1762. (Honorary Graduates).—Isaac Smith,—refer "Port Folio," Vol. I, February, 1809; to which may be added, that he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, 4th November, 1768; Dr. Hall's "History of the Presbyterian Church of Trenton, N. J.," p. 243, and General William S. Stryker's monographs, "Trenton One Hundred Years Ago," and "Washington's Reception by the People of New Jersey in 1789."

CLASS 1815.—George Buchanan. Information can be furnished by Roberdeau Buchanan, Washington, D.C., but a full biography will appear in his forthcoming "McKean Genealogy."

CLASS 1841. (Honorary Graduates).—Rev. Jehu Curtis Clay, D.D., some time rector of Gloria Dei Church, Philadelphia, was the son of Rev Slator Clay. He married first Jeanette Schuyler, daughter of Dr. Annan, who died of yellow fever in 1798; his second wife was Symons Eadie (daughter of a merchant from Barbadoes, West Indies), who died in 1888.



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PENNSYLVANIA AND THE DECLARATION OF  
INDEPENDENCE.

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

It is well known that when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, there was a large party in Pennsylvania, led by some of its most distinguished public men, who thought the time decided upon for that purpose premature. It is worth while to consider the reasons which led them to this conclusion. Ever since the close of the Revolutionary War the independence of the country has always been looked upon as so unmixed a blessing that we are sometimes at a loss to understand how men who gained so high a reputation for statesman-like ability should have fallen into the error of thinking that it was their duty in July, 1776, to oppose an act of separation from the mother-country.

On the 4th of November, 1775, the Assembly of Pennsylvania chose as its Delegates to the Continental Congress John Dickinson, Robert Morris, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Humphreys, Edward Biddle, Thomas Willing, Andrew Allen, and James Wilson, the very flower of the moneyed and intellectual aristocracy of the Province.

On the 9th of November, 1775, the Assembly gave these Delegates instructions in regard to the policy they were to pursue in Congress as representatives of Pennsylvania. They were told, "You should use your utmost endeavors to agree upon and recommend the adoption of such measures as you shall judge to afford the best prospect of obtaining the redress of American grievances, and utterly reject any proposition (should such be made) that may cause or lead to a separation from the mother-country, or a change in the form of this government" (that is, the charter government of the Province).

From November, 1775, to June, 1776, a large and constantly-increasing party grew up which advocated a policy directly the reverse of that laid down in these instructions. This party, calling itself Whig, insisted not merely upon a speedy declaration of independence, but also upon a subversion of the charter government of the Province and a substitution for it of one of a more popular form, to be framed by a Convention to be chosen by the people. Thus early was the question of national independence presented to the people of Pennsylvania inseparably linked with the proposition to abandon their own long-tried home government, under which the Province had for a century grown and prospered, and adopt a new and untried scheme.

On the 10th of May, 1776, Congress resolved "that it be recommended to the different Colonies where no government sufficient to 'the exigencies of their affairs' has been established, to adopt such a government as would answer the purpose."

The Whig party in Pennsylvania insisted that the government under Penn's charter was not suited to "the exigencies of their affairs," and should be abolished in order that a popular Convention might frame a new one. The majority of the Assembly denied both propositions.

On the 8th of June, 1776, the Assembly, after much heated discussion out of doors and several days' debate within, rescinded the instructions to the Delegates adopted on the 9th of November, 1775, and authorized them by new

instructions to concur with the other Delegates in Congress in forming contracts with "the united Colonies, concluding treaties with foreign kingdoms, and such measures as they shall judge necessary for promoting the liberty, etc., of the people of this Province, *reserving to said people the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government of the same.*"

The new instructions were generally approved, and laid aside in order to be transcribed for their final passage on the 14th of June. When that day arrived, it appeared that there was not a quorum of members, the rules requiring that two-thirds of the whole number should be present for the transaction of business. The Whigs in the Assembly, by a secret understanding, had withdrawn, and never again took their seats in that body, either because they regarded the Assembly as without any legal power since the vote of Congress of May 10-15, 1776, or because the Assembly had by the new instructions protested against any attempt to change the home government, or because the Whigs felt, that, if by their withdrawal they could for a short time paralyze the action of the Assembly, the progress of the Revolution would do the rest. At any rate, thus fell the Provincial Assembly, keeping up its shadowy existence until the close of August, 1776, by constant adjournments, a quorum for business being at no time present. Its fall raises many interesting questions,—among others, where and in whom was vested the legal authority when the assent of Pennsylvania was supposed to have been given to the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July, 1776.<sup>1</sup>

It seems as if the time had come when we should make an effort to understand these curious transactions by which Pennsylvania became a State, and especially that we should examine the relation to these events borne by the ablest body of men ever sent by Pennsylvania to represent her in a legislative body.

<sup>1</sup> The Delegates from Pennsylvania who signed the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776, were chosen by a Convention which was called to frame a new State Constitution, on the 20th of July, 1776, and not by the legal Assembly.

We are confronted at the outset with a difficulty which has embarrassed every Pennsylvanian historian of these times,—a scarcity of material for their illustration. This is caused mainly by the negligence or carelessness of the descendants of those who were prominent actors in the early part of the Revolution. It is not easy to overestimate the loss of reputation which Pennsylvania has suffered and still suffers from this cause. Long ago Mr. William B. Reed complained that family records were not accessible to the historian, and in his preface to the “Life of President Reed” he draws attention to the singular indifference which has been manifested (probably from this cause) by Pennsylvanian writers in preserving the memory of those men of their own State who were prominent, either as soldiers or statesmen, during the American Revolution. Whether this is due to the fact that most of these men embraced that side during the war which became unpopular because it was unsuccessful, or whether it is regarded as an ungracious task to explain how many good reasons may have existed at the time which justified patriotic men in doubting whether the Declaration of Independence was opportune, certain it is that our own leaders in those days, men like Wilson and Dickinson and Morris, who were among the earliest and most powerful of the advocates of resistance to the pretensions of the ministry, have had scant justice done them. They are almost forgotten, and their services unheeded, as every one feels when the story of the Revolution is told in our day. They have, indeed, as many think, been relegated to unmerited obscurity “*quia carent vate sacro.*”

The lives and services of men in other States who were prominent at this time have been commemorated with a fulness and minuteness of detail which gives the very natural but very erroneous impression that the War of the Revolution was fought wholly by them, and that victory was at last achieved solely by their wisdom and valor. While the work of every prominent man during the Revolutionary War, and of many claiming, without much reason, to have been prominent therein who came from New England or

Virginia has been most abundantly worked up and illustrated by their diaries or by their correspondence, which has been carefully preserved, we have been reduced in Pennsylvania to the humble position of mere purveyors of material to writers who have used it to build up the fame of those not of our own household. We have no widely-known and elaborate biography of any of our Revolutionary heroes, save that of President Reed. In Graydon's Memoirs and Christopher Marshall's Diary we certainly find the most authentic material for reconstructing the social life in this city during the Revolution; but to weave this material into an account of the personal doings and opinions of those whom we know in a vague sort of way to have been most active in doing the work without which the Declaration of Independence would have proved a mere mockery, is a task which has hardly yet been undertaken, much less accomplished.

It is not flattering to our pride, to say the least, to find in the biographies of those men of the Revolution who were not Pennsylvanians striking testimony of the commanding influence that was wielded during the struggle by our own men, and to observe how this testimony is used to form a sort of background to set off the work of others. We find, indeed, in all the contemporary accounts unquestioned evidence that John Dickinson held in his hands the destinies of this country between the date of the Stamp Act and that of the Declaration of Independence, that James Wilson was universally recognized as the profoundest lawyer not only in the Continental Congress, but also in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, that the modest title of the financier of the Revolution is one which feebly describes the inestimable services of Robert Morris; but as to who these men were, how they happened to do such great service, what was their origin, education, and general environment and characteristics, we know almost nothing. We discover, no doubt, that whatever else they did in the Revolution they committed the cardinal and irremissible sin of thinking that the proper time for dissolving

our connection with England had not come in July, 1776, and that, having been mistaken in this opinion, they have been rightly excluded from the Valhalla reserved for our Revolutionary heroes. The approval of the Declaration of Independence nowadays is the sole test of patriotism, and very little heed is given to the earnestness of their opinions or the energy of their conduct during the war, either before or after that event.

It is certainly not to be wondered at that the descendants of those who laid the foundation of the most powerful government of a popular form in modern times, under every possible discouragement, should claim for their ancestors the very highest—perhaps the exclusive—honor. They are doubtless entitled to the profoundest gratitude of those who now enjoy the fruit of their labors. Still, we have hardly adopted that opinion of antiquity which looked upon the denial that one's own city was founded by the gods as a form of gross impiety, and it may not be out of place to recall occasionally the aid which the "Signers" derived, in their work of building up the nation, from unconscious helpers.

There is a curious popular tendency observable in the history of all revolutions by which the sympathy of the victorious party is more freely manifested towards those who have been its enemies than towards those friends and neighbors who have been moderate or lukewarm in its support. We read, for instance, with the deepest interest Mr. Sabine's account of the misfortunes of the loyalists of the American Revolution. To many it is indeed the saddest tale of suffering with which they are acquainted. When they read how the wild regions of Nova Scotia, of New Brunswick, and of Upper Canada were settled by people whose ancestors had been among the earliest and most enlightened of those who first came to these shores, and who themselves had been the chief instruments in building up the civilization of the Colonies, that these men who had been the leaders here were driven forth into the wilderness for no other reason than that they were loyal

to the king and to the established order,—when they read, I say, of the prolonged sufferings and miseries of these unhappy people, they forget their disloyalty in the sturdy devotion which they exhibited to principle, and they are inclined to regard the sufferings they endured as an expiation even of the wrongs of the partisan warfare in which so many of them engaged. So it has been elsewhere. Take the Jacobites for instance, those especially who were engaged in open warfare against the kings of the house of Hanover: they are far more attractive and interest us much more than men like Harley and Bolingbroke, who had sworn allegiance to Queen Anne and who used their position to undermine her throne. So posterity, without much regard to party feelings, looks with admiration and sympathy upon the sufferings and the exploits of the peasants of La Vendée in defence of what they claimed to be their religion and their country, while the Girondists, to whose counsel and acts much of the success of that world-movement, the French Revolution, was due, are regarded chiefly as a party whose leaders perished by the guillotine, and their special services to the Revolution are either ignored or forgotten. Such has always been the course of history. The man who does not side with the most violent in a revolutionary crisis is not only not a patriot in popular estimation; he is extremely fortunate if he is not pointed at as a traitor. To the excited imagination of the leaders at such times there is no *via media*. An open enemy is less feared and more respected than a lukewarm friend. Hence “moderates” at such a crisis are never treated fairly, and their reputation clings to them in history.

All kinds of motives, usually without reason, are ascribed to such people in order to explain their indifference. They are assumed to have been wanting in patriotism, and at times to have shown a spirit of cowardly submission. Thus it would appear from many accounts of the time that there were certain classes of the people in Pennsylvania during the Revolution who were bound to the English connection by ties which were not felt by people in other parts of the

country. It is supposed, for instance, that there was something in the religion of the Quakers which forbade them to love their country as other people did, or to seek a change of government and of rulers when oppression became intolerable. The kindest view of their conduct is supposed to be that which excuses their submission to tyranny on the ground that they were passive non-resistants on principle. It need not be said how the whole history of the Quakers is a protest against the use of arbitrary power, always resisted in their own way. So it is said that the friends of the Proprietary government, from their love of office and of power, withstood the popular claims. Any pretext, however false or unreasonable, is seized upon to explain why Pennsylvania statesmen, friends as well as enemies to the charter government, did not bow submissively to the revolutionary notions of the New England leaders. The obvious fact seems to be forgotten, or lost sight of, that John Penn, the Governor, was up to a certain point in sympathy with the rebels, and that Pennsylvania, having controlled and directed the opposition to the measures of the ministry throughout the country from the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, did not think it prudent or wise to abandon in 1776 the traditional and English course she had pursued in seeking for the redress of grievances.

Again, an impression is conveyed in books claiming to be histories of the time that Pennsylvania was dragged reluctantly into the war, and did not support it earnestly because her statesmen had not approved the Declaration of Independence, and it has sometimes been hinted that she was disloyal or disaffected to the American cause when the British army was within her borders. The latter charge is made principally on the authority of Mr. Galloway, who accompanied as a refugee Sir William Howe on his march from the head of Elk to Philadelphia in 1777. This gentleman stated to a committee of the House of Commons that the people along the line of march appeared generally loyal to the crown and furnished the army with provisions



without difficulty.<sup>1</sup> "But how happens it, Mr. Galloway," said one of the members of the committee, "if such were the case, that you got no recruits or volunteers for your corps during the eight months which the British army occupied Philadelphia?" The only answer that he could give to such a question was that the inducements held out by Sir William Howe to encourage enlistments were not powerful enough. And yet it is perfectly true that the farmers in the neighborhood of the city preferred to sell their produce for hard money to the British, rather than to the Americans for worthless paper. Such has always been about the measure of the virtue of non-combatants under similar circumstances.

But the test of the approval of the Declaration is applied in all cases by the New England writers to the acts of our public men in order to ascertain their patriotism. For this purpose it is amusing to trace from year to year the account Mr. Bancroft gives of John Dickinson. He is a patriot when he agrees with Otis and the two Adamses, but something very much the reverse when their revolutionary violence has forced him to separate himself from them. Mr. Bancroft first speaks of him as the "illustrious farmer" (the author of the "Farmer's Letters"), and then as "wanting in vigor of will," and further on as "timid, deficient in energy," "apathetic, of a tame spirit," etc., and lastly, and chiefly, as "differing from John Adams," who, with characteristic ill-breeding and bad temper, spoke of him as a "piddling genius." Yet this is the man, we may say in passing, who had for years consolidated the strength of the whole country on legal grounds against the measures of the ministry, who, although he refused to sign the Declaration in July, yet alone of all the members of the Continental Congress is found in arms in August of the same year at the head of his regiment of associators at Amboy, ready to repel an expected attack of the British army who had

<sup>1</sup> It is well known that provisions of all kinds were sold at famine prices in the markets of Philadelphia while that city was occupied by the British. See "Elizabeth Drinker's Journal."

landed on Staten Island. One cannot help feeling that a few more such lukewarm friends would have been serviceable to the American cause at that crisis.<sup>1</sup>

In short, it is very clear to any student of our Revolutionary history that we must seek for some other test of devotion to the American cause than a determination to support the principles or the conclusions of the Declaration of Independence prior to July, 1776. He who opposed it may have been as strong an opponent of ministerial tyranny as he who made loud professions in favor of independence. It would be quite as much in accordance with the truth of history to hold that the man who bore arms in the late rebellion with the hope of suppressing slavery was a more sincere lover of his country than he who fought by his side to maintain the national sovereignty. The safest conclusion to reach seems to be that in different parts of the country different men were seeking the same object, the redress of grievances, by different means. One party, principally representing New England, and some ardent politicians in Virginia, thought that we should be in a better position to accomplish that object if we claimed to be an independent nation, while the leaders in Pennsylvania and the middle provinces generally doubted whether such a policy was the wiser. Those who decry the course pursued by Pennsylvania in regard to independence have forgotten the statement of John Adams himself, made many years after that event. "There was not a moment during the Revolution," said he, "when I would not have given everything I possessed for a restoration to the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance." And yet this is the man who abuses in his diary and letters every statesman in Pennsylvania who entertained similar opinions before the event, and who denounced men like Dickinson, Wilson, Robert Morris, Wil-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Dickinson was appointed in 1778 a brigadier-general by the State of Delaware. This appointment he declined. He served as a private in Captain Lewis's company of Delaware militia at the battle of Brandywine.

ling, Dr. Smith (the Provost), and a host of others (because they did not agree with him at the time), as "timid and spiritless creatures." With Adams in his views concerning the war agreed Franklin and Jay, Jefferson and even Washington himself, all of whom regarded the adoption of the Declaration of Independence as a choice of evils, but they knew too well what the Colonies owed to the services of those who then hesitated to take the irrevocable step of plunging the country into a revolution, to look upon them with suspicion and distrust.

The great practical obstacle to declaring our independence of Great Britain in July, 1776, was the fear lest such a step would hopelessly divide the forces of those who were contending against ministerial tyranny. To secure success unity of opinion and of action was indispensable.

In order to understand how apparently hopeless was the effort of those who sought to secure from the Colonies a unanimous declaration in favor not merely of proclaiming but also of maintaining independence, we have only to recall the utter want of harmony in political opinion which prevailed among the people throughout the country at the beginning of the Revolution. It is perhaps not too much to say that when resistance was first spoken of, up to at least the outbreak of the war, no sentiment could have been more abhorrent to the mass of the people than that which the Declaration afterwards embodied. Even a suggestion that the dissolution of our connection with the British Empire would in any event be desirable would have been looked upon as monstrous. Outside all mere political considerations there were feelings the force of which we can now understand but little, which were then universal and all-powerful. There was the sentiment of loyalty, for instance, to the king and the Constitution, a sentiment which, notwithstanding the shocks it had received in this country, was an ever-active principle and had grown stronger and stronger every year in the inherited traits of the English character; there was besides that passionate love of country, inflamed just then by pride at the recent conquests of England on

both Continents; there was, in addition to all, that indefinable but strong feeling of race which gloried in belonging to the foremost nation of modern times. All these things may seem insignificant as moulding the opinions of men, yet they have been among the most potent agencies as stimulants to heroic action in all ages, and with people of English blood especially. In difficult times Englishmen have never forgotten the days of their proud history, and they were not likely to do so in the days of Clive, of Wolfe, and the elder Pitt. It cannot be doubted that sentiments, the outgrowth of conditions such as these, were far more deep-seated among the Colonists previous to the outbreak than a spirit of rebellion. There were, of course, many enlightened men among the leaders who were not affected by such considerations, and who saw from the beginning war at a distance, and independence as the probable outcome. But with the mass of the people it was not so, and the task of those who foresaw the worst consisted principally in convincing those who differed from them that no other result than a long and bloody war was possible, and in preparing them for the struggle. After the war began it was found, as is always the case, that the people thought and acted under the instruction they had received more rapidly than their old leaders had probably expected.

Practically there were many reasons for a want of union when seeking the gift of liberty under a new form of government, such as was foreshadowed by the Declaration, besides those of sentiment and habit to which we have referred. There was a general conviction that there were grievances caused by the ministerial policy, but as to the best method of securing the redress of those grievances there was a wide difference of opinion. It may be safely said that at the outset no one save a few wild theorists ever thought of independence as a remedy for the evils from which all agreed we were suffering. No one could then foresee the length to which the stupidity of the ministry would carry them, and independence was at last forced upon us by the insane stubbornness of the English ministry. As the House of

Representatives in Massachusetts wrote to Lord Rockingham in 1768, "So sensible are they of their happiness and safety in their union with and dependence upon the mother-country that they would by no means be inclined to accept an independency if offered to them." The obstacles to anything like united and effective opposition to the ministerial tyranny were so great and so apparent that we cannot wonder that the idea of any prolonged resistance was scouted at by the supporters of government. The Colonies had then none of those intimate relations with each other which now quite as much as the law itself give us union and force in what we undertake. The mass of the population was, of course, British by birth or descent, but it was, in some of the Colonies at least, as in Pennsylvania, composed of different races holding very different opinions in religion and government. Thus, in this Province, induced by the mildness of Penn's government, all nations had given each other *rendezvous*. We had here English mixed up with Irish and Germans, Quakers with Presbyterians, and members of the various pietistic German sects of the seventeenth century, all enjoying what was promised them in Massachusetts,—*sub libertate quietem*. So in New York the antagonism between the mass of the population and the great land-holders, between the Dutch and Scotch Presbyterians and the Church people, was felt more or less during the whole war, as it had been throughout the history of the Colony. In Virginia the Dissenters, as they were called, were ardent supporters of a revolution one of the results of which would be the suppression of their greatest practical grievance, the established Church of the Colony. In short, look where we will throughout the Colonies before the commencement of hostilities, we find discontent arising from a variety of causes, but no common ground of resistance. Indeed, this want of union in political and religious ideas had always been a characteristic feature of the history of the Colonies, and had made it very difficult to enforce any common policy. The English government had always found it as inconvenient to govern the Colonies, when any

great imperial object was to be attained, as did the Continental Congress when it declared independence of the British crown as the basis of its political action. While each Colony had a different charter and government, it watched with the most scrutinizing jealousy lest any of its chartered rights should be infringed by the agents of the crown, and the consequence was that the ministry, finding it impossible to induce the Colonies to carry out any common line of policy with the united strength of all, made many threats to withdraw their charters and to reduce them all to immediate subjection to the crown. Even where union was most desirable or necessary, the Colonists seemed indisposed to yield the most insignificant chartered right in order to secure harmony of action. Thus, when the "Plan of Union" was proposed at Albany by Dr. Franklin in 1754, the object being to obtain more effective protection of the Colonies against the Indian invasions, it was found impossible to overcome the objections that were interposed by the ministry as well as by the Colonies to its adoption. It was said to be too democratic for the one, and to give up too much to the royal prerogative for the other. When in 1755 the ministry, despairing of raising the necessary supplies for Braddock's expedition, proposed that the governors of the different Colonies should meet at Annapolis and there agree upon some common plan of aiding the expedition, the object being simply the defence of their own frontiers, the proposition was regarded by the Colonies as inadmissible, and no aid was derived from them. The history of the Colonies in their relation to the mother-country whenever any demand was made upon them to fulfil their imperial obligations is simply a history of attempts made by each Colony to shift off these obligations on the others, or to force the home government to make use of its own resources to gain its object. Of course the secret of the Revolution lies in the inborn hatred of the Colonies to the exercise of the royal authority here for any purpose. This opposition, however, had no common basis of support until that of independence of the crown was determined upon, and the ministry relied, as we

have said, on the extreme number and variety of causes of discontent as likely to embarrass effective resistance.

Of course the first object of those statesmen who had the success of the Revolution at heart was to discover some common unity of interest among the Colonies amidst these various elements of discord, for until this was done no real progress could be made. But, as is evident from the history of the time, no men ever undertook a more difficult task or one surrounded by more formidable obstacles. Besides the many obstacles of which we have spoken, it may be said that none of those means which are now employed to secure unity of action for a common purpose then existed. The problem was how to revolutionize a continent,—not merely how to combine for the work of destruction, but how to put in the place of the existing system one which by common consent would be better calculated to provide for the common needs.

The Colonies were separated by differing habits, customs, tastes, and opinions, and all sorts of petty jealousies of each other and of the crown. Many of these obstacles seemed insuperable, and it is well known that the British government was perfectly convinced that the Colonies would be helpless owing to these differences. These obstacles, as we have already hinted, seemed to all at that time to have their origin in differences which were fundamental and inalterable in the condition and the characteristics of the people inhabiting different sections of the country. The Puritan and the Quaker, for instance, were not only persons of different temper, and of totally opposite views concerning the lawfulness of war, but they had radically different ideas as to the nature of government and the character and extent of the obligation which was imposed upon them by their allegiance to the crown. The Puritan, although he was nominally the subject of a monarchy, had been in point of fact, certainly ever since he had come to New England, and probably long before, essentially a republican, always holding fast, in spite of kings and charters and mandamuses, to the fundamental principle of republicanism, that of self-govern-

ment. He was an Independent in religion, which implies that he insisted upon a system of self-government in his ecclesiastical as well as in his civil relations. Moreover, he felt in its acutest form that jealousy of power which has always been characteristic of the Englishman in history when any attempt from any quarter has been made to assert arbitrary principles of government. He was not disposed to wait and see whether any overt acts would follow the avowal of such principles, and especially he did not stop to consider whether he himself was likely to suffer from such acts or the principles upon which they were based. *Obsta principiis* was his motto.

The Quakers, on the contrary, were essentially a law-abiding people, patient and long-suffering, and not prone to anticipate evil. None had suffered more than they in history from the abuse of power, but their religion and their experience alike taught them that passive resistance to wrong, as they manifested it, was alike their duty and their best policy. They believed literally that all things come to those who wait. They were, therefore, not restless nor noisy nor quarrelsome, and believed fully that the force of time and the influence of reason would bring about a redress of the grievances from which they had suffered. They had maintained their existence and their peculiar doctrines under all forms of tyranny and without relying upon the arm of flesh for support. The very first principle of the Quakers, indeed, was a loyal submission to the government under which they lived, so long as it did not openly infringe their civil and ecclesiastical rights. With this sentiment was joined another equally strong and powerful as a guide to their conduct, and that was a profound conviction of the value of liberty of conscience, for the security of which they had contended in their own way from the beginning. To maintain this freedom of conscience they were ready to make any sacrifice, and hitherto these sacrifices had produced abundant fruit. Still, with this love of liberty, civil and religious, fully as strong as that of the Puritan, the Quaker was never clamorous in asserting his



rights. He was long-suffering, and persistent in his opinions, but kept his temper even when he was threatened with immediate and irreparable injury. There was, indeed, a point (as shown in the history of the Province) when he could resist. When he found, for instance, that the Proprietaries in Pennsylvania were unwilling that their lands should be taxed for general purposes, he persisted for years, and as long as there was any hope of accomplishing his object, in a constitutional opposition to such a pretension; and finally he did not hesitate, as a last remedy against this flagrant injustice, to petition the king to revoke that charter which had been granted to William Penn and which had hitherto been priceless to him as a testimony of the king's government to the confidence felt in the Quakers, and under which the Province had enjoyed such wonderful prosperity. So when the Governors under the Proprietaries insisted that the Quakers should render compulsory military service, they could never be induced to violate their principles by serving as soldiers, but they never hesitated, justifying themselves by some strange casuistry, to vote money to provide for the defence of the Province. They would not declare war against the Delawares and Shawanoes, feeling that these Indians had been goaded on to the outrages they committed on the frontiers by the injustice and rapacity of the agents of the Proprietary government, but they did not hesitate to defend with arms in their hands the Moravian Indian converts who had taken refuge in Philadelphia from the fury of the Paxton Boys. In short, Pennsylvania for the practical purposes of government—that is, for the protection of all its subjects—was in a chaotic condition from the beginning of the French War, in 1755, to the end of that of Pontiac, in 1766. The discussions about the revocation of the charter, the constant complaints that the representation in the Assembly was unequal, and the cruel sufferings which had been undergone by the settlers on the lands west of the Susquehanna at the hands of the Indians,—all these evils, which were charged upon the party that was dominant when the Revolution began,

seemed to render any united action among the people, for any purpose, wholly impracticable. In New England no such dissensions existed. The force of the people there was immeasurably increased by the common recognition of the traditions of English liberty as a precious inheritance. With the blood of the Puritans they had preserved in full activity those political ideas which had led their forefathers to withstand so manfully the tyranny of Strafford and of Laud. It is a fact of immense importance, in estimating the force of the various Colonies in the War of Independence, that in New England there was practically a unity of sentiment not only as to the nature of the grievances, but also as to the best method of redressing them. As for the Germans of Pennsylvania, living in the interior, engaged chiefly in farming, and kept by their ignorance of the language of the country from any very accurate knowledge of the alleged wrongs of which their fellow-subjects complained, or the wisdom of the measures proposed to remedy them, their influence in the Provinces was not to be measured by their numbers. They suffered nothing from Stamp Acts nor Smuggling Acts nor Boston Port Bills, and they could not understand the earnestness with which the claim to impose taxation upon Englishmen was opposed, for in such matters they had neither knowledge nor experience. Their predominant feeling, if we are to regard the great Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in this country, the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg, as their representative, was gratitude to the Quakers and their government, by which so many of the blessings of liberty and peace unknown in their Fatherland had been secured to them. Of course such was their attitude only before the outbreak of hostilities, for after the war broke out no portion of the population was more ready to defend its homes or took up arms more willingly in support of the American cause.

The nature of the resistance to the ministerial measures was very much determined also by the character of the religious teaching in different sections of the country. At this period the Congregational clergy was the recognized

guide of the people of New England in political as well as in religious concerns. Of this body only twelve out of five hundred and fifty ministers remained loyal to the crown. They spoke with no uncertain voice as to the duty of their flocks at this crisis, and all the influence which their office and the traditional reverence for their opinions had given to the pastors was employed to inflame the popular passions and to encourage armed resistance to the pretensions of the crown. Their fiery zeal was said by some of their enemies to have been greatly due to a fear lest the government should establish here the Church of England, with its hierarchy of bishops and other dignitaries, and thus supplant them in their influence over the people; but no such explanation is needed when it is remembered how far their traditional hatred of prelacy, against which their ancestors had rebelled in England, was the outgrowth of their republicanism. But in Pennsylvania, among the Quakers at least, there were no parsons to rouse the passions of the multitude, or to delude them by chimerical fears of a religious revolution whose results should be more disastrous than those by which their civil rights were threatened. The affairs of the Friends, civil and ecclesiastical, were then, as they have always been, in the hands of the elder and not of the younger portion of the Society, and the practice of the elders was repression and enforced submission to that strict discipline which was the fundamental rule throughout the body.

It would be hardly fair, however, to judge of the character of the opposition in Pennsylvania to the ministerial tyranny from the cautious and conservative attitude of the Quakers alone. Long before any one dreamed of war as the *ultima ratio*, all classes of people in every Provincial party here, Quakers as well as Presbyterians, Germans, and Church-of-England people, had joined together in protesting against what all conceived to be acts of arbitrary power. The measures of opposition which they adopted at that critical time were similar to those agreed upon in the other Colonies. Thus all classes in Pennsylvania, resistants and non-resistants alike, under the guidance of men who afterwards

became conspicuous, both as loyalists and as patriots, remonstrated with one accord against the Stamp Act and the Tea Act, the Boston Port Bill, and the other measures intended to punish the town of Boston, they all signed the non-importation and non-exportation agreements, they all petitioned the crown that the right of self-government should be guaranteed, they declared their determination to maintain the fundamental rights of the Colonists, they warned the ministry that armed resistance would be made to further encroachments, they did not hesitate to vote for raising more money for the defence of the Province after the battle of Lexington, and yet with all this they never ceased to hope that some peaceful settlement of the dispute might be made, and that no separation from the mother-country would take place. It is easy to say now that they were mistaken in believing that England would at last consent to govern them as she had done previous to 1763, but the man who maintained the opposite theory in 1776 would have argued against the force of every precedent in English history. At any rate, the course that was taken by the dominant party in Pennsylvania was not settled by the power of the non-resistant Quakers, and still less by the force of an irresistible popular clamor; it was deliberately taken under the guidance of thoroughly enlightened and patriotic men whose studies and training had led them to discover in English history how and why their race had in the long course of that history resisted oppression.

Nothing contributed more to produce confusion in the counsels of the leaders in the beginning of the Revolution than the different character and political training of the Delegates from different sections of the country. It is, indeed, hard to conceive how the national cause could have been successfully promoted at all, when the men who were its champions were affected by so totally different an environment and had such opposite notions of the remedy. The line was drawn so distinctly between the parties that no compromise seemed possible, and the only question was which should have exclusive control of the destiny of the

country. Strange to say, everything seemed to combine to keep apart those who professed to have the same object in view. Before the Massachusetts Delegates to the Congress of 1774 reached Philadelphia, it was the habit of those opposed to the popular cause, both here and in Boston, to speak of them as needy adventurers or lawyers seeking for notoriety, or as persons whose reputation and fortune had become compromised by attempts to defraud the customs' revenue. Whatever truth there may have been in these stories, they had, as we shall see, their effect so far as the influence of these gentlemen in Congress was concerned. But in Pennsylvania, however lukewarm some may have thought the patriotism of her Delegates, no one before the Declaration of Independence was adopted supposed for a moment that private interests or personal ambition was a motive which led any one of them to espouse the popular cause. They were all men, as we have said, whose position, reputation, and fortune were firmly established at the outset of the Revolution, and in these respects they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by becoming popular leaders at such a crisis. John Dickinson, at their head, was at this time a man of mature years, of as high a rank as could then be reached by a Colonist, of large fortune, and of a professional reputation that made his name known throughout the Continent. His private interest, selfishly considered, was to support the ministry; and we cannot doubt that his influence on that side would have been purchased by the highest rewards which the royal government had to bestow. In that path only, as it then appeared to a man like Galloway, was the prospect of promotion and advancement. But the earnestness and depth of Dickinson's convictions concerning the ministerial pretensions were such that he did not hesitate to obey the dictates of his conscience to sacrifice even his loyalty to his king (which in him had been a sentiment of intense earnestness) and to abandon his friends who differed from him, many of whom had given him their warmest sympathy and support from his early manhood.

Much the same may be said of James Wilson, the favorite pupil and colleague of Dickinson. He was comparatively a young man at the outbreak of the war. He had gained a certain fame by the publication of what was considered the strongest argument which had then appeared in support of the favorite thesis of the revolutionary party, "that the Colonies and the mother-country had a common king, but separate and independent legislatures." He soon became recognized as what we should now call a "great constitutional lawyer." In his character there were no qualities to attract popular favor or to enable him to control the passions of the multitude. There was nothing of the demagogue or modern politician about him, and throughout his life he, in connection with all his colleagues from Pennsylvania in Congress, forbore to stimulate the revolutionary passions of those whose aid they sought. He was a hard, dry, emotionless Scotchman, but he was such a master of logical argument, so clear in his statements, and showing so profound a knowledge of the legal principles involved in the subjects he discussed, that in the Continental Congress, and afterwards in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, he wielded unbounded influence, and held in those bodies, among the ablest men of the country, the foremost rank.

Men of the same masculine type, although they were merchants and not lawyers, were Thomas Willing and Robert Morris, partners in business, and colleagues of Dickinson and Wilson in the Congress of 1775-6. Although these gentlemen were the wealthiest merchants in Philadelphia, and among the wealthiest throughout the Colonies, in commercial relations with widely distant countries, and although, of course, the increase, if not the security, of their property depended much upon the preservation of peaceful relations with Great Britain, our commercial emporium, yet when the time of trial came they showed that their interests were subordinate to their patriotism, and they were the first to set the example of sacrifice by signing the non-importation agreement. But the vast services of the mercantile house

of Willing and Morris to the American cause during the Revolution are too well known to need recapitulation here. Whatever may be our standard of patriotism to-day, it is very clear that during the war the men in Pennsylvania who bore the chief burden of the contest, and who were most trusted by their fellow-citizens, were precisely those who either refused to sign the Declaration or who signed it, as they confessed, against their better judgment,—Dickinson, Morris, Willing, and Wilson.

But by far the most serious obstacle to any mutual understanding between the opposite factions in the War of Independence was due, strange to say, to opposite views concerning the legal ground of complaint against the mother-country, as well as to the nature of the remedy which should be insisted upon. Both parties agreed that we had grievances and that they must be redressed, but as to the foundation of our claim that the ministry had exceeded its authority, or as to the nature of the redress which should be sought, there was no agreement. The New England creed on this subject, according to Jonathan Mayhew in 1749, “recognized no authority but the Bible in religion, and what arose from natural reason, and the principle of equity, in civil affairs.” So James Otis, somewhat later, declared, “God made all men naturally equal.” “By the laws of God and of nature, government could not raise money by taxation on the property of the people without their consent or that of their deputies;” and again, “An Act of Parliament contrary to natural equity is void.” In one of the resolutions of a town-meeting held in Boston in 1768 it was plainly declared that “no law of society can be binding upon any individual without his consent.” These illustrations, showing the temper of the time in New England, but so utterly inconsistent with the facts in our pre-Revolutionary history, might be multiplied, but it is unnecessary. The statesmen of Pennsylvania were not philosophers after the school of Rousseau, and therefore they could not maintain either the natural goodness or the natural equality of mankind; nor were they Puritans, and

hence they were unable to perceive "an American empire in the Divine decrees." They were only hard-headed English lawyers, who, while they traced their grievances to the violation of English law as guaranteed to them by their charters, turned to English history as their guide for a remedy. They had always been and were still satisfied with English law when it was not made an instrument of oppression. They shuddered at the prospect of a revolution and of war, even if a republic was to be reached only through such a path. They were honestly genuine monarchists, believing in the lessons taught by that teacher of all true wisdom, experience. They believed that the evils from which they were suffering were in the nature of things transitory, that they must soon see the return of "the days before the peace of 1763," before any complaint was made of ministerial tyranny. They were willing to imitate the example of their forefathers, and again and again to come to the foot of the throne with petition and remonstrance, refusing even to see in dim perspective the shadow of the great empire which was promised to them as the reward of a successful rebellion. This was the basis of the argument of Mr. Dickinson in the "Farmer's Letters," and they had satisfied for several years at least the most ardent supporters of the American claims. But a new era was approaching, when his voice would be no longer heard: *Dûs aliter visum*.

Thus in the great divergency of views which prevailed in various parts of the country in regard to the proper method of seeking a redress of grievances, and the men of different character and of different political education who represented the various Colonies, those who strove for the adoption of a national policy had a most difficult task to perform. Added to all the other difficulties, the utmost delicacy and skill in managing men of different opinions were required. Intense earnestness and enthusiasm, combined with a sincere spirit of conciliation which sought only the common good, were essential if the leaders hoped to overcome that *vis inertie* which is so powerful a check to the revolutionary spirit at all times. None of the pretensions of what the



Germans call *particularism* could avail. There seemed to be, after the first excitement had passed, but two ways by which men of opposite opinions could be brought into active co-operation to secure the result,—the one by crushing down all opposition by force, the other by conciliating those who were as yet unwilling or unready, and thus winning over the timid and the hesitating to a loyal support of independence. Unfortunately for the desirable union of sentiment among the Colonists, the first method (that of force) was adopted. The violent and revolutionary men, at least in New England, forced themselves to the front, disarming their opponents and forcing them into exile, and claiming a monopoly of love of country, and thus managed to control the revolutionary movement in such a way as to throw suspicion and distrust upon all those who would not co-operate with them in their violent measures. The Revolution was preceded, at least in Massachusetts, by a total suspension of all the functions of regular government. Mob rule was the normal condition of things. The “tarring and feathering” of obnoxious officials, the destruction of private property because its owners were political opponents, the closing of the courts by mob force and the vile insults heaped upon the judges because they held the king’s commission, the expulsion of quiet citizens from their homes, many of whom had been revered and honored as among the first characters in the Commonwealth, because they were, in their quiet way, as sincerely loyal to the king and to the old order as their opponents were disloyal to the existing government,—all these enormities, for which no redress was ever had, although often referred to now as an illustration that the people of New England could be law-abiding and revolutionary at the same time, made a very different impression at the time upon the conservative masses in the other Colonies, especially in Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup> The proceedings of the early leaders of the Revolution in New England convinced the law-abiding people of the Middle Colonies that their design

<sup>1</sup> See an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, 1888, entitled “Mobs in Boston before the Revolution.”

was to substitute for an orderly government, under which they and their fathers had lived and prospered for so many generations, that rule which the average Englishman had been taught to regard as embodying all the worst vices of despotism,—the rule of the mob. Thus it happened, naturally, that the struggle in New England from the beginning was characterized by the intense individuality which has always belonged to the people of that part of the country. Their conduct, stimulated by the action of the clergy, and strongly leavened by a passionate love of equality, was made singularly aggressive by the inherited tendencies which were so strongly marked in those who were Puritans in their religion and true children of the English Commonwealth in their political opinions.

But, however powerful were these motives of action in New England, they did but little to promote the good cause among those in the other Colonies, who had not the same traditions, habits, and opinions, and possibly not the same fiery zeal for independence. In Pennsylvania, at least, men looked to English history for guidance when seeking for a redress of grievances. There had been tyrants on the English throne before George III., and the history of their ancestors taught them that all great movements for reform in English history had begun by petition and remonstrance, and that the line between passive resistance and an appeal to force to secure their ends was there clearly marked, as Mr. Dickinson had said long before. They remembered how the Petition of Right in 1628 had united men of all parties and opinions against the usurpations of Charles I. by its assertion of English liberties, how men like Hyde and Colepepper and Falkland, as well as Pym and Eliot, true patriots in the beginning, all equally sincere in their loyalty and earnestness before the civil war broke out, had united in the petition and had heartily supported it. Before they plunged into war, the statesmen of Pennsylvania were determined to follow the example of their ancestors, the English Whigs of 1688, who declared in their Bill of Rights the fundamental conditions on which alone they proposed to submit to the rule of

any king, whether he were called James or William. From these examples they learned that every expedient must be tried before they exposed themselves to the anarchy and ruin of civil war. In short, they were Englishmen, and their mistake, if mistake it can be called, was in being governed too strictly by English precedent and example.

It must have seemed to many sober and thoughtful persons, in the years between 1765 and 1776, as it does to many of their descendants now (if our statement of the obstacles in the way is a correct one), that there had never been a dispute between the governors and the governed among English-speaking people more susceptible of a peaceful solution than that concerning taxation in the shape in which it was then presented for determination. Our Revolution was not a sudden outbreak against acts of intolerable oppression which could be borne no longer, and therefore requiring an immediate remedy. We had no Star-Chamber here working without interruption and constantly condemning by its illegal edicts the subject to lose his liberty and property; we had no High Commission Court, with its intolerable and perpetual tyranny over the consciences of Englishmen; we had no James II. claiming as his prerogative the right to dispense with the execution of the laws, and permitting the free exercise of a religion which was forbidden by those laws. Still less did there exist any of those frightful political and social evils which under the sanction of law in France made the people slaves, and the removal of which could be brought about only by a social convulsion. What we suffered from during those ten years which preceded the Revolution was not so much the execution of obnoxious Acts of Parliament which might have been repealed by the authority which enacted them, as the claims which were made to rule us by the omnipotent power of Parliament in all cases, and the perpetual threats to exercise that alleged right. What we objected to was not so much what was actually done, as what we might suffer in the way of vast and irremediable injury if we allowed the Parliamentary claim and threats to pass unquestioned.

Under the circumstances, it seemed to conservative people that this was the time to bring about a redress of grievances by a spirit of conciliation, not by threats, violence, and mob rule on our part, but by discussion, petition, and remonstrance. These people were encouraged to hope that after the repeal of the Stamp Act and the Act levying duties on paper, glass, etc., owing to the discontent which had been manifested in the Colonies, the *principle* of the right to tax us by Parliament might well in time be abandoned also. It is very true that these men were sadly mistaken and disappointed in their hopes and calculations, that they had underestimated the unbending pride of the English House of Commons and the pig-headed obstinacy of George III., but to judge them rightly we must put ourselves in their places.

If further justification of the course pursued by Pennsylvania and the leaders here is needed, it is to be found in the peculiar position of the Province during the ten years preceding the Revolution. The population here, although greater than that of any other of the Colonies except Virginia, was, as we have seen, of a composite order: one-third were said by Dr. Franklin to have been English Quakers, one-third to have been Germans, and the other third to have been made up of a variety of races, chief among which were the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. This difference in races and religion was, as we have shown, the first great obstacle to unity of political action. There had been a bitter contest prolonged through many years between the friends and the opponents of the Proprietary government. On each side of this question were arrayed the most prominent public men of the Province. The Quakers as a body had forsaken the Proprietary party, and, although they returned to the support of the charter when they discovered what sort of Constitution the popular party proposed to substitute for it, yet they soon became divided on other grounds. The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, as was to be expected, were most ardent in their opposition to the ministry, for they remembered only too well the tyranny from which their ancestors had suffered

in their native country, which had destroyed the woollen-industry in Ireland, and the shocking attempt which was made to disqualify them from holding there any office unless they had subscribed the religious test of that day. They had here, as inhabitants of the frontier settlements, a peculiar grievance, a long-standing quarrel with the Quakers who controlled the Assembly, and who, they alleged, had refused, in consequence of religious scruples, to protect them from the attacks of the French and Indians. Hence the sympathy between these two sections of the population was not remarkably warm or active.

It will be readily seen, from what has been said, that to fuse all these discordant elements in Pennsylvania into the white-heat of opposition to ministerial tyranny was a well-nigh impossible task. The leaders in New England saw clearly the absolute necessity of some Plan of Union as essential to success, and to secure it they were willing, for a time at least, to subordinate their own peculiar views to those of others. During the ten years which preceded the war they were seeking for a common basis upon which they could hope to conduct the agitation successfully, and their leaders were overjoyed when at last they found it in the Plan proposed by John Dickinson, the most distinguished Pennsylvania publicist of the time. This Plan, of which we have spoken, was embodied in the celebrated "Farmer's Letters," printed in 1768, which upheld doctrines in regard to our position as Colonists and our rights and duties in our relations with the mother-country which, on the lines of strict historical English precedent, served as a chart for the guidance of Colonial statesmen for many years. The political doctrines taught in these celebrated letters must have been, for instance, distasteful to Mr. Samuel Adams, with his early belief in the necessity of working for the independence of his country; and yet he was so fully convinced of their wisdom that he repressed his zeal, and said, "After all, the Farmer is right. At this time either violence or submission would be equally disastrous." So the town of Boston, in the midst of her mobs, officially thanked Mr. Dickinson for the

lesson of moderation which he had given them. There seems to be a general *consensus* of opinion among historians that throughout the Continent the Pennsylvanian idea and system was the dominant one. Certainly no other political tract or pamphlet published in America has ever produced so deep and permanent an impression, not excepting even that of Paine,—“Common Sense.”

The doctrine taught in these letters was one designed to calm the revolutionary passions which were manifesting themselves in such a way in certain parts of the country as to disgust the friends of good government, and to alienate, what was so essential to our success, the sympathy of our friends in England. In them he showed plainly that what the Americans were then contending for needed not the support of illegal or revolutionary proceedings, but that, on the contrary, the great principle of representation founded on taxation was as much “an ancient and undoubted right and privilege of the Colonists as of the people of this realm,” that it rested on the same basis as trial by jury, for instance, a right which we would be slaves indeed could we consent to yield without resistance. Mr. Dickinson then insists that the true English mode of redressing any political grievance, and especially one such as this, was in the first place by the historical and constitutional method of petition and remonstrance, which may be a slow and tedious process, but which in history has usually proved effective in the end. He does not hesitate to foresee the possibility that the patience of the people may be exhausted, and that the king may be obdurate, and in such an event he does not hesitate to warn the ministry that, should “an inveterate resolution be formed to destroy the liberties of the people,” English history affords frequent examples of *resistance by force*. And he adds, significantly, “The first act of violence on the part of the administration in America will put the whole continent in arms, from Nova Scotia to Georgia.”

Such were the views held by a large majority of the Whigs in Pennsylvania before the war. They continued

to hold them when the Congress met here in 1774. By that time the fiery patriots of New England had gone very far beyond them, although they did not think it prudent openly to avow the change. The execution of the "Boston Port Bill," perhaps, was the occasion chosen for a more frank avowal of a change of opinion. Be that as it may, it was apparent before the Delegates came together in 1774 that there were two parties throughout the Colonies, whom for want of better names we may call the violent and the moderate, and that their views of the proper course to be pursued differed on fundamental grounds. Pennsylvania occupied a commanding position at this crisis. Her course was clearly marked out by the Farmer's Letters; there was no doubt nor hesitation in her Assembly, nor in her Delegates to the Congress, Messrs. Dickinson, Wilson, Galloway, and Morris. With her no doubt agreed at first the larger portion of the Congress, as appears from their votes and subsequent proceedings.

The obstacles which the New England Delegates found to the approval of their theories of independence in 1774 can hardly be exaggerated. The story is nowhere better told than by John Adams himself in a letter to Timothy Pickering, 6th August, 1822. (See Adams's Life, vol. i. p. 512.) He is describing the journey of the Delegates of Massachusetts to the Congress of 1774 at Philadelphia. It appears that they all travelled, with the characteristic simplicity of those days, in one coach. Arrived at Frankford in the suburbs of the city, they were met by Dr. Rush, Mr. (afterwards General) Mifflin, Mr. Bayard, and several others of the most active "Sons of Liberty" in Philadelphia, who had come out not so much to welcome them as to give them a timely warning as to their conduct. They were suspected (so they were told) of being in favor of independence. "Now," said the Philadelphia gentlemen, "you must not utter the word independence, nor give the least hint or insinuation of the idea, either in Congress or any private conversation: if you do, you are undone, for the idea of independence is as unpopular in Pennsylvania and in all the

Middle and Southern States as the Stamp Act itself. No man dares to speak of it." They were also advised to keep themselves in the background, and to put forward Virginians, as they represented the most populous Colony. To this advice (unwelcome as it was, no doubt, to the pretensions of some of them) we owed, according to Mr. Adams, the selection of Mr. Peyton Randolph as President of the Congress, and of Washington as General-in-Chief, although he admits that when he found the "members of Congress, Virginians and all, so perfectly convinced that we should be able to persuade or terrify Great Britain," he "had some misgivings." We may remark that his statement in this letter (written when he was eighty-six years old) that on his arrival in Philadelphia he was avoided like a "man affected with leprosy," and that he walked the streets in solitude, "borne down by the weight of care and unpopularity," is hardly in accord with the account of his reception given in his Diary, written presumably when the events referred to in it took place. He tells us there that he dined nearly every day he passed in Philadelphia with men of the highest rank and distinction, and the impression made upon him by the excellence of "the turtle, the madeira, and the flummery" was all the more agreeable as it was evidently a novel sensation for him. The truth is that all the Delegates to the Congress, from whatever part of the country they came and whatever were their political opinions, were welcomed by the gentlemen of Philadelphia with characteristic hospitality, and Mr. Adams never became an "outcast" until, by the betrayal of an intercepted letter, it was discovered that he had insulted one of his principal hosts,—no less a person than the popular idol, John Dickinson. Among the gentlemen who at that time composed the society which welcomed so warmly the strangers who came as Delegates to the Congress, such a social offence was, of course, unpardonable. It may be that the printing of this intercepted letter, which was widely circulated, may have been, in the opinion of its author and in that of General Reed (who, by the way, it is curious to find cited as an authority on the subject of



“intercepted letters”), of advantage to the American cause; but it is undeniably true that it was Mr. Adams’s manners, and not his politics, that made him an “outcast in the streets of Philadelphia.”

The Delegates found on their arrival in the city that the gentlemen who had met them at Frankford had not exaggerated the state of feeling there. Wherever they went they found little sympathy with their opinions. Not only did the Quakers seem cold, but others also conspicuous in public life; yet they were politely received by all. Those who then composed what was called the society of the place formed, it must not be forgotten, an array of men distinguished in public and private life such as could be found at that time nowhere else on the Continent. Among the more prominent of these were the Pennsylvania members of the Congress, Messrs. Dickinson, Wilson, Morris, Willing, and Humphreys,—the first, as we have said, with a reputation as a statesman already continental, the second probably the most eminent jurist of his day, and the third, with his partner Thomas Willing, member of one of the largest mercantile firms in America at a time when the term “merchant prince” had a significance which it has now lost. Besides, among the prominent lawyers were the Chief-Justice, Chew, Edward Tilghman, William and Andrew Allen, McKean, Reed, and Galloway, all bred in the Temple, and all having imbibed there the traditional English view of the public questions at that time under discussion. There were, too, eminent physicians and men of learning who added to the social attractions of the place: Morgan, Rush, and Shippen, father and son, who had founded the first medical school on this Continent, which even then gave promise of its future renown; Provost Smith, regarded by his contemporaries as a prodigy of learning, and spoken of even by John Adams as “very able;” Rittenhouse, the greatest natural philosopher of the time, according to Jefferson; and Vice-Provost Allison, regarded by President Stiles of Yale College as the best classical scholar of his day in this country. These men all discussed the burning questions of the hour in a large

and comprehensive spirit; and doubtless the society of such men, reinforced as it then was by that of the Delegates from the other Colonies, must have taught the New England Delegates many things which they needed to know, if harmony of sentiment throughout the country was to be reached. The impression produced on the minds of the Delegates by their intercourse with the enlightened men they met at Philadelphia was not, if we are to judge by their correspondence and their Diaries, a very favorable one. They were quick enough to see that their political opinions were associated in the minds of those they met not merely with the pretensions of a narrow and levelling Puritanism, but also with the encouragement of lawless and disorderly acts. The Committees of Safety, the "Sons of Liberty," the caucus, and various other devices which New England had invented for rousing and organizing the passions of the multitude, although shortly to be introduced here, were then regarded by the sober, conservative, and law-abiding people of this part of the country as forms of mob violence, and as such these political manifestations were extremely distasteful to them. The truth is, our people had not then been educated in revolutionary methods, and, Quakers as they were, they could not appreciate the value of that "higher law" which was invoked as their guide. One of the most curious illustrations of the failure of this New England mission to convert the stubborn Quakers is given by John Adams himself (Diary, p. 398).

It seems that he and his colleagues were invited by Israel Pemberton, a prominent citizen of the town, to be present at a Quaker meeting. From what we learn of his conduct on this and similar occasions Pemberton would appear to have taken George Fox before Cromwell as his model. The Massachusetts Delegates accepted the invitation gladly, and the meeting seems to have been held in the Carpenters' Hall, the same place in which Congress met. To their utter amazement, Friend Israel arose and said that "Friends had a concern about the condition of things in Massachusetts; that they had received complaints from some Anabaptists and

some Friends against certain laws of that Province restrictive of liberty of conscience." Israel said, further, "that the laws of New England, and particularly of Massachusetts, were inconsistent with this liberty of conscience, for they not only compelled men to pay for the building of churches and support of ministers, but to go to some known religious assembly on first-days, etc. ; and that he and his friends were desirous of engaging us to assure them that our State would repeal all those laws and place things as they were in Pennsylvania." It may be imagined what must have been the indignation of these Delegates of the "Sons of Liberty" to find themselves appealed to in favor of the liberty of Quakers and of Baptists at home, when they had come so far to teach these very benighted Quakers the true meaning of that much-abused word. They denied that any particular case of oppression had occurred under these laws in their time, but they insisted upon it that the laws themselves were so sacred that "they might as well hope to turn the heavenly bodies out of their annual and diurnal courses as the people of Massachusetts at the present day from their meeting-house and Sunday laws." They then began to descant upon the compatibility of these laws with liberty of conscience,—when they were interrupted by Pemberton, who cried out, "Oh, sir, don't urge liberty of conscience in favor of such laws." No wonder John Adams did not like the Quakers, and that he was tempted at times to call them by their old nickname, *Jesuits*.

As the day for the meeting of Congress of 1774 drew nigh, it became more and more apparent that, in the existing state of public feeling throughout the country, no measure looking towards independence could pass that body. The "Declaration of Rights" prepared by Mr. Dickinson, which was finally unanimously adopted as expressing the sense of the Congress, embodied simply the views which had been always maintained in Pennsylvania by her legislature and by her public men since the dispute began. In this "Declaration," in the characteristic English way, following the example of the Whigs of 1688, they *do declare*, "as

Englishmen their ancestors in like cases have usually done for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties," certain fundamental principles, etc.; and they insist that to the grievances, acts, and measures which they enumerate, Americans cannot submit, but that "*for the present* they are resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures only,—that is, to enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, and to send addresses to the king and the people of Great Britain." These words "*for the present*" really constituted the only difference on this subject between the majority and the minority of the Delegates. It has turned out that the Delegates who favored an immediate declaration of independence at this time were wiser in their generation and more far-seeing than their colleagues. The English government, as it proved, was not to be frightened from its position by threats to destroy its commerce, or conciliated by protestations of loyalty and attachment: these seemed, contrary to all expectation, only to harden the heart of the king and to confirm Parliament in its determination to force us to submission.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania was the first of the Colonial Legislatures to meet after the adjournment of Congress. On the 10th of December, 1774, it adopted and confirmed all the measures of that body,—a result apparently unexpected by the governor, and regarded by Mr. Reed in his letter to Lord Dartmouth as very significant, as it was "expressive of the approbation of a large number of Quakers in the House, a body of people who have acted a passive part in all the disputes between the mother-country and the Colonies." The Assembly also appointed Delegates to the next Congress to be held in May, 1775, but declined, from the religious scruples of the Quakers, to provide fire-arms for those who should be enrolled. A Provincial Convention, which was certainly an extra-legal if not a revolutionary body, formed by committees who had been appointed by mass meetings in the different counties, was called by this "General Committee," the real intention of those who convoked it being to use it as a means of supervising the con-

duct of the legal Assembly. This was a scheme violently opposed by some of the best Whigs and most ardent patriots in the Province, because it proposed to interfere with the regular legal action of the Assembly, which up to this time had been in harmony with Congress and the other Colonies. This body met on the 23d of January, 1775, and adjourned on the 28th. The immediate pretext for convening it at that time was the encouragement of domestic manufactures, but its real object was to familiarize the people with the necessity of subverting the old charter and establishing a new constitution on a more popular basis, and it managed to breed distrust, suspicion, and dissensions among a people who had been hitherto practically unanimous in their opinions and acts concerning the policy to be observed towards the mother-country. From that time until June, 1776, there was a sort of dual authority in Pennsylvania, the Whigs holding by the General Committee and the Convention, and their opponents by the Assembly and the old charter. When the Assembly met in May, 1775, the battle of Lexington had been fought, and that body, although chiefly composed of Quakers and of other persons still indisposed to take the irrevocable step of independence, and who have been represented as unpatriotic, voted at once, in accordance with the recommendation of Congress, that forty-three hundred men should be raised and enrolled, and that the commissioners of the different counties should provide them with arms and accoutrements. Moreover, they provided for the appointment of a Committee of Safety, with John Dickinson at its head, which took over to itself the chief legal executive power of the Province in the absence of the Governor. The Assembly gave this body power to call for troops and to issue bills of credit to be used for military purposes. During this critical period Pennsylvania was represented in Congress with great credit, and her Delegates, who were all members of the Assembly, and especially Mr. Dickinson, had influence enough to secure the adoption of her policy, which was resistance to ministerial measures, but opposition to separation from the mother-

country. This policy will be found in the two petitions to the king and the Declaration of the Rights of the Colonies and of their reasons for taking up arms, all drafted by Mr. Dickinson.

The opinions of the advocates of revolution were, however, not changed by the proceedings of the Congress, and they employed every expedient to accomplish their object, which was to induce the other Colonies to adopt measures looking towards independence. The most promising method which was at last adopted, by which it was hoped that this result could be achieved, was so to change the Proprietary governments of several of the Colonies, and especially that of Pennsylvania, as to place them within the control of the popular and revolutionary parties. For more than twenty months this party in Pennsylvania, aided by Delegates from other Colonies who were in sympathy with them, were unceasing in their efforts to subvert the ancient charter of Penn, under which the Province had grown and prospered for nearly a hundred years. Those who had petitioned the king in 1764 that the charter might be revoked, because its powers had been abused by the Deputies of the Penn family, were now unanimous in their desire to preserve it. The complaint is not merely that we were forced to sacrifice the old charter, but that this object was reached in the end by revolutionary means such as have never been used in any case since in changing the fundamental law of any of our American States. During this period the people of Pennsylvania were forced to contend against two revolutions,—one against the power of the mother-country, and the other against a party within her own borders seeking to overturn by illegal methods the long-established and well-trying government of the Province, and to substitute in its place a new and untried scheme, which the most experienced statesmen of the Commonwealth truly predicted would prove, if adopted, absolutely disastrous to her interests. How this scheme was regarded by her prominent public men is clearly seen by referring to the history of the time; and how much its discussion destroyed all hope of the union

of parties here and produced dissensions which destroyed the legitimate influence of the Province in the prosecution of the war, it needs no argument to prove. It is, of course, not to be denied that there were many in the Province who desired to abolish the old charter and to establish a government founded on universal suffrage; but, as no other Colony had ever been governed by such a system, as indeed the term "people" in the sense applied to it by modern politicians was then an unknown term, what was proposed would have been at any time a genuine revolution, but attempted in the midst of war, and with the object of placing the conduct of that war, as far as Pennsylvania was concerned, under the control of the populace, it seems an act of almost as insane folly as could have been well undertaken. What effect this change had upon the progress of the war it is unnecessary to enlarge upon here, but the great evils which grew out of this attempt to substitute a new and untried system in opposition to a large majority of the legal voters, at a crisis of peculiar difficulty, for the charter government of Penn are well known, and have been well described by the most discreet, judicious, and experienced man we had in public life during the Revolution,—Charles Thomson, the highly honored Secretary of the Continental Congress.

"Had the Whigs in the Assembly," said Mr. Thomson many years after, "been left to pursue their own measures, there is every reason to believe that they would have effected their purpose, prevented the disunion which has unfortunately taken place, and brought the whole Province as one man, with all the force and weight of government, into the common cause. . . . The original Constitution of Pennsylvania [Penn's charter] was very favorable, and well adapted to the present emergency. The Assembly was annual. The election was fixed for a certain day, on which freemen who were worth fifty pounds met, or had a right to meet, without summons, at their respective county towns, and by ballot chose not only representatives for Assembly, but also sheriff, coroner, and commissioners for managing the affairs of the county, and assessors to rate the tax im-

posed by law upon the estates real and personal of the several inhabitants. Members of Assembly, when chosen, met according to law on a certain day, and chose their own Speaker, Provincial Treasurer, and sundry other officers. The House sat on its own adjournments, nor was it in the power of the Governor to prorogue or dissolve it. Hence it is apparent that Pennsylvania had a great advantage over the other Colonies, which, by being deprived by their Governors of their legal Assemblies constitutionally chosen, were forced into conventions."

This charter, it is to be remembered, could at any time have been altered or amended by the vote of six parts out of seven of the members of the Assembly. It must not be forgotten, too, that of all the leading public men in Pennsylvania at that time—Franklin, Dickinson, Thomson, Reed, Mifflin, Morris, McKean, Clymer—Dr. Franklin, McKean, and Clymer alone thought it necessary for the success of the Revolution and the benefit of the Province that the ancient charter of Penn should thus be subverted. A good deal was said at the time of the binding force of oaths of allegiance, and the supposed obligation of these oaths was made the excuse for many lawless acts. But, as is well known, test-oaths, as they were called, had been administered throughout the Colonies to all those who held any office under the crown, and Pennsylvania was in that respect in the same position as the others. Besides, it was always understood that revolutions which are strong enough to withdraw the subject from the protection of a government *de jure* acquire, from the necessity of the case, a recognized right to a certain qualified form of allegiance. Both in Connecticut and in Rhode Island all public officers were required by their charters to take the same oath of allegiance as in Pennsylvania, yet the charters of both States were in full force during the Revolution and for many years after it, and their inhabitants suffered no inconvenience from the provision in regard to test-oaths. After considering this change of government at this time carefully, we are forced to the conclusion that all these excuses founded on



the idea that there was something peculiar in the Pennsylvania allegiance were mere pretexts put forward to screen an act the real object of which was to secure the support of this Province to an immediate declaration of independence, without any regard to the injury to the State itself or the opinions of the voters. We insist upon this point, because it is impossible to gain any correct idea of the attitude of Pennsylvania towards independence during the spring of 1776 without understanding how the question was complicated, owing to the action of a supervisory popular body called a Provincial Convention, with the vastly important question of the preservation of her charter. The question always was, in Pennsylvania, not, are you in favor of national independence pure and simple? but, are you also in favor of a new and untried scheme of state government? The particular party then in power under the charter were opposed to an immediate declaration of independence for many reasons, not the least weighty of which was that the adoption of such a measure would necessarily destroy their own long-tried home government. Their opponents, having failed to outnumber them at the polls, proposed by a revolutionary process to accomplish two objects,—first to get rid entirely of the trouble given by the supporters of the charter by abolishing it, and then to establish in its place a government which, whatever else it might do, would favor independence. There is no reason why we should not call the means taken to effect this object by its right name,—revolutionary and anti-republican. The vast results which followed the adhesion of Pennsylvania to the cause of independence in giving birth to this nation must not blind us to the extra-legal course adopted to accomplish the object, and we must see to it at least that unmerited reproach is not cast upon the motives of the purest body of men who ever represented Pennsylvania in a legislative body,—her Delegates in Congress when the Declaration was adopted.

We must follow somewhat carefully the steps of this intrigue if we wish to know how the Declaration of Inde-

pendence was made in July, 1776. The party in Pennsylvania in the winter and spring of that year whose immediate object was the abolition of the old charter, and the party in Congress whose only object was to secure the general consent of the Colonies to a declaration, had a common basis of action, and it was not difficult to reach an understanding as to the course which they should pursue. There could be no independence while Pennsylvania did not consent, and there seemed at that time little prospect that she would agree to a separation of any kind while her policy was controlled by her legal Assembly. From the beginning, as is now well understood, there had been a plan in the minds of a certain party in Congress (of which the Adamses, Samuel and John, were the leaders) to bring about a separation. This project had been discreetly veiled because for a long time it met with little encouragement. The greatest obstacle in the way of this party was undoubtedly the Pennsylvania charter and the Assembly organized under it. How to get rid of the charter was a problem of no little difficulty. Its supporters would vote for no scheme of national independence which involved its destruction. Mr. Elbridge Gerry, who came as a Delegate to Congress from Massachusetts in January, 1776, wrote a letter on this subject shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia which is very suggestive. "Since my arrival in this city," he says, "the New England Delegates have been in continual war with the advocates of the Proprietary interest in Congress and in this Colony. These are they who are most in the way of the measures we have proposed; but I think the contest is pretty nearly at an end," etc. One loses patience at the coolness with which men who came here to seek our aid in restoring their charter propose as the only means of effecting their object the destruction of our own. As time went on, and John Adams probably was seen by Dr. Rush "wandering like an outcast in the streets of Philadelphia," in despair at the conduct of the obstinate Quakers, the crisis was approaching. The power of the Provincial Convention, intended as a means of overawing the Charter Assembly, was first tried

in February, 1776, and its intervention, as we have seen, was a failure; then an election was held on the 1st of May, 1776, for members of the Assembly, which was hotly contested, but the friends of the charter were all elected, save Mr. Clymer. It was then that John Adams determined, in despair of success in any other way, to make his final assault upon Penn's charter. On the 10th of May he offered a resolution in Congress recommending that the Colonies should establish a "government sufficient to the exigencies of affairs." But the friends of the charter in the Assembly contended at once that they had just such a government in Pennsylvania, and therefore, in the opinion of Dickinson and Wilson, they needed "for the exigencies of affairs" none other. As soon as this movement, which entirely disconcerted Adams's plan, was discovered, he proposed, May 15, what he called a preamble to his resolution, but what was in reality a substitute for it, and was intended to shut out all hope of escape and declared that the exercise of every authority under the crown should be totally suppressed. The preamble, after a violent debate, was passed. This measure was, of course, the true Declaration of Independence. From that hour the charter of Pennsylvania and the Assembly which it created were doomed, not by its own act, but by *la force majeure* of Congress, which it was unable to resist. None saw this more clearly than the patriots who formed the majority of the Assembly, with Dickinson at their head. They took no factious or revolutionary steps to prolong their power. On the contrary, in the early days of June they revoked the instructions given to the Pennsylvania Delegates in Congress on the 9th of November, 1775, and permitted them to use their discretion in concurring with the Delegates of the other Colonies in a measure of separation from the mother-country. This proposition, as we have said, they were never permitted to bring to a vote, their opponents whose presence was necessary to form a quorum for the transaction of business having absented themselves. It thus followed that Dr. Franklin was the only Delegate who had been chosen in November, 1775,

who voted for and signed the Declaration of Independence voluntarily. Of that Delegation, when the vote was taken on the 2d of July, Dickinson and Morris were absent, Wilson was much opposed to it, but appended his signature, and Willing and Humphreys voted against it. Those whose names are now appended to this document, with the exception of that of Franklin, were chosen by the Convention on the 20th of July and signed it as of July 4, 1776. In this way was the Declaration signed in Pennsylvania. Those who signed it not only signed the death-warrant of royal power on this Continent, but in doing so they blotted from existence one of the most admirable codes of constitutional law that the world has ever seen,—the great charter of William Penn, under whose benign rule a community had grown up where civil and religious liberty had been fully maintained, where justice between man and man had been fairly administered, and where the prosperity and success in the arts of life which always attend on good government had made the people who lived under it the envy and admiration of the world. It is a consolation to feel that the sacrifice was made in order to attain a higher good, and that those who were the chief agents in its destruction and the substitution for it of the “unspeakable” Constitution of 1776 were not our own sons, but strangers.

I have thus endeavored to show how a Pennsylvanian might have been a genuine patriot in the Revolution and yet not have favored the Declaration of Independence in July, 1776. It was not because he loved his country less, but because he loved his old home more. If he favored national independence he was obliged to surrender the Provincial charter. Forced to choose between his charter and a new and untried scheme of government of which he could know nothing, it was natural that he should cling to that with which he was most familiar. He had strong misgivings as to the result when he saw into whose hands the framing of the new Constitution would fall, and his fears were fully justified. Of all the Colonial charters those only of Connecticut and Rhode Island survived the Revolution.

They were preserved in the affections of their people, and made to harmonize with the changes produced by the war. All that the people of Pennsylvania asked was that their charter, to which so large a portion of her people was attached, should be treated in the same way. This was denied them. Perhaps it was absolutely necessary for the common good that such a sacrifice should be made. If such was the case, then the terms "timidity," "weakness," and "want of patriotism" are very much out of place when applied to explain the conduct of men who in this crisis had the highest of all forms of courage,—for it includes them all,—the courage of their opinions; and surely America has produced no class of citizens whose career during the Revolution was more constant in its loyalty or more full of devoted service of all kinds to the country than those much-abused men who defended to the last the chartered rights of Pennsylvania.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT PROUD, THE  
HISTORIAN.

[On August 16, 1826, Mr. Charles West Thomson read, before the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, a paper entitled "Notices of the Life and Character of Robert Proud, author of 'The History of Pennsylvania,'" in which he gives some quotations from the autobiography of the historian. Through the courtesy of Mr. Henry D. Biddle we are enabled to give the autobiography in full.—ED. PENNA. MAG.]

COMMENTARIOLUM DE VITA R. PROUDI, or short notes and memoranda of the time and place of Robert Proud's birth, with his changes of situation or places of abode, both in England and America. Written by himself anno 1806, in the 78 year of his age: with some brief observations and reflections.

Our early days are best, but quickly gone;  
Disease with age and sorrow soon come on;  
Labor and pain soon introduce decay,  
And death relentless hastens all away. R. P.

The following notes are intended to inform those, whom it may concern, or to whom the same shall be agreeable to know, That I Robert Proud, having resided in Philadelphia now many years, which have seemed to me very short and fleeting, tho' attended with much vicissitude, tribulation and disappointment, divers ways, was born on the tenth day of May, anno 1728, according to best information and memory, in the north part of Yorkshire, England, at a farm house, called, Low Foxton (long since demolished) which was distinguished, by that name, from another next to it, called, High Foxton, near one mile distant from a village, or country town, named, Crathorn, where I went daily to school, to learn my first rudiments of a person named, Baxter; a man of some eminence in his line; likewise a little more than







the same distance from a small market town, called, Yarm, situated on the river Tees, where it separates Yorkshire from the county of Durham.

From which place of my birth, my father and mother, William and Ann Proud, removed with their family, when I was about five or six years of age, to a place, or farm, near fifteen or twenty miles southward, called, Wood-End; which my father rented of Roger Talbot Esq<sup>r</sup>, near two or three miles northward from Thirsk, a market-town, about twenty miles north from the city of York:—On which place was a large and pleasant mansion house and gardens, having long been the elegant seat and residence of a branch of the ancient and noted Talbot family, but now rented to a tenant, with a large quantity of land, belonging to the same.—Which house since that time, has been repaired, improved, and occupied by the said owner.

My residence here was mostly at my father's house, for a number of years, before I betook myself, with no small difficulty, from my connections, to the distant school of my beloved and esteemed friend and master, David Hall, of Skipton, Yorkshire aforesaid, to improve myself further in learning, or literature, and his good society, and from thence to London; and afterwards to America.

After having lived about four years with, and under the instruction of, my aforesaid friend and master, D. Hall, to great and mutual satisfaction, (with whom afterwards I continued a friendly and very agreeable correspondence, in the Latin language, during the remainder of his life) in the latter part of the summer 1750, with a kind literary recommendation from him to the notice and regard of divers of his friends in London, I took shipping from Scarborough, for that city; Where, after a stormy passage, and adverse winds, of about two weeks, I arrived, before winter commenced; residing there, at first, during the winter, with my relation, Joseph Taylor, at his house, near Mile-End.—While there, by the advice and recommendation of my friend and relative D<sup>r</sup> John Fothergill, of London, I applied myself to further improvement in some parts of learning and science,

in that city; and, being afterwards recommended by the same person, I was introduced into the families of Silvanus and Timothy Bevan, eminent chemists and druggists and much noted in the medical line.—Of whom the former, at that time, lived mostly retired, in his then advanced age, at the pleasant village of Hackney, nigh London; and the latter, in Plow Court, Lombard street, in the city itself. By whom being kindly received, and treated with much respect, benevolence and friendship, I undertook, at their request, the instruction of the sons of the latter, in certain branches of learning, who mostly resided at Hackney. In which place and employment (having the free use of S. Bevan's large and excellent library) I continued to much mutual satisfaction, till I removed to Pennsylvania in the latter part of the year 1758.

For considering this situation and employment would not long answer to provide for my future support in life, for which in my narrow circumstances I was often much thoughtfully concerned, and as it did not occupy my whole time, so, being conversant with divers persons of much noted medical knowledge and practice, I applied part of my time, while here, diligently to that study, with a view to qualify myself for the practice.—To which I was the more induced, not only by a strong desire of all useful science, in general, and best improvement of mind, but also particularly by the extraordinary opportunity, and best of information, with seeing a very extensive practice, in that line; which I then had, or might enjoy, in the families, where I lived, and their large connections, as being generally persons of much note and eminency in different respects.—In this pursuit, for several years, I made such proficiency as to attract considerable notice and respect from many:—having then in view the practice of physic.

This not only exposed me to much variety of company, with great intenseness of thought, application and trial, but also frequently to such society and communication, in some things, as were not always agreeable, but, as I thought, injurious to my mind; so that afterwards, for these and other

reasons, declining further pursuit thereof, in regard to a medical profession, in the latter part of the year 1758, having with much difficulty to my mind, or affection, taken leave of divers of my friends, more especially where I lived, I left London; and from Portsmouth, took shipping for Pennsylvania; having letters of recommendation from divers of my friends, in London to theirs in Philadelphia; among which, from D<sup>r</sup> Fothergill to Israel Pemberton,—with certificate, drawn by Timothy Bevan and Joseph Phipps, from the Monthly Meeting of friends, in Grace Church street, London, to that of Philadelphia, or elsewhere in America.

MEMORANDA.

1758, 9 mo. 27, and 4<sup>th</sup> day of the week, I left London, early in the morning, in the flying machine, six horses, with Sarah & Eliz. Hyde and other passengers; and arrived at Portsmouth, in the evening, about 73 miles: where I abode one day.

9 mo. 29.—Went on board the ship *Carolina*,—Duncan,—where waited for the sailing of convoy (it being in time of war) about three weeks, at Spithead, with my friend, Mordecai Yarnall, of Philadelphia who had joined us, and other passengers.

10 mo. 22, and first day of the week.—Sailed with a fair wind.

1759, 1 mo. 3, After a stormy passage, and much contrary winds, arrived at Lewistown, on, or near Delaware Bay, where M. Yarnall and myself went on shore, to Samuel Rowland's house, with Captain Duncan; and from thence by land we two arrived at M. Yarnall's house in Philadelphia on the 6<sup>th</sup> same month; the navigation of the river Delaware having been obstructed with ice, for about two weeks.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> same month, by kind invitation I removed to the house of Isaac Greenleaf, Market street; from whence 9 mo. 10<sup>th</sup> to that of William Brown, Walnut street, then kept by Mary Newport, where I first took a few pupils or scholars: and from thence on 2 mo. 6<sup>th</sup> 1761 to the house of James Pemberton, in 2<sup>nd</sup> street.

1762, 1 mo. 21—from James Pemberton's house to that of Israel Morris, both in 2<sup>nd</sup> and Walnut streets.

1763, 9 mo. 19—to Anthony Benezet's, Chestnut street.

1766, 5 mo. 15—Joseph Marriott's, Walnut street.

1767, 3 mo. 25—Anthony Benezet's again,—returned from Burlington.

1771, 2 mo. 8—Tacey Forbes's, N E. corner, Market Str. & 4<sup>th</sup> Street.

1772, 10 mo. 3—Benjamin Morgan's, Arch street.

1776, 5 mo. 25—Roger Bowman's, 2<sup>nd</sup> Street.

1777, 10 mo. 21—Anthony Benezet's 3<sup>rd</sup> time.

1778, 4 mo. 23—Elizabeth and Ruth Roberts, Arch street.

8 mo. 3—B. Morgan with R. Roberts, New Jersey.

1779, 9 mo. 9—Samuel Clark's 5<sup>th</sup> street Philad<sup>a</sup>.

In all 14 removals, between the years 9 mo. 1759, and 9 mo. 1779, about 20 years.

Near two years after my arrival in America, in 1 mo. 3<sup>rd</sup> 1759 aforesaid, I undertook, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of 9 mo. 1761 the Public Latin School of Friends in Philadelphia. In which station I continued till 9 mo. 11<sup>th</sup> 1770, about 9 years, when I resigned it.

From that time till 4 mo. 24<sup>th</sup> 1780, the space of 9 years and 7 months, I was partly employed in trade with my brother John Proud from England and partly during the distraction of the Country here, engaged, at the particular request of some Friends, in compiling and writing the History of Pennsylvania, in my retirement,—a laborious and important work.

Between the years 1775 and 1780, there being a great change from the former happy condition of this country, since called, The United States, with a general cessation, at that time, from the former usual and useful employments among the people, who were then strangely disposed for revolution, rebellion and destruction, under the name and pretence of Liberty, I endeavoured to divert my mind from those popular and disagreeable objects, at times, by such meditations and reflections as took my attention; which, in part, I committed to writing, on various subjects, both in

prose and verse, but mostly in the former, during part of my retirement, in that afflictive and trying season, besides the compilation of the History of Pennsylvania since printed.

All which literary productions, translations and memoranda, chiefly for my own use and amusement, or to help my memory,<sup>4</sup> still remaining in manuscript, with those, which are lost or destroyed, and including some written before, in England, and others since more lately here, I suppose, would fill several large octavo volumes, if printed.

SOME EXTEMPORANEOUS LINES, ON THE SOURCE OF HUMAN MISERY, HERE CALLED, FORBIDDEN FRUIT, WRITTEN ABOUT THE BEGINNING OF THE AFORESAID TIME OR CHANGE.

*Forbidden fruit's*, in ev'ry state,  
The source of human woe ;  
Forbidden fruit our fathers ate ;  
And sadly found it so :  
Forbidden fruit's rebellion's cause,  
In ev'ry sense and time ;  
Forbidden fruit's the fatal growth  
Of ev'ry age and clime.  
Forbidden fruit's *New England's* choice,  
She claims it as her due ;  
Forbidden fruit, with heart and voice,  
The Colonies pursue.  
Forbidden fruit our parents chose,  
Instead of life and peace ;  
Forbidden fruit to be the choice  
Of man will never cease.

R. P. 1775.

ON THE VIOLATION OF ESTABLISHED AND LAWFUL ORDER, RULE OR GOVERNMENT—APPLIED TO THE PRESENT TIMES IN PENNSA IN 1776.  
By R. PROUD.

*“Asperius nihil est humili, cum surgit in altum ;  
Cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet, desavit in omnes,  
Quam servi rabies in libera colla furentes.”*—CLAUDIANUS.

Of all the plagues, that scourge the human race,  
None can be worse than *upstarts*, when in place ;  
Their pow'r to shew, no action they forbear ;  
They tyrannize o'er all, while all they fear ;

No savage rage, no rav'nous beast of prey,  
Exceeds the cruelty of *Servile Sway*!<sup>1</sup>

As if the foot to be the head inclin'd,  
Or body should aspire to rule the mind;  
As when the pow'r of fire, of air and flood,  
In proper bounds, support the common good;  
But when they break the bound, to them assign'd,  
They most pernicious are to human kind;  
So are those men, whose duty's to obey,  
When they usurp the rule, and bear the sway.

In order God has wisely rang'd the whole;  
And animates that order, as the Soul;  
In due gradation ev'ry rank must be,  
Some high, some low, but all in their degree:  
This law in ev'ry flock and herd we find,  
In ev'ry living thing of ev'ry kind;  
Their Chief precedes, as in the fields they stray;  
The rest in *order* follow and obey.

Much more in men, this *order* ought to dwell,  
As they in rank and reason do excel;  
A state the nearest to the Bless'd above,  
Where all degrees, in *beauteous order* move:<sup>2</sup>  
Which those, who violate, are sure to be  
The tools<sup>3</sup> of woeful infelicity!

Ev'n so are men, far worse than beasts of prey  
When those *usurp the rule*, who should obey:  
In *self-security* weak mortals find  
The will of God is thus to scourge mankind. &c.

#### ODE TO DIVINE WISDOM.

*From the Latin of Matt. Casimirus Sarbievius by R. P. of Philad. anno 1776;—On account of the revolutionary conduct, and present prospect of the public affairs, at that time, in this country.*

Oh! Pow'r supreme, that rulest all,  
In constant change around this ball;  
As I delight to walk thy ways,  
So condescend to aid my lays.

<sup>1</sup> NOTE.—*Servile Sway*—That of servants, slaves, or lower rank of the people, when, by *violence*, they usurp the power over their former masters and rulers, &c.—See the history of the *Servile Wars*, among the *Romans*:—of the *Rustic War*, since, among the *Germans*, in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century:—not to mention those of the more late revolutions in France and S<sup>t</sup> Domingo.

<sup>2</sup> NOTE.—Observe the order of the heavenly bodies.

<sup>3</sup> *Id est*, devils, or rebels and destroyers; See Milton.

Thy bounteous, and thy various hand  
Spreads gifts and honors round the land ;  
Which mortals catch, with eager strife  
As children, straws, in infant life ;  
Some strive for riches, some for pow'r,  
Which last a day, perhaps an hour ;  
They tott'ring stand, in anxious pain ;  
They rise, and quickly sink again ;  
All worldly empires rise and fall,  
And certain change attends on all ;  
It is a point, the sword divides ;  
And for a moment each presides :

But I, who am both low and poor,  
This only boon of thee implore ;  
Let me, while others rage and fight ;  
Enjoy thy smiles, with thee delight.

R. P. 1776.

But omitting, in this place, further mention of things of this nature, I proceed to observe that, in the year 1780, 4 mo. 24<sup>th</sup>, after having sustained great losses by the confusion and iniquity of the late and present times (when I received such a shock, both in body and mind, as I was not well able to bear, and never since entirely recovered) I recommenced the management of the aforesaid Latin School, then deserted, by reason of said times ; in which station I continued till 5 mo. 31<sup>st</sup> 1790, about ten years and one month, when I finally and totally declined it.

Both before and after this time (1790) I was frequently in a very infirm state of health, and sometimes dangerously ill ; notwithstanding which I revised and published my history of Pennsylvania, tho' imperfect and deficient ; the necessary and authentic materials being very defective, and my declining health not permitting me to finish it entirely to my mind ; and I had reason to apprehend, if it was not then published, nothing of the kind so complete, even with all its defects, would be likely to be published at all ;—which publication, tho' the best extant of the kind, or on that subject, as a *true and faithful record* instead of meeting with the expected encouragement, first given to the undertaking, as due to such a work, has since been strangely and manifestly op-

posed, or discouraged even by many of those, whom it most properly concerned to encourage and promote the same; as being the offspring, and lineal successors of the first and early settlers of Pennsylvania; for whose sakes, or more special and particular service it was undertaken by me;—to my great loss and disappointment;—and that without any reason given to me! A performance, besides the said more particular and special design, intended likewise for a more public information, and the general utility of both the present and future times;—and to prevent the future publishing and spreading of false accounts, or misrepresentation, on the subject; which had too long prevailed.

It may also be here observed, that from similar views of utility to others, and a public service, was my first undertaking the then too much despised and neglected instruction of youth, in my line, among Friends—otherwise I should never have attempted the troublesome, unprofitable and laborious charge and employment, at first in this country; having formerly had much better offers, in a lucrative, or pecuniary sense, both in England and America.

From what is before observed, it appears, I have been 21 years instructing youth in Philadelphia, and 17 in trade and compiling the History of Pennsylvania, till about the year 1797; and 9 years since that time, during my more infirm, and fast declining state of health, till the beginning of the present year, 1806, now in the 78<sup>th</sup> year of my age: having been about 47 years in America, mostly in and near Philadelphia. Of late much in meditation, and sometimes writing observations and memoranda, on various subjects, for amusement and aiding my memory, still mostly remaining by me in manuscript; my former friends and acquaintances, excepting some of my quondam pupils, or disciples, being mostly gone, removed, or deceased; and their successors become more and more strangers, unacquainted with, and alien to, me, renders my final removal or departure, from my present state of existence, so much the more welcome and desirable,



“Taught half by reason, half by mere decay,  
To welcome death, and calmly pass away.”—POPE.

—for which I am now waiting; and tho', according to the expressions before mentioned, I may say,—“*Few and evil have been the years of my life;*”—yet, in part, according to my desire, I seem not to have so much anxiety and concern about the conclusion and consequence thereof, as I have had, at times, for the propriety of my conduct and advancement in the way of Truth and Righteousness, in said state, so as to ensure the continued favor of a sensible enjoyment of the divine presence and preservation, while existing in this world, in order for a happy futurity and eternal life.

R. PROUD.

Philad. 1806.

PRÆSENTIÆ DIVINÆ SENSUS, NE UNQUAM ANIMO DEFICIAT,  
PRÆCATIO.

1. God of my life, whose pow'r divine  
Thro' all creation's works doth shine,  
That ev'ry mental eye may see  
A glorious evidence of thee;  
Thy inward virtue, life and spring,  
Thou source of ev'ry living thing,  
Be still propitious to my mind,  
Oh! thou Preserver of mankind!
2. For tho' we hear no vocal sound,  
Among thy radiant orbs around;  
Tho' they, in solemn silence, all  
Move round this dark, terrestrial ball,  
In reason's ear they all rejoice,  
And utter a melodious voice,  
Proclaiming loudly, as they shine,  
“The hand, that made us, is divine;”  
And keeps all *Being* from decay,  
Which else would fail and die away.
3. But yet a nearer word we have,  
Thy Word of Life, the soul to save;  
Which is, as it affects the mind,  
The light and life of human-kind,  
That shines in darkness, till its ray  
Increases to the perfect day;

Leads out of all obscurity,  
And guides the mind of man to thee.

4. In this dark world, where e'er I go,  
Whate'er I suffer here below ;  
In life, whate'er my lot may be,  
Take not thy Holy Sense from me ;  
Nor me abandon !—let me share  
Thy saving presence ever near ;—  
Preserve me in each needful hour ;  
For still almighty is thy pow'r.
  
5. Since all true science comes from thee,  
My never-failing wisdom be ;  
Protect me from my mental foes,  
The cause of all my griefs and woes ;  
O'er all my ways do thou preside,  
And be my faithful friend and guide ;  
That so my mind may never stray  
From thy pure light, thy *living way*.
  
6. For all my foes, ev'n death, will flee,  
In thy bright presence, far from me,  
As darkness vanishes away, ;  
At the approach of light and day ;  
And whate'er state in life I know,  
When thro' the vale of death I go,  
If I but know thy presence near,  
I'll dread no harm, no evil fear ;  
But hence, to all eternity,  
Where e'er thou art, my soul shall be.

R. P. Theophilus.

GOVERNOR POWNALLS REASON'S FOR DECLINING  
THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1758.

[A paper in the MS. collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.]

REASONS

For declining the Government of Pensilvania, given to the Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Mr. Fox, for his royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

M. Pownall having been recommended by his Royal Highness to M. Penn for the Lieutenancy of Pensilvania as a Person proper to forward the service within that Government, at this juncture, was very happy in the honour, and very ready to undertake the charge, in hopes and expectation, of effecting such service; but upon his having had communicated to him by M<sup>r</sup>. Penn the *Particulars* of the Powers granted to his Lieut. Gov<sup>r</sup> and the *mode of Administration* within which M<sup>r</sup>. Penn limits such Gov<sup>r</sup> by Bond of £5000 penalty. M<sup>r</sup>. Pownall conscious that he cannot perform such service with any security or honour to himself, nor in any wise with Utility to the Publick, and his Majesty's service, with which only view and in chearful obedience to the Royal recommendation he undertook it, humbly begs leave now to decline it.

And he further thinks himself bound to give his reasons for so Doing.

I<sup>st</sup>. As to his own insecurity under such Bonds and high Penalties. The Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> being bound down under great Penalties to execute Instructions, cannot on any account, without making a sacrifice of his own security and welfare, deviate from the least Title of such did even the immediate safety and preservation of y<sup>e</sup> Province, require such temporary deviation: for altho' the Instructions given may be neither proper nor practicable in such case, nor just in Equity, yet they may be lawful, and the penal Bond & it's Fines will be sued according to the legal not the equi-

table performance of it's Conditions; according to the Letter not the Spirit; Whereas in the case of Instructions given by his Majesty to his Gov<sup>r</sup> any Gov<sup>r</sup> who has the Good of the service at heart would in such case as above, venture to relax, or wave, or deviate from the strict Letter and throw himself on his Majesty's mercy and gracious pardon. This is the Case of those Instructions that respect Emergencies and unforeseen Accidents in Government.

In the ordinary course of Administration in Government those Points (the Matters of dispute & the cause of all the Trouble in such Governments) which possibly and probable might be settled or accommodated, or kept quite from interfering with Government by waving, compromising, or other Address as Occasions require and Incidents point out, are by the Instructions absolutely determined on the part of the Proprietor, nor can the Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> venture to Engage in any practicable Measure of settling such, beyond the Letter already determined, without the utmost and absolute Risk of his safety for, the Reasons above.

This is the case of the Instructions known and already given, but if the Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> be bound under the above high Penalties "At all times and in all things whatsoever well and truly to observe perform and fulfill execute & conform himself within and unto all such *further* and *other* lawful Powers, Authorities, Directions, and Instructions whatsoever, from the Proprietor, which already have been or at any time or at any times hereafter shall be delivered to him in Writing by or from or on the part of the Proprietor, whether the same do or shall relate to the Proprietary Affairs of the said Province, or to the Government of the same, or to any other matter whatsoever." He is under the absolute power of the Proprietor; and what makes his Situation more than subservient, and servile, even dangerous is, that he the Deputy cannot refuse to act under such Instructions without quitting the Government, and yet by the same Bond and Penalties. *He cannot quit the Government*, without giving a Twelve Month's notice, So that He must inevitable act at the will of the Proprietor, or suffer the high Penalties.

II<sup>dly</sup>. As to the Ineffectuality of an Administration under such a Mode, and the Inutility that a Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup>, and M<sup>r</sup>. Pownall in particular would prove to be of, towards restoring Peace, or forwarding the general service, Administration and Administrators being under such Bonds.

“The particular Powers, Jurisdictions, & Authorities” granted to the Proprietor, by Patent to *be exercised* by Himself or Deputy are such as are fit and equal “to the well governing, safety, defence and preservation of the Province, and the People therein.” And the Proprietor does accordingly grant *all these Powers* in his *Patent Commission* to his Deputy: but those Powers being greatly abridged and in some measure changed from the Letter of the Charter of Government by the *mode of Administration prescribed and defined in the Instructions*, the People are always dissatisfied with, and discontented under such Administration, as they conceive the Powers and Modes of Government under such a Deputy so circumstanced are not fit and equal to the well Governing, Safety, Defence & Preservation of the Province, & the People residing therein, nor that they enjoy the full Rights and Powers of their Charter.

The Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> being bound under great Penalties to execute “from time to time” the will of the Proprietor, and in some Cases where & when that cannot be sent to the Deputy, he being bound under the same great Penalties to act and resolve by the Advice of the Proprietaries Council (Who by the Charter of Government are no part of the Legislature) the Assembly the only remaining Branch of Government reason and act upon this Principle—That, the full Powers of Government must be somewhere within the Province; But, as such cannot possibly be in the Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> so circumstanced, they do reason & act as having themselves those Powers which are defective in the Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> therefore this state of the Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> is in effect productive of instead of being calculated to remove, these internal disorders of Government.

Should this Reason be not altogether true, yet it is what the People there conceive to be true and consequently have

not, nor ever will have any confidence or trust in a Deputy under this Mode only.

M<sup>r</sup>. Pownall's expectations & hopes of promoting the service & restoring Peace arose from a Confidence & trust which the People in that Government, had express'd in him, & an opinion of his being detached from all Parties. The supposition of the Deputy Governor's being bound by Bond under continual Instructions from the Proprietor has destroy'd all Trust & Confidence in him, or those appointed by him under such Circumstances.

Should M<sup>r</sup>. Pownall be so bound, the confidence on which his hopes of acting were founded would be entirely lost; and should he be bound down and determined *as to certain Points* all his opinion of Impartiality & Dissengagement would be Destroy'd; The People would not dare to trust him, they would lose the inclination to trust him; and He could not be of the least use or utility to his Majesty's service, or to that of the Proprietor, or Province. He therefore humbly begs leave to Decline all Engagements in such Service.

All the above Cases arise from a Deputy Gov<sup>r</sup> being bound by a *Bond of high Penalties* to act under Instructions, even prior to the consideration whether such Instructions be proper or not. But the reasons are still more cogent upon a Review of the impropriety of the present Instruction.

By the 6<sup>th</sup> Article the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> is directed and enjoined not to encourage or countenance the coming in of Papists or Roman Catholicks, nor to allow them any Privileges not allowed by Law. Now the Fact is, that, Papists & Roman Catholicks do come into the Province, & do enjoy many Liberties and Priviledges not allowed them by Law; and as it is not in the power of the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> under the mere Authority of his Commission to prevent it this Instruction is as to the Remedy of the evil a mere Nullity & ensnaring with respect to the Lieutenant Governor.

The same observation and objection only to a greater extent arises with respect to the 7th Instruction by which the Lieu<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> is directed to observe & put in execution the Laws

of Trade, & to prevent Flaggs of Truce from coming in from foreign Colonies. Those, which are no doubt, wrong in themselves, but which are constantly practised, it is not in the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup>'s power to prevent, without the Aids of the Acts of the Legislature.

By the 9th Instruction he is directed to take the advice of the Proprietary's Council in matters of Legislature, & in all Acts of Government; which appears to be highly improper, as this Council is not by the Charter, & the Constitution of the Government a part of the Legislature. And yet if the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> does any act without their advice, He subjects himself to the Penalties of the Bond.

By the 11th Instruction he is directed not to assent to any Act for emitting, re-emitting, or continuing any Paper-Money, unless it be enacted that the Interest arising therefrom shall be Disposed of only as the Proprietors, or the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> or the President of the Council, & the House of Representatives shall Direct; by which the Power & Priviledge vested by the Constitution in every Assembly of Appropriating Money they grant to such Services as they think proper is intirely Destroy'd. No such claim as this was ever insisted on in the King's Governments; for altho the Crown in it's Commission reserves, to the Gov<sup>r</sup> a power of disposing of publick Money. Yet this is meant & intended only of Money raised & appropriated by *Acts of Assembly*, and according to such appropriation.

By the 14th Article it is directed that the Quakers be not compell'd to act in any manner in Matters relating to the Militia; which may be construed into an Exemption not only against bearing Arms themselves, but in making provision for the Pay & Subsistance & other Expenses of such whose Consciencies will permit to serve in a Military Capacity; Besides, by this Injuntion the Gov<sup>r</sup> is pinn'd down to a Militia, which is highly improper, as it may & probably will be found an ineffectual Plan, for the service and a much better one may be thought of.

By the 16th Article he is directed to assist in making Settlements to the Westward of the Mountains on the

Waters of the Ohio, which is a Measure highly offensive to the Indians and the carrying of which into execution at this time, would be attended with fatal Consequences to the service, as the Indians look upon those Lands as of right belonging to them, & have several times lately Declared their Resolution not to part with them.

N B This to be struck out, but should be replaced by an Instruction directing the L<sup>t</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> not to give encouragement or suffer any settlement to be made on Lands claimed by the Indians, until the Rights be settled to their satisfaction.

By the 21st Article he is directed not to give his assent to any Law, by which any of the Proprietor's Manor Lands, Quit Rents, other Estates may be affected, which ties up the Gov<sup>r</sup>'s Hands from assenting to any Law for raising Money by a Tax upon Estates without an Exemption as to the Proprietary's Estates which is unjust and unreasonable; and when upon a late occasion a Law of that sort was proposed by the Assembly it was rejected by the Gov<sup>r</sup> for this very Reason:—He is likewise directed by his Instruction not to assent to any Law for establishing Ferries or, for the establishing a Court of Chancery; Points which the Assembly have long contested, & which have been allowed of in other Colonies.

By the 23d Instruction he is directed not to assent to any Laws for laying Duties on Goods imported, which as it restrains the Assembly from availing themselves of this particular subject of Taxation; for raising Money for the Publick-Service appears in the present times of Exigency to be improper, & may be the occasion of Disputes & Differences between them, and the Governor. And whatever the general view of the Instruction may be, it seems improper that the Trade of this particular Province, should be exempted from those Duties which are laid upon it universally in every other Colony.

This to be altered.



SETTLERS IN MERION—THE HARRISON FAMILY  
AND HARRITON PLANTATION.

BY GEORGE VAUX.

The Harrison family was settled, towards the close of the seventeenth century, in what was then Calvert County, on the Western Shore of Maryland. Richard Harrison was a member of the religious Society of Friends, of which body there had been a considerable settlement in that section long before the arrival of William Penn in Pennsylvania. George Fox and John Burnyeat, eminent ministers from England, visited these parts in 1672 to 1674, and were instrumental in increasing the membership.

Meetings were held at West River, Herring Creek, and The Cliffs, and there was a meeting-house at the first-named place.<sup>1</sup> Richard Harrison the elder resided near Herring Creek, but whether originally in membership with Friends, or a convert under the preaching of George Fox and John Burnyeat, does not appear. He was, however, an active member of the society, and the monthly meetings were held at his house. Maryland Friends were early alive to the evils of the traffic in intoxicating liquors, and Richard Harrison was one of a committee appointed soon after the commencement of the eighteenth century to take steps for its suppression. It is believed that he died about the year 1717.

Richard Harrison, Jr., son of the former, was a tobacco-planter and an extensive slave-holder, residing in the vicinity of Herring Creek. He was probably born there, and was educated among Friends by religious parents, and bore an excellent reputation in the place of his nativity. After his

<sup>1</sup> The site of this building still remains, being used as a burial-ground, though much overgrown with weeds. The building has long since disappeared, but the place is still known as "The Friends' Meeting."

removal to Pennsylvania he was said, on the authority of Deborah Logan, to have been a gentleman of great integrity and virtue.

He is supposed to have been twice married. His first wife appears to have been Elizabeth Hall, daughter of Elisha Hall, of Calvert County, Maryland. The marriage took place in the early part of 1707. The time of her death has not been ascertained. There does not appear to have been any issue of this marriage.

Richard Harrison's second wife, Hannah Norris, was the second daughter of Isaac Norris, and granddaughter of Deputy Governor Thomas Lloyd. She was a most affectionate and pious woman, and a minister in the Society of Friends.

Richard Harrison and Hannah Norris were married in Philadelphia in 1717, and soon after he returned with his bride to his residence at Herring Creek. He had, however, promised Hannah Norris prior to the marriage, that, if after residing in Maryland one year she did not like it for a home, he would dispose of his property at Herring Creek and remove to Pennsylvania. The year's trial did not prove satisfactory to Hannah Harrison, and, in accordance with his promise, her husband made preparations to remove to the vicinity of Philadelphia. In 1719 he purchased, of Rowland Ellis, an estate of seven hundred acres in Merion, about ten miles from Philadelphia, situated on what was in those early times one of the main roads leading out of the city, now known as the Old Gulf Road. This road passes diagonally through the southern part of the tract, and bounds it on the southwest side throughout most of its length. The ancient eleven- and twelve-mile-stones, marking the distance from the old Court-House at Second and Market Streets, yet remain on the premises. The mansion-house, still standing, was erected by the former owner, Rowland Ellis,<sup>1</sup> in 1704.

<sup>1</sup> Rowland Ellis was born in 1650 at Bryn-Mawr, Merionethshire, Wales. He became a Friend when about twenty-two years old, and suffered several years' imprisonment for his constancy in refusing to take an oath. He was a minister and a man of note both in the country

It is said that all the stone, sand, and other similar materials used in its construction were carried on panniers. There were no carts or wagons in use in that section of the country in those days, and the produce of the farms was carried to market on pack-horses.

This house, afterwards the residence of Richard Harrison's son-in-law Charles Thomson, is built of pointed stone, two stories high with dormer windows above. The main doorway opens into the principal room on the first floor, used as a dining-room in early times, and occupied by Charles Thomson as his study. It was here that the principal part of the work was done on his translation of the Bible from the Septuagint. Until within a few years there was a date-stone in the southwest gable of the house marked 1704.

To this plantation Richard Harrison and his wife removed. He called it Harriton, after his own name, changing only the letter *s* into *t*. His household goods and slaves (the latter said to have been numerous) appear to have been sent to Philadelphia in a sailing vessel. When ascending the Delaware, the vessel was taken by pirates, who appropriated all the household goods, but landed the slaves, and allowed them to make their way as best they could to their master. After the removal to Merion, some of the slaves became dissatisfied with their new home, and endeavored to prevail upon their master to return to Maryland. Failing in this, several of them conspired to destroy him and his family by poisoning. This design was, however, providentially frustrated. The poison was put into the chocolate which the family were to drink at breakfast. During the season of

of his birth and in the land of his adoption. In 1686 he visited Pennsylvania to prepare for a settlement of his family, but returned to Wales the following spring. In 1697 he finally came to America and settled in Merion on the plantation now called Harriton. He continued to reside in Merion until about 1719, when he removed to North Wales, Pennsylvania. He died in 1729 and was buried at Plymouth. During his residence in Merion religious meetings after the manner of Friends were frequently held at his house, and in some instances marriages were solemnized there.

silence which precedes partaking of a meal in the families of Friends there was a knock at the front door of the house, which opened immediately into the breakfast-room. Richard Harrison requested the visitor to enter, but, as his invitation apparently was not heard, he rose suddenly to open the door, in doing which he overturned the breakfast-table, and the chocolate, which had in the mean time been poured into the cups, was spilled on the floor. The spilled chocolate was licked up by the cat, which soon died from the effects of the poison. The conspirators subsequently confessed their crime, and admitted that the design was to destroy the whole family, with the hope that they would then be able to return to Herring Creek.

A considerable part of the Harriton plantation was woodland. Upon the portion which had been cleared Richard Harrison resumed his business of tobacco-planting. Access to the Philadelphia market was difficult, not only because of the primitive character of the Old Gulf Road, but also in consequence of the route passing over steep hills. The practice still in vogue in some parts of the South was adopted for taking the tobacco to market. It was packed in hogsheads, through the centre of which an axle was placed, and on the projecting parts on either side slabs were fitted in which the axle would revolve easily. These slabs suitably braced answered for shafts, and admitted of one or more horses being attached to the hogsheads, by which means they were rolled to Philadelphia with comparative ease.

In 1737 a certain Thomas Lloyd and his wife in some way interfered with Richard Harrison's slaves. The character of this interference is not apparent, but it was sufficiently serious to cause a complaint to be laid before the Monthly Meeting, which appointed Rees Thomas and five other Friends to hear the case. Under date of 8 Mo. 13, 1737, the minutes of the Monthly Meeting held at Haverford contain the following entry in relation to the matter.

“The friends appointed to hear the complaint of Richard Harrison against Thomas Lloyd reports in writing under

their hands that the said Richard had just cause of complaint: Also that there was a paper brought to this meeting signed by Thomas Lloyd and his wife, acknowledging that they were heartily sorry that they had given the said Richard and wife, just cause to be offended in that they had any thing to do with their negroes and that they had acted very unadvisedly and foolishly and promises to avoid any thing of the kind for the time to come, and Richard Harrison being present at this meeting accepts thereof for satisfaction."

As has been heretofore intimated, Richard Harrison and his wife were both religious persons, the latter being a minister. To afford to his family and neighbors the opportunity for worship after the manner of Friends, he erected a meeting-house on his land a few hundred yards from his dwelling-house. This was built at least as early as 1730, and probably some years earlier. It is referred to in the minutes of the Monthly Meeting, then held alternately at Merion, Haverford, and Radnor, as "Richard Harrison's school-house," but the family tradition is clear that it was built for a meeting-house, and there is very little doubt that it was erected primarily for that purpose. It was of stone, one story high, and appears to have been about thirty by fifteen feet. The interior was fitted with a small minister's gallery so arranged as to be closed in below and thus keep the occupants more free from the cold in winter.

Meetings for Divine worship appear to have been held in this building so long as the Harrison family continued to reside at Harriton,—it is supposed during a period of about thirty years, and probably longer.

At the Monthly Meeting held in the Eleventh Month, 1730, action was taken in relation to holding this meeting as follows,—viz.:

"It's proposed on behalf of Richard Harrison and some other friends that they have liberty to keep a meeting on the first days for this winter season at the said Richard's School-house, which this meeting allows them until y<sup>e</sup> next spring Yearly Meeting."

In the Seventh Month following the Monthly Meeting records:

“Richard Harrison with some other friends proposes to have liberty to keep a meeting on first day of the week at said Richard’s School-house to begin after the Yearly Meeting and to continue until spring Yearly Meeting which this meeting allows of.”

In the First Month, 1732, the matter was again before the Monthly Meeting, when—

“Richard Harrison and some other friends signified to this meeting in writing that the meeting appointed last 7th mo. to be kept at y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> Richards School-house was duely and religiously kept. And further requesting to be admitted to keep an afternoon meeting in y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> place from the Spring meeting in this month until y<sup>e</sup> yearly meeting in y<sup>e</sup> 7th mo next, which is allowed of and to begin at four o’clock.”

After many years, at the Monthly Meeting held on the 14th of Sixth Month, 1759, a committee was “appointed to make inquiry into the circumstance of that meeting at Harrisons and know if it is still kept up and report to our next meeting.”

At the following Monthly Meeting, held in the Seventh Month, report was made that “Some of the friends appointed to enquire into the circumstance of that meeting at Harrisons reported that they were there, and some friends were met there, and that the widow Harrison seemed desirous to have it continued some time, which this meeting agrees to. And Robert Jones is appointed to inform the widow Harrison and those friends who are desirous of meeting there, that this meeting desires them to meet at the fourth hour in the afternoon.”

After the removal of the family from Harriton, which occurred, as will hereafter appear, soon after the death of the elder son, Thomas, in 1759, these meetings were discontinued. It is probable that services by other religious denominations than Friends may have been held in Harriton meeting-house subsequently, as the owners for a long time were not members of that religious society. For many

years it was used as a school-house, and remained in fairly good repair until about 1819, when it was maliciously pulled down by a person then residing on the property. The stone foundations still remain, and afford the opportunity of ascertaining the size and exact location of the building.

Adjoining the meeting-house a piece of land was appropriated for a family burial-ground. This burial-ground has long been known as Harriton Family Cemetery.

Richard Harrison provided, by his will, that the site of the meeting-house and burial-ground should not be sold, and his wife left a legacy to be applied to erecting a suitable enclosure around them. The first wall was erected with the proceeds of this legacy. It had a wooden covering and an entrance gate. The wall, which is about four feet high, was rebuilt in 1844, and the present stone coping and entrance steps were supplied at that time.

Harriton Family Cemetery is about eighty-five feet long and forty-six feet wide. The entrance is by a flight of stone steps ascending the wall on one side, and a similar flight descending on the other. A grass walk extends across the breadth of the enclosure. Immediately on the left-hand side of this walk are two rows of family graves, in which were interred several generations of the Harrison family. Still farther to the left, and entirely apart from these interments, are a number of stones marking the graves of strangers to the family blood, buried here by permission between 1795 and 1828. On the right of the grass walk are several other rows of graves, many of which are those of slaves employed in the Harrison family. The house servants alone were buried here, the slaves generally being interred in a selected spot in one of the fields. A block of soapstone is built in the front wall of the cemetery, showing inscriptions on both sides. On the exterior side are the words "Harriton Family Cemetery Anno 1719." On the interior side is the following inscription: "This stone is opposite the division between two rows of family graves, wherein were interred Richard Harrison (died March 2, 1747) and a number of his descendants. Also Charles

Thomson Secretary of Continental Congress (died Aug. 16, 1824) and Hannah Thomson wife of Chas: Thomson, daughter of Richard Harrison, grand-daughter of Isaac Norris, & great-grand-daughter of Governor Thomas Lloyd. (died Sept. 6, 1807).”

In Charles Thomson's time the burial-ground was in full view from the windows of the mansion-house, through a vista cut in the woodland which surrounds it. Charles Thomson particularly requested that after his death his remains might repose with those of his wife and her ancestors, in their ancient burying-place, and he was accordingly interred in Harriton Cemetery. Subsequently, however, his desires were entirely ignored, under circumstances at once painful and discreditable.

In 1838 several persons in Philadelphia established Laurel Hill Cemetery. It was a new scheme, the first of its kind, and its promoters were anxious to give it all the prestige possible by having removed there the remains of prominent persons. One of the parties interested called upon the owners of the Harriton estate, they being the nearest family connections of Hannah Thomson (for her husband had only a life-estate in the property), and asked permission to remove the remains of Charles Thomson and his wife from the family burial-ground to the new cemetery.

He was courteously informed that other relatives would be consulted, and an early reply given. The matter was accordingly considered by various members of the family, and it was the unanimous judgment of all that, as Charles Thomson had been interred in the family burial-ground at his own request, and had expressed the strong desire that his remains might lie with those of his wife's ancestors in their ancient burial-place, it would not be right to grant the request. Among those consulted was the venerable Deborah Logan, a near relative, whose opposition to the removal was perhaps more decided than that of any other person. The judgment arrived at was accordingly communicated to the individual who had made the application.



There was, however, a nephew of Charles Thomson who was a stranger to the Harrison blood and unfriendly to the owners of Harriton. This was John Thomson. He, of course, was not consulted by the other relatives. To him the individual above referred to applied for permission to remove the remains. He undertook to authorize the removal, claiming that he had the right to do it by virtue of the fact that he had been Charles Thomson's executor and was his nearest relative. How these circumstances could confer a right to authorize any meddling with the remains of Hannah Thomson, who was not of his blood and with whose affairs he had never had any concern, or to authorize an entry upon private property to take either body, has never been explained. If such a right really existed, it could easily have been established in the proper court of law; and the fact that the removal was accomplished by stealth at dead of night, seems to be conclusive that the parties engaged in it had but little confidence in the legality of their proceedings. Those desiring to make the removal resolved to carry it out, upon the assent of John Thomson. The scheme was carefully planned. On an August evening in 1838, the resurrectionists rendezvoused at the residence of John Elliot, a stone house still standing in the village of Bryn-Mawr, about a quarter of a mile from the burial-ground. At dead of night they proceeded to the cemetery, expecting to have all the work completed during the darkness. But the digging was hard, and the early gray of the morning appeared by the time that the bodies were reached and raised to the surface. At this juncture a laboring man employed on one of the farms, having made an early start to go to his work, in passing through the woodland which surrounds the cemetery was attracted by the lanterns and the voices of the resurrectionists. Upon approaching them, they, finding themselves discovered, were seized with a panic and hastily loaded the bodies in wagons which they had in readiness, and drove off rapidly, leaving the graves open, a high pile of earth, and other evidences of their depredations. The facts were at once reported to the

owners, but there seemed nothing to do but to fill up the open graves and repair the damage done to the cemetery.

It has sometimes been asked whether, after all, the resurrectionists really secured the remains of Charles Thomson. It is probable that this question will never be satisfactorily answered. In explanation of the difficulties of the case it may be stated, that none of the early family graves were provided with inscribed gravestones, nor were there any permanent marks of any kind; and it is only certainly known that the two rows of graves immediately to the left of the present entrance contained family remains.

The identity of each cannot be established. The ground was overgrown with briars in 1838, and even the mounds were to some extent obliterated. The desire expressed by Charles Thomson was, that "he wished to be buried in a line with his father-in-law Richard Harrison and next above his deceased wife Hannah Harrison." It is not known whether he was buried in this exact spot or not, nor, as above intimated, can the location of Richard Harrison's grave be ascertained.<sup>1</sup>

Those who are familiar with burial-lots where gravestones have not been erected immediately after interments know the very great difficulty and uncertainty of identifying graves at any future time. Disappointments which have arisen in such cases are not infrequent, and are rather the rule than the exception. When we keep this in view, we can appreciate the significance of the statement made by John Thomson in his letter defending the removal, when he says, "It was believed that but *one person* knew the exact locality, where rested one of the most conspicuous men of the revolution. No stone or tablet was erected," etc.

How easily that one person may have been mistaken, in a ground then overgrown with "brush and briars," if indeed he possessed the information he claimed to have, will readily

<sup>1</sup> The writer has a plan of the cemetery, copied from one formerly in possession of Charles Thomson, which has a part of the graves marked on it, but it does not seem to be consistent with what appears on the ground.

be recognized. And when we consider that all this resurrection work was done at night under fear of discovery, and the panic which was upon the perpetrators when they were seen, and the haste with which they fled, leaving no time for identifying the remains from internal evidence, we cannot but feel that a doubtful question still remains to be solved. Mounds with rough head-stones and foot-stones now mark the sites of the graves from which the bodies were taken in 1838.

Richard and Hannah Harrison are believed to have had eight children. The names of five only are known, and it is supposed that the others died in infancy or early childhood. Of these five, Isaac and Samuel died unmarried, the former in the lifetime of his father. Mary displeased all her friends by an improper marriage, which she did not long survive, and died without issue. Hannah, born in December, 1728, married Charles Thomson in 1775. The remaining son, Thomas, married Frances Scull, and died early in 1759, leaving three little girls, who subsequent to his death were taken into the family of their grandmother and educated by their aunt Hannah Harrison. Of these Hannah died in childhood. Mary married Jonathan Mifflin, and died soon after the birth of twin daughters, both of whom died in early childhood. The third, Amelia Sophia, married Robert McClenachan, an Irishman from Raphoe, County Donegal, and was the ancestor of all the present descendants of Richard and Hannah Harrison. There is a table of descendants in Keith's Provincial Counsellors.

As shown on the historical tablet in the wall of Harriton Cemetery, Richard Harrison died in 1747. His wife and family continued to reside at Harriton for many years afterwards, and his son Thomas appears to have died there in 1759, and was buried in the family cemetery. Ultimately the widow and two surviving children, Samuel and Hannah, removed to Somerville, another estate owned in the family, which was nearer Philadelphia and more convenient to their relations.

Hannah Harrison survived her husband twenty-eight

years and died in 1775, and was interred in Friends' burial-ground at Arch and Fourth Streets, Philadelphia. Of all her numerous children, her daughter Hannah alone survived her.

By a partition between the then living heirs of Richard Harrison, the Harriton plantation became in 1781 the exclusive property of Hannah Thomson, the wife of Charles Thomson. It was their permanent residence in later life, and both of them died there. They had no children.

Charles McClenachan, one of the grandchildren of Hannah Thomson's brother Thomas, was a favorite with both her husband and herself: he had been named for Charles Thomson, and was brought up and educated in the family at Harriton. He had also aided his uncle in making the translation of the Bible from the Septuagint version. It was but natural that his aunt should desire him to have a generous share of her property and that this desire should be agreeable to her husband. But under the then laws of Pennsylvania a married woman could not make a will, and it was necessary to provide by deed for the settlement of the real estate. This was done in 1798, and, by the conveyances, life estates were reserved to both Charles Thomson and his wife, and the whole of Harriton plantation, except one hundred acres given to another nephew (subject to a further life estate in a small portion which was given to Page Cadorus, a faithful negro servant), was settled upon Charles McClenachan. Unfortunately, an unskilful conveyancer was employed, and the deeds were drawn in such a loose way that, after the sudden death of Charles McClenachan without a will, in 1811, during the lifetime of Charles Thomson, leaving an only child but six weeks old, a serious legal contest took place, in which the heirs-at-law of Hannah Thomson sought to deprive this child of her legitimate inheritance.

The evidence given by Charles Thomson as to his wife's intention was, however, so clear, that, although years of litigation ensued, the title was ultimately settled in favor of Charles McClenachan's heir, who is still in possession of all the plantation settled upon her father, except a few acres

added to the burial-ground and church-edifice site of the Lower Merion Baptist Church.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The site of the Lower Merion Baptist Church edifice at the easternmost corner of the Old Gulf Road (sometimes called Roberts Road) and the New Gulf Road was donated in the year 1810 by Charles McClenahan, and was conveyed by him to trustees in trust for the congregation "adhering to the Baptist confession of faith adopted by the Philadelphia Baptist Association in the year 1742." The life-estate which Charles Thomson had in this plot, containing one acre, had been previously released. The lot has since been increased in size by purchase.

The original meeting-house was erected about the time the land was given. It was a large oblong structure of stone, roughcast, with high sloping roof, its gable facing the New Gulf Road. Charles Thomson sometimes worshipped in this building in the later years of his life. It remained about as originally erected until within the last three years.

It has recently been rebuilt, part of the old walls being used, but in such a way that not a vestige remains of what this venerable building formerly was, as respects either its exterior appearance or its interior arrangements. The main window in the southwest side contains a stained-glass memorial to Charles Thomson, in which a prominent feature is a portrait of that eminent man. This memorial was donated by George W. Childs. In the southeast wall in the interior is a marble tablet to the memory of Horatio Gates Jones, the first pastor of the congregation worshipping in the old building, who died December 12, 1853, in his seventy-seventh year.

## LETTER OF WILLIAM PENN TO JOHN AUBREY.

[We are indebted to the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker for a copy of this letter of William Penn to John Aubrey, which is addressed "For my esteem'd Frd John Auberry at Gresham Colledge."]

## ESTEEMED FRIEND

I value my selfe much upon y<sup>e</sup> good opinion of those Ingenuous Gentlemen I know of y<sup>e</sup> Royall Society, and their kind wishes for me and my poor Provinces: all I can say is that I & It are votarys to y<sup>e</sup> prosperity of their harmless and usefull inquierys. It is even one step to Heaven to returne to nature and Though I Love that proportion should be observed in all things, yett a naturall Knowledge, or y<sup>e</sup> Science of things from sence and a carefull observation and argumentation thereon, reinstates men, and gives them some possession of themselves againe; a thing they have long wanted by an ill Tradition, too closely followed and y<sup>e</sup> foolish Credulity so Incident to men. I am a Greshamist throughout; I Love Inquiry, not for inquiry's sake, but care not to trust my share in either world to other mens Judm<sup>ts</sup>, at Least without having a finger in y<sup>e</sup> Pye for myself; yet I Love That Inquiry should be modest and peaceable; virtues, that have strong charms upon y<sup>e</sup> wiser and honester part of y<sup>e</sup> mistaken world. Pray give them my sincer respects, and in my behalfe sollicite y<sup>e</sup> continuation of their friendship to my undertaking. We are y<sup>e</sup> wonder of our neighbours as in our coming and numbers, so to ourselves in o<sup>r</sup> health, subsistance and success; all goes well, blessed be God, and provision we shall have to spare, considerably, in a year or Two, unless very great quantitys of People croud upon us. The Aire, heat and Cold Resemble y<sup>e</sup> heart of France; y<sup>e</sup> soyle good, y<sup>e</sup> springs many & delightfull, y<sup>e</sup> fruits roots corne and flesh as good as I have com-

monly eaten in Europe, I may say of most of them better. Strawberrys ripe in y<sup>e</sup> woods in Aprill, and in y<sup>e</sup> Last Month, Peas, beans, Cherrys & mulberrys. Much black walnut, Chesnutt, Cyprus or white Cedar and mulberry are here. The sorts of fish in these parts are excellent and numerous. Sturgeon leap day and night that we can hear them a bow shot from y<sup>e</sup> Rivers in our beds, we have Roasted and pickeled them, and they eat like veal one way, and sturgeon y<sup>e</sup> other way. Mineral here is great store, I shall send some soddainly for Tryall. Vines are here in Abundance every where, some may be as bigg in the body as a mans Thigh. I have begun a Vineyard by a Frenchman of Languedock, and another of Poicteu, near Santonge, severall people from the Colonys are retiring hither, as Virginia, Mary-Land, New England, Road Island, New York &c: I make it my business to Establish virtuous Economy and therefore sett twice in Councell every week with good success. I thank God My Reception was with all y<sup>e</sup> show of Kindness y<sup>e</sup> rude State of y<sup>e</sup> Country would yield; and after holding Two Genrll Assemblies I am not uneasy to y<sup>e</sup> People. They to express their Love and gratitude gave me an Impost that might be worth 500<sup>lbs</sup> per an, and I returned it to Them with as much credit. This is our p'sent posture. I am Debtor to thy Kindness for Two Letters wether this be pay or no, but wampum against sterl: mettle, pray miss not to Continue to yield that Content And Liberality to

Thy very True Friend

WM PENN.

Philadelphia

13<sup>th</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Month

called June

1683.

Particularly, pray give my Respect to S<sup>r</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Petty, my friend Hook, Wood, Lodwick and D<sup>r</sup> Bernard Though unknowne whose skill is a great Complem<sup>t</sup>.

Vale.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE SEVENTH-DAY  
BAPTIST CEMETERY, FIFTH STREET, BELOW MAR-  
KET, PHILADELPHIA.

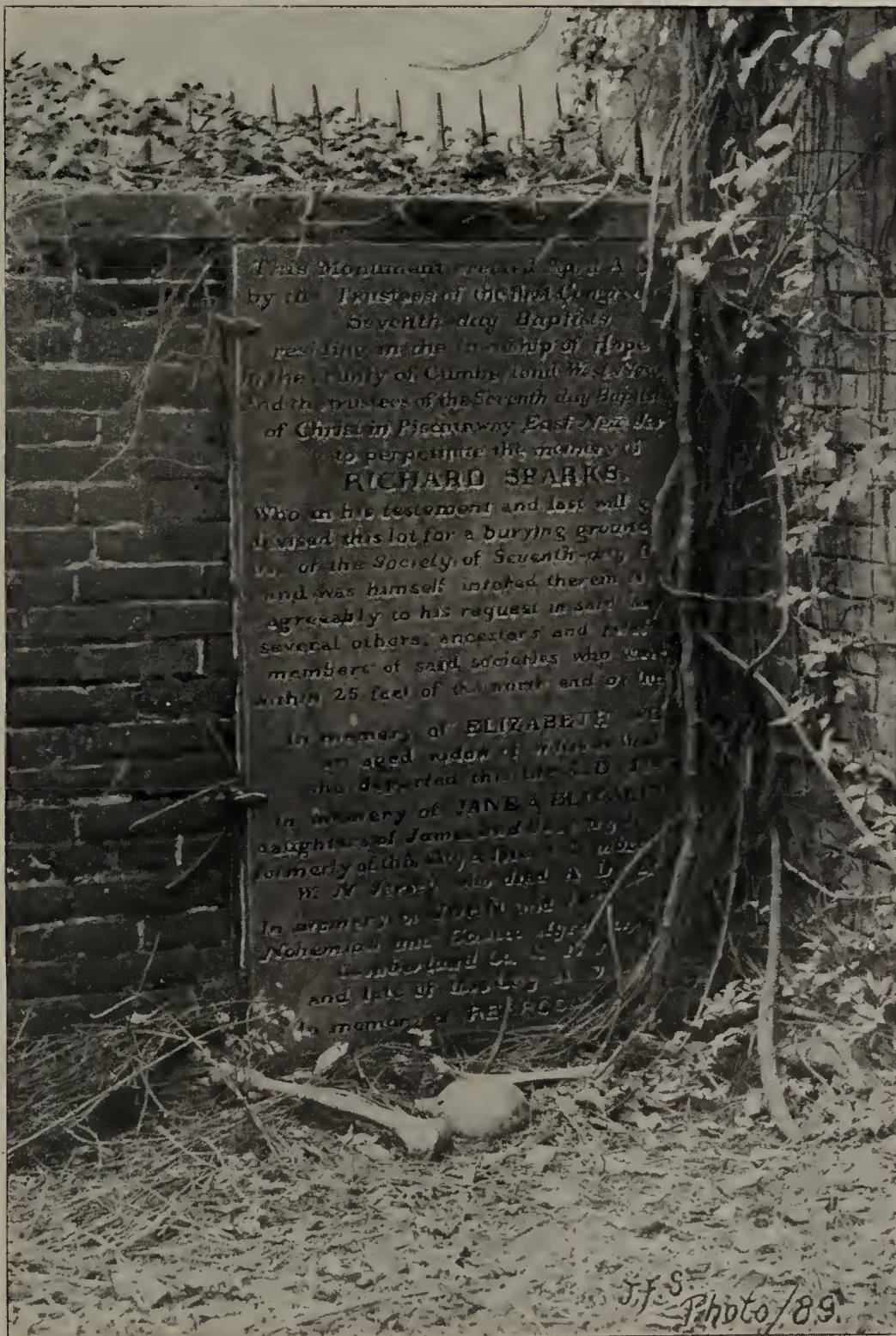
BY JULIUS F. SACHSE.

Richard Sparks, a prominent member of the community of Seventh-day Baptists, or "Sabbath Keepers" (formed during the last decade of the seventeenth century, and located on the Pennepack in the upper part of Philadelphia County), removed to Philadelphia about the time when the differences broke out between their minister, William Davis, and Able Noble, Thomas Rutter, and other prominent brethren of the faith. Here he prospered and acquired considerable property, among which was the lot on the south-east corner of Fifth and Market Streets, having a frontage of twenty-six feet on the latter street and extending back on Fifth Street a distance of two hundred and sixty feet.

Late in the year 1715, Sparks became seriously ill, and, recognizing the uncertainty of life, also knowing that there was no separate place of burial for the "Sabbath Keepers," and having in mind the trouble concerning the old meeting-house on the Pennepack, incorporated the following clause in his last will and testament:

"I the said Richard Sparks, have put my hand and seal to this my last will and testament, dated ye 14th day of January, in ye second year of ye reign of our sovereign Lord George by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, and in ye year 1715-16. . . . The above Richard Sparks, do hereby give, devise, and bequeath one hundred feet of the back end of my lot on ye south side of ye High Street Philadelphia for a burial place, for ye use of ye people or society called ye Seventh Day Baptists for ever. In which said piece of ground I desire to be buried, my wife having the use of it during her life, and I will that this clause be considered and taken as part of my will."





MEMORIAL STONE IN CEMETERY OF SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS,  
 FIFTH STREET, NEAR MARKET, PHILADELPHIA.



The will is dated January 14, 1715-16, and appoints his wife, Joan Sparks, his sole executrix. It was approved April 3, 1716.

As may be seen by the above dates, Sparks died soon after making his will, and was the first "Sabbath Keeper" to be interred in the donated ground.<sup>1</sup>

Owing to the death without issue of the widow (who was also buried in the ground) and the decline of the "Sabbath Keepers" within the city, the lot soon became neglected and for a time was without an enclosure, or even a stone to mark the graves of those who, unknown and forgotten, rested beneath the clay.

For many years the history of the ground is obscure. After the death of Joan Sparks the upper end of the original lot, having a frontage of one hundred and sixty feet on Fifth to Market Street, came into the possession of Thomas Cadwalader, "Practitioner in Physic." Dr. Cadwalader conveyed the property to one John Oldenheimer, butcher, June 26, 1766, the consideration being a ground-rent of "forty-four pieces of Gold called Spanish pistoles, and a half of each piece;—each piece weighing at least four pennyweights and six grains, unto the said Thomas Cadwalader his heirs or assigns in two payments viz: twenty-two on the 26th day of December, and twenty-two and a half on the 26th day of June thereafter forever."

Although the growing city was steadily progressing westward, and the lot was within a stone's-throw from the new State-House, there seems to be no record of any effort having been made to care for it until about the year 1771, when the Cohansey church took charge of the bequest, and remained in undisputed possession until some years after the close of the Revolution. It seems strange that the Pennepack congregation, of which Richard Sparks was a founder,

<sup>1</sup> An old document still in possession of the Shiloh, New Jersey, congregation states that the bequest of Sparks was afterwards confirmed by a proprietary grant. The writer is indebted to the kindness extended by Rev. Theodore L. Gardiner, pastor of the congregation, for old documents examined in the preparation of this paper.

and for whose benefit the bequest was mainly made, should have neglected the property, which was rapidly growing in value. The congregation at the time when the Jersey brethren assumed control consisted of eleven families, who held their meetings at the house of Benjamin Tomlinson, under the ministrations of Rev. Enoch David. Prominent among these were Samuel Wells, Richard Tomlinson, Job Noble, Elizabeth West, Mary Keen, and Rebecca Dungan.

There were, no doubt, in the intervening years, other interments made in the ground than the two noted above, but, in the absence of all records, it is impossible to state who they were or when made. The first burial of which an actual record can be found was that of Jane Elizabeth Tomlinson, in 1772, followed by that of Elizabeth West, in 1773, as the record states, "an aged widow of William West."<sup>1</sup>

How the westward course of the city, after the close of the struggle for independence, enhanced the value of the bequest is shown by the fact that John Oldenheimer sold his lot, on which he had erected a large three-story brick house fronting on Market Street, July 1, 1782, to William Sheaff, a well-known merchant, for £2500, subject to the before-mentioned ground-rent. This fact coming to the knowledge of some of the Sabbatarians in Chester County, they at once made an attempt to possess themselves of the adjoining ground, but were opposed by their brethren of the two New Jersey congregations, at Piscataway and Cohansey. This dispute culminated about 1786, and was decided in favor of the Jersey congregations, the ground for the verdict being the fact, that the New Jersey churches were incorporated, while the Chester County congregations had no corporate existence.

<sup>1</sup> William West, "Innholder," as he styles himself, was a resident of Oxford township, Philadelphia County, where he kept a tavern near the Oxford church. He died in February of 1765. There is a tradition that he was a near relative of the celebrated painter, Benjamin West; further, that both John and Sarah West, the parents of the painter, belonged to the "Sabbath Keepers," and were buried in the old graveyard of that sect at Newtown in Chester County.

To remedy this defect, application was made to the Legislature early in 1787, by the brethren of Newtown and French Creek or Nantmeal, to incorporate the latter congregation, they being the most numerous and having a meeting-house. The petition was granted March 5, 1787, too late, however, to prevent the Jersey brethren from assuming the complete control of the bequest, so far as the income or revenue was concerned, thus ignoring the claim of the Chester County congregations in everything except their right of burial, which right was never questioned.

At the time of the removal of the seat of government to Philadelphia, in 1790, the two churches in New Jersey leased the unoccupied part of the ground to a Mr. Shoemaker, and in the following year the church at Piscataway sent a "letter of agency" to their brethren of Cohansey, as follows:

"We whose names are underwritten and seals affixed being trustees of the Seventh Day Baptist church of Christ, in Piscataway, Middlesex County, State of New Jersey, do appoint, constitute and authorize our trusty friend and brother Jacob Martin, who is one of our body, our agent in our behalf and for the use and benefit of said, in conjunction with any person or persons that may be appointed by the Cohansey church, or otherwise as the case may be to take charge of a certain lot of ground in the city of Philadelphia, the property of said churches; and left as a burying ground for the Sabbathkeepers, part of which at this time in the tenury of a Mr. Shoemaker and we authorize our said agent to lease out sd. lot for any term of years and for such price as he with the agent from Cohansey church may think proper, and to collect the rents that may be due to this church and releases and other acquittances to give and generally to do every matter and thing that may appertain to justice in the premises ratifying and conforming for effectual whatever our said agent may or shall do in the premises as fully and effectually as if we had done the same in our person in testimony whereof we have hereunto set our hands and affixed our seals this seventh day of Oc-

tober in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninty one. 1791.

(signed)

THOMAS FITZRANDOLPH	L.S.
NEHEMIAH FITZRANDOLPH	L.S.
DAVID DUNHAM JUNIOR	L.S.
ABRAHAM DUNHAM	L.S.
JOEL DUNN	L.S.”

The “Sabbath Keepers” of New Jersey continued to use the lot as a place of sepulture for some of their people who died in the city; thus, we find records of the burial of James, John, and Jehu Ayres, and of the wife of Enoch David, one of their most noted preachers of the day.

As the Chester County people never acknowledged the claim of the Jersey churches nor renounced their own, it was not long before the contest was renewed. At this time there were as yet no streets cut through from Fourth to Fifth Street, and it further appears that at the commencement of the century there were several houses on the ground.<sup>1</sup> James Simmonds was one of the lessees, and held his title from the trustees of the Piscataway church, and seems to have been the builder of one or more of the houses. Early in April, 1803, he paid a year’s rent for the ground to David Ayres, the trustee of the Cohansey congregation, and a few days later Hazeal Thomas, as representative of the Chester County churches, demanded the same rental. On objecting to paying the rent over again, Thomas threatened him with a suit of ejectment. Writs of a similar character were also served upon Simmonds at the instance of one John Brown, and the heirs of Colonel Coates; on what grounds the claims of the two latter were founded were not known at the time.

The Chester County Sabbatarians now rented the ground to one John Denn (who he was does not appear), and suit was at once brought in the court of Nisi Prius, in his name,

<sup>1</sup> The Directory for the year 1801 gives: “Fifth Street, east side south, William Sheaf—Gentleman (at the corner of Market St.) William Beache ornament composition manufactory. No. 11.—James Simmonds Gentleman.”

against James Simmonds, who employed Mahlon Dickinson as counsel, and appealed to Messrs. Dunn, Dunham, and others of the Piscataway church to protect him in his lease. The trustees of this church at once wrote to Thomas on the subject, making him an offer which it was thought would prove more than acceptable, but the negotiations counted as naught, and the suit went on. Several further attempts were made by the Jersey churches to come to an understanding with Thomas and compromise the matter without resorting to the law, and a committee was appointed to confer with him on behalf of the Chester County churches, the meeting to be held in Philadelphia, November 21, 1803. The trustees from Piscataway came to the city, but for some unexplained reason, neither Thomas nor the representatives from Shiloh appeared. The committee from Piscataway, accompanied by Mr. Simmonds, at once started for East Nantmeal, to have an interview with Thomas, the understanding of the Jersey congregations being that, "if Thomas wants no more than a proportional privilege in the premises for time to come, we agree to it, but if, as the nature of the proceeding seems to imply he means to dispossess us, we think it best to support our rights."

The result of this visit is detailed in a letter from the church in Piscataway to their brethren in Cohansey, as follows :

"According to your letter the twenty first November 1803 we did appoint to attend on Mr. Thomas with expectation one of your church at Philadelphia, but disappointment has been felt in this case as well as many others, still we have no disposition to lay any blame on your part but we still went on to Philadelphia and was in hopes of seeing Mr. Thomas there but his nonattendance caused a jurne to his hous with Mr. Simmonds we found him at home seemingly determed to see the ishu of the [ ] by law for he had taken it very hard that Isaac Davis had curled up his nose (as he said) when he talked about the property and was not to be put off in this manner.

"After a conversation of some length he did agree for us

to set a time and give you notis and himself to meet at Philadelphia in February next.”

The meeting settled on at this interview took place in Philadelphia, February 8, 1804, at the inn in Cherry Alley known by the sign of the “Horse and Groom,” when the following proposal in writing was submitted to Hazeal Thomas, which he refused to sign.

“February 8th. 1804 by appointment Joel Dunn of Piscataway in East Jersey a representative of the society of Seventh Day Baptists residing there.

“David Ayars representative of the society of the same order at French Creek Cohansey in Cumberland County in West Jersey with

“Hazeal Thomas Esq of the society of the same order at French Creek or East Nantmill Pennsylvania being met at Philadelphia to compromise the claim to a lot of ground in Fifth Street in the city.

“That is to say the David Ayars on the part of society at Cohansey, willing to put an end to cost and trouble that may hereafter arise in consequence of continuing a dispute about the premises offers the following viz :

“That each claim of above societies produce their full and sufficient vouchers of their several authorities to the satisfaction of each, and that we agree to abide by the terms of the lease of the tenant now in possession.<sup>1</sup>

“And from the present time become mutual sharers in the powers and benefits arising there from so long as we continue to be incorporate bodies by ourselves or successors and in case this proposal is not agreed to the satisfaction of all the above societies, then the above proposal and all things therein proposed to cease and become void, otherwise to become valid to all intents and purposes witness my hand the day and date above written

“DAVID AYARS.

“I do agree to the principles and terms above proposes for and in behalf of the society at Piscataway

“Date above

JOEL DUNN.”

<sup>1</sup> James Simmonds.



No further attempts were made to effect a compromise. On September 6, 1805, Mr. Lewis, counsel for Thomas, applied to the court for a rule to take depositions in the case, which was followed, September 10, by notice from Mahlon Dickinson, Esq., that Simmonds join the Jersey churches in defending the suit, and on November 27 the case came to trial.<sup>1</sup> The result of this trial, as noted in the docket, reads :

“At Nisi Prius at Philadelphia, a jury called who being duly empanelled—returned—tried—sworn and affirmed upon their oaths and affirmations, respectfully do say that they find for the plaintiffs and assess damages to six pence with six pence cost.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Supreme Court, March Term, 1803, 289, “John Denn vs. James Simmonds.”

<sup>2</sup> An old subpœna used in this case by David Ayres in summoning Zaddock Thomas, Uriah Thomas, and David Thomas bears the following curious endorsement.

“November 24th, 1805.

“A jarney to Philad’a, on trial of titule to the lot Samuel Davis his waggon & horses to Coopers Ferry himself & horse went to Chester County 1st. 2nd. 3rd. & 4th. day afternoon

	CENTS
Expense Pine Tavern . . . . .	.12½
Woodbury . . . . .	1.37½
Samuel paid at Coopers . . . . .	
2nd. day paid for subpœnæ . . . . .	.70
3d lodging & breakfast . . . . .	.50
One single subpœnæ . . . . .	.50
Paid Mr. Dickinson . . . . .	20.00
4th. lodging & breakfast . . . . .	00.50
Lodging & Ferryages . . . . .	.37½
5th. day 6 cents for b. I for T. . . . .	7
Ferryage . . . . .	.12½
Supper & lodging . . . . .	.44
Breakfast . . . . .	.25
Bear at Woodby . . . . .	.12½
Carpenter bridge & sling . . . . .	.12½
On the road for passag . . . . .	.25
Black Beer House . . . . .	3
	25.47”

Although the suit went against Simmonds, there must have been some compromise between the parties which does not appear at the present day; for he remained in possession until 1810. In 1811 a portion of the ground was enclosed with a board fence.

Early in the year 1810 the Harmony Fire Company, composed of members of the Society of Friends, who housed their apparatus at the northwest corner of Third and Spruce Streets, became desirous of obtaining a more central location, and selected the old Sparks lot for their new building. Some of the members of the company, knowing of the past litigation, had a committee appointed to visit Hazeal Thomas, who then lived near the Yellow Springs, in Chester County, and claimed to represent all the Seventh-day Baptists in the State, to obtain his sanction to their project. Thomas readily gave his permission, and after the company received the favorable report of their committee, they at once took possession, broke ground, and proceeded to erect a one-story building. This action no sooner came to the knowledge of the Jersey brethren than they entered so vigorous a protest that for a time the work was suspended.

On the 15th of March, 1811, Wm. P. Morris, Abraham L. Pennock, Josh. H. Wilson, Benjamin Say, Jr., and Samuel L. Robbins, a committee of the Philadelphia Hose Company, made application to the Shiloh church for permission to erect a house for their fire apparatus "on such portion of the ground not buried in," for which they offered to pay "a small annual compensation, and put up a brick wall in front of the lot as an acknowledgment of their title." In this they were joined by the Philadelphia Engine Company. Both requests were refused by the Jersey brethren. Towards the latter part of the year, the Harmony Fire Company seem in some way to have overcome the objections of the Jersey brethren for the time being, and completed their house.

The Jersey brethren, however, did not relax their efforts for possession, and the result was that in 1816 (?) the dele-

gates of the Cohansey or Hopewell church brought the matter before the General Conference of the "Seventh-day Baptists in America," who appointed a committee to attend to the matter, and collect money from the different churches to defray the necessary expenses. At the next General Conference the committee reported that the prosecution of the claim would be attended by considerable expense, and the ultimate success not at all certain; so they asked to be discharged. The representatives of the Shiloh and Piscataway churches then asked that the other churches comprising the General Conference relinquish all claim to the bequest, and they would prosecute the claim at their own risk and expense, which request was acceded to.

In the intervening time the ground seemed to be an unappropriated domain, upon which every neighbor thought himself at liberty to encroach. The Harmony Fire Company opened a door on the south side of their house, and used and occupied the whole of the lower end of the lot. So sure did they feel themselves in possession that in 1819, notwithstanding the unceasing protests from the Jersey brethren, the company added a second story to their building and neatly fitted up and furnished a room which became a favorite meeting place of numerous societies: the Philadelphia Fire Association, the Philadelphia Literary Association, the Pennsylvania Literary Association, the Belles-Lettres Association, the Johnson Association, the Philadelphia Fire Company, and the Resolution Fire Company.

On May 24, 1822, the Resolution Fire Company made an effort to obtain what was left of the ground, and applied to W. O. Fahenstock, a German Seventh-day Baptist in Harrisburg, for his sanction; he, however, referred the applicants to the Shiloh congregation, who promptly refused the request, and renewed their efforts to dispossess all trespassers and have the lot enclosed.

Shortly after this date Stephen Girard bought the property immediately south of the Sparks lot, and, as he soon be-

came anxious to get rid of his troublesome neighbors, negotiations looking to that result were opened with representatives of the Jersey congregations, which resulted in a writ of ejectment being issued against the Harmony Fire Company in 1824. The Harmony Company, however, stubbornly contested the suit. From the following entry on the records of the Shiloh church, it appears that the whole matter was left to Girard.

“The trustees of the first congregation of Seventh Day Baptists residing in the township of Hopewell, and county of Cumberland in conformity to the resolution made and entered on this book, February 15th, 1825,—have by their agent Enos F. Randolph and others succeeded in giting the incumberance removed from the lot in Fifth Street in Philadelphia given by Richard Sparks, to the Seventh Day Baptists as a burying place, and have placed the said lot in the care of Stephen Girard Esq. of Philadelphia for the purpose of preventing further intruding on said burying place.”

Girard now opened negotiations for possession of the lot by purchase or lease. The expenses attending the long litigation had proved so severe a drain on the brethren in New Jersey that they were forced to borrow money to press the prosecution of their claim. To pay off this debt, the trustees of the two Jersey churches, together with Caleb Sheppard, Joel Dunn, and Jacob Week, agents of the General Conference, executed a lease of the whole bequest to Stephen Girard, for a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, from the twenty-eighth day of November, 1828, the consideration being “Five thousand dollars, and a yearly rental of Six cents to be paid on the first day of January in every year during the said term if it shall be demanded. Upon the condition nevertheless that the northermost half part of the lot should be held during the term for the uses mentioned in the will of Richard Sparks.”

This lease no sooner became known to the Harmony Fire Company than they put up a board fence against Girard’s

house, and claimed and took possession of the whole lot. Girard retorted by tearing down the fence and reconstructing it on the north side of the vacant ground, thus shutting up the door of the engine-house, but the members of the company were not slow in cutting this fence away. A riot seemed imminent, when all the participants were arrested and taken before Mayor Watson, but these measures only increased the bad feeling which existed between the fire company and Girard. Nothing definite came out of the matter until 1829, when, on the morning of the day set for trial of the ejectment suit, a proposition was made to the company, by parties professing to be adverse to Girard, that if the engine-house was removed by a certain date they should receive four hundred dollars, besides their other expenses; which was acceded to under the impression that steps would be taken to dispossess Girard of his hold on the property. Soon after the evacuation of the premises the company found, to their chagrin, that the whole transaction had been a sharp piece of diplomacy by Girard, who, in place of being ousted, at once took possession of the lot, removed the buildings, and enclosed the reserved part with a brick wall, and, as the Shiloh record further states, "and we have placed in sd wall a monument to perpetuate the memory of Richard Sparks, the donor and many others buried in said lot who ware ancestors and Rilatives of same of the seventh-day Baptists in New Jersey."

The inscription on the plain marble slab (called by courtesy a monument) now fastened to the west wall of the enclosure reads as follows:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Although but seven persons are named on the tablet, it is known that there were over twenty interments made within the original enclosure.

“This Monument erected April A.D. 1829  
By the Trustees of the First Congregation  
Seventh-day Baptists,  
residing in the township of Hopewell,  
in the County of Cumberland, West New Jersey ;  
And the Trustees of the Seventh-day Baptist Church  
of Christ in Piscataway, East New Jersey ;  
to perpetuate the Memory of  
RICHARD SPARKS,

Who, in his Testament and last will, gave and  
devised this lot for a burying-ground for the  
use of the Society of Seventh-day Baptists,  
and was himself interred therein A.D. 1716,  
agreeably to his request in said will, with  
several others, Ancestors and Relatives of  
Members of said Societies, who were laid  
within 25 Feet of the North End of the same.

In Memory of ELIZABETH WEST,  
an aged widow of William West,  
who departed this Life, A.D. 1773.

In Memory of JANE ELIZABETH,  
Daughter of James and Barbara Tomlinson,  
formerly of this City, but late of Cumberland County,  
W. N. Jersey, who died A.D. 1772.

In Memory of John and Jehu, sons of  
Nehemiah and Eunice Ayres, formerly of  
Cumberland Co., W. N. Jersey,  
and late of this City, A.D. 1802.

In Memory of REBECCA, wife of the  
Rev. Enoch David, late of this City.

In Memory of James Ayres, late of  
this City, A.D. 1796,  
and formerly of Cumberland  
Co, W. N. Jersey.”

That part of the ground not reserved for burial purposes  
was also enclosed by Girard, and laid out as a garden for  
Thomas Sully, the artist, who in 1830 had taken up his resi-  
dence in the house formerly occupied by James Simmonds.

On April 22, 1830, the closing settlement in regard to  
the above lease was made between the two Jersey churches.  
The expenses of the litigation appear to have been \$1897.98,  
leaving \$3102.02 to be divided between them; of which  
sum Jonathan R. Dunham received \$1500 on the part of the

Piscataway church, while Enos F. Randolph on the part of the Shiloh church receipted for \$1602.02, with the understanding that from that date the Shiloh church assume all responsibility in regard to the lease and bequest. The members of the Shiloh congregation congratulated themselves on the successful termination of the long-drawn-out litigation, as it was mainly by their efforts that the victory had been won; and it was thought that the matter had been definitely settled for all time to come. Such, however, was not the case, for two years had not elapsed since the entry in the church records before given when the news was received of Girard's death, December 26, 1831, and his bequest to the city.

The city had no sooner taken possession of the estate than the Harmony Fire Company made another attempt to regain possession of the lot, instigated, it is said, by some of the descendants of former Sabbatarians in Chester County,<sup>1</sup> and, in connection with the scheme, presented a petition to Councils, December 26, 1834, taking the ground that they had never actually given up the lot, and that, by virtue of undisputed possession for more than twenty-one years, the title then vested in the Committee on the Girard Estate really belonged to the Harmony Fire Company. The Committee on Fire Companies, to whom this petition was referred, reported in the following October (1835): "As the question of the right of possession in the lot referred to is now pending in the Supreme Court of the State, the committee are of the opinion, that it ought not to be prejudiced by a grant of any portion of the premises, and ask to be discharged from the further consideration of the petition." Nothing further came out of this attempt to molest or annoy the Shiloh brethren in their claim to the ground.

A new danger for a time threatened this resting-place of the Sabbatarians. A cross street from Fourth to Fifth Street, below Market, had become a necessity, and a proposition was made to open one below Sheaff's line, cutting off

<sup>1</sup> Emmor Kimber, then president of the company, is said to have been one of these descendants.

twenty-five feet from the upper end of the Sparks lot, which would have obliterated all the graves in the old cemetery. To prevent this desecration, a petition was presented to court, April 16, 1836, to extend "Greenleaf's" Court, or Alley westward to Fifth Street;" a jury was appointed, and a favorable verdict was rendered on the 23d of June following, which was, however, contested by the Sheaff family, as it would cut through their property; but the verdict of the jury was affirmed by the Supreme Court, August 23, 1839. The final order, however, was not made until June 22, 1841, when the present Merchant Street was opened.

During the agitation in regard to the opening of the new street, a further complication arose by the passing of an ordinance by Councils, under the act of 1794, prohibiting any further interments within the enclosure, thus virtually making the lot useless for the purposes originally intended. This coming to the knowledge of the trustees, they called on the city to put and keep the lot and wall in good repair; but the final outcome was that the reservation was again reduced one-half, and, December 13, 1838, "The Mayor, Aldermen and citizens of Philadelphia, Executed an agreement with the Seventh Day Baptists, agreeing to keep open and reserve the northern most twenty-five feet in front by twenty-seven in depth, of the lot &c. and that free access shall be had thereunto at all reasonable times, and that they shall and will keep the said burying-ground in good order and condition and suitably enclosed, with a gate fronting on Fifth street and will also cause the marble slab now erected to the memory of Richard Sparks, and others to be placed in a conspicuous place," etc. This document was recorded in the clerk's office of Cumberland County, at Bridgeton, New Jersey.

The last effort to wrest the ground from the proper custodians was made in the year 1859, when the Eastern Market Company was projected; the trustees of the Sabatarian church, however, again maintained their rights in the premises, and the new market-house was built around the lot, the enclosure forming an offset in the structure.



The enclosure is at the present time inaccessible except through a window opening into an alleyway back of the Girard Buildings, which occupy the lower end of the Sparks lot.<sup>1</sup> It is overrun with vines and noxious weeds, and has virtually become a receptacle for refuse thrown from the adjoining market-house. The tablet now fastened against the street wall is almost hidden by the rank growth of creepers, while the inscription has through the ravages of time and neglect become partly illegible. How isolated and neglected this spot is, within the very heart of the city, may be surmised from the fact that the writer, having after much difficulty obtained access to the enclosure, while cutting away some of the leafless briars to set up his tripod for the purpose of photographing the tablet, to his horror discovered among the accumulated rubbish the mouldering skeleton of a man, the tissue of which had long since formed the nocturnal feast of the rodents that infest the adjoining market.

Few of the thousands of busy toilers who daily pass the spot know anything of its history, or even that it is a burial-place; nor is there anything to tell the stranger or future generations that within these narrow limits, shut out from the busy world by the high brick wall capped by sharp iron spikes, rest the remains of a few of the peculiar sect of Christians who formed the first society in this Commonwealth to claim the right to worship after the dictates of their conscience, under the twenty-second clause of the charter which had been forced upon Penn, after a long struggle, by Dr. Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London, and which assured religious liberty to all men within the bounds of the Province.

<sup>1</sup> In connection with the erection of this building the following incident is given on the authority of the late William Roberts, long the janitor of the offices. When the excavations for the foundations were made several graves were disturbed, in one of which a skull was found, and when picked up to place it with the other bones a strange protuberance on the side where the ear had once been on examination proved to be a long, sharp, wrought-iron nail, which had been driven into the skull. Whether it was a foul murder or was done after dissolution as a precaution against premature burial is a problem which will remain unsolved.

## NOTES AND QUERIES.

## Notes.

AN EARLY SPECIMEN OF BOSTON CULTURE.—“If there be any Person that has impos'd his surreptitious Digits, or Bubonick Ophthalins, on the Globular Rotundity of an Hat, tinctur'd with Nigridity, let him convey his Intelligencies to the Preconick Potentate, when the sonorous Jar of his Tintinnabular Instrument, by a Tremulous Percussion of the Minute Æreal Particles, affecting the Auricular Organs, make an Impression on the Cerebral Part of his Microcosm; and he shall receive a Premeial Donation adapted to the Magnitude of the Benefit, whether the Hat has titillated his Manual Nerves, or only struck the Capilliments of his Optick Nerve.”—*The New-England Courant*, No. 251, from Saturday, May 21, to Saturday, May 28, 1726.

WASHINGTONIANA.—The originals of the following are in the autograph collection of Isaac Craig, Esq., Alleghany, Penna., to whose courtesy we are indebted for the copies.

“MOUNT VERNON, July 15, 1773.

“The subscriber, having obtained patents for upwards of 20,000 acres of land, on the Ohio and Great Kanhawa, being part of 200,000 acres granted by proclamation, in 1754, (10,000 of which are situated on the banks of the first mentioned river, between the mouths of the two Kanhawa's; the remainder on the Great Kanhawa or New River, from the mouth, or near it, upwards in one continued survey) proposes to divide the same into any sized tenements that may be desired, and lease them upon moderate terms, allowing a reasonable number of years, rent free; provided that, within the space of two years from next October, three acres for every fifty contained in each lot, and proportionable for a lesser quantity, shall be cleared, fenced, and tilled, and that by or before the time limited for the commencement of the first rent, five acres for every hundred, and proportionably, as above, shall be enclosed and laid down in good grass for meadow; and moreover, that at least fifty good fruit trees, for every like quantity of land, shall be planted on the premises.

“Any person inclined to settle upon these lands, may be more fully informed of the terms, by applying to the subscriber, near Alexandria, in Virginia, or in his absence, to Mr. Lund Washington; and will do well in communicating their intentions before the 1st of October next, in order that a sufficient number of lots may be laid off to answer the demand.

“As these lands are among the first which have been surveyed, in the part of the country where they lie, it is almost needless to premise, that none can exceed them in luxuriency of soil, or convenience of situation; all of them lying upon the banks either of the Ohio, or Kanhawa, and abounding in fine fish and wild fowl of various kinds, as also in most excellent meadows, many of which (by the beautiful hand of nature) are in their present state almost fit for the scythe.

“From every part of these lands water carriage is now had to Fort Pitt,

by an easy communication, and from Fort Pitt up the Monongahela to Red Stone, vessels of convenient burthen may, and do pass continually; from whence, by means of Cheat River, and other navigable branches of Monongahela, it is thought the portage to Patowmack may, and will be reduced within the compass of a few miles, to the great ease and convenience of the settlers, in transporting the produce of their lands to market; to which may be added that, as patents have now actually passed the seals, for the several tracts here offered to be leased, settlers on them may cultivate and enjoy the land in peace and safety, notwithstanding the unsettled councils, respecting a new colony on the Ohio; and as no right money is to be paid for these lands, and a quit rent of two shillings sterling a hundred, demandable some years hence only, it is presumable that they will always be held upon a more desirable footing, than where both are laid on with a very heavy hand. It may not be amiss further to observe, that if the scheme for establishing a new government on the Ohio, in the manner talked of, should ever be effected, these must be among the most valuable lands in it, not only on account of the goodness of the soil, and the other advantages above enumerated, but from their contiguity to the seat of government, which more than probable will be fixed at the mouth of the Great Kanhawa.

“GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

The above is printed on the upper part of a half-sheet of foolscap; the lines begin on the left and run up the sheet. Beneath this is the following, the lines running across the sheet and being in Washington's well-known hand:

“Note. For further explanation of the above Advertisement, and better understanding the terms on which these lands will be granted, the subscriber proposes

“To give Leases for the term of Twenty-one years, or three Lives with proper Covenants for securing the Rights of each Party.

“To allow an exemption of four years from payment of Rent under the provisos in the above printed advertizement (where no improvements are made) after which four pounds Sterling for every hundred acres contained in the Lease and proportionably for Lesser quantity to be demanded and paid in the Currency of the Country, at the exchange prevailing at the time of making such payment.

“To erect within the space of Seven years from the date of the Lease, a decent dwelling House and good Barn fit for a common farmer; Plant Orchards of good fruit Trees in proportion to the quantity of Land Let; and for every Hundred Acres contained in the Tenement Improve at least five Acres into Meadow; which five Acres or the like quantity of Ground always to be kept in good Grass.

“G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON

“Nov<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> 1773.”

The above was sent to John D. Woelpper, a German by birth, who had served in the Virginia troops under Washington, and subsequently, on January 6, 1776, was appointed a first lieutenant in Colonel John Shee's Pennsylvania regiment in the Revolutionary War.

The beginning of the following letter to the widow of General Richard Butler, who was killed at St. Clair's defeat, is unfortunately lost:

“Permit me to assure you that in a public view, I consider the recent misfortune greatly enhanced by the loss of the truly gallant General

Butler, and that I participate in the grief which afflicts you on this distressing event.

"A small detachment of troops had been ordered to be stationed at Pittsburgh previously to the receipt of your letter; these will be reinforced by a more considerable detachment now on their march to that place.

"I sincerely hope, that you will under the present pressure of your affliction experience all the powerful consolation of religion and Philosophy.

I am Madam

"Your Most Obed<sup>t</sup> & H<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

"G<sup>o</sup> WASHINGTON"

CONCERTS IN PHILADELPHIA, 1764.—The *Pennsylvania Journal* of November 1 and December 27, 1764, contains the following announcements:

"Subscription Concert at the Assembly Room Lodge Alley begins on Thursday the 8th day of November next, and to continue every other Thursday till the 14th of March following. Each subscriber on paying Three Pounds to be entitled to two Ladies tickets for the Season. The Concert to begin precisely at Six o'Clock in the Evening. Tickets to be had at the bar of the London Coffee House."

"For the benefit of Mr. Forage, and others, assistant performers at the Subscription Concert in this City. On Monday the 31st. instant, at the Assembly Room, in Lodge Alley, will be performed

A CONCERT OF MUSIC,

Consisting of a variety of the most celebrated pieces now in taste; in which also will be introduced the famous Armonica or Musical Glasses, so much admired for the great sweetness and Delicacy of its tone. Tickets at 7/6 each to be had at the bar of the London Coffee House. No person to be admitted without a Ticket. The Concert to begin at Six o'Clock precisely."

NOTICE OF THE FUNERAL OF REV. GILBERT TENNANT.—The following notice was read in the Moravian Church, Philadelphia, in the Sunday afternoon meeting, 29th July, 1764. The original is preserved in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania:

"This Congregation are invited to attend the funeral of the Rev<sup>d</sup> Gilbert Tennant at his house on Cherry Street this afternoon at 6 o'Clock."

A PASTORAL LETTER OF REV. PETER TRANBERG.—This letter, although undated, was written in the year 1743, and the "Mr. Brizelius" referred to was a Moravian clergyman.

"DEARLY BELOVED COUNTRYMEN MEMBERS OF THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH AT RACON AND PENN'S NECK.

"It has ever been, since my moving to this Side my reall endeavour to contribute what layeth in my power, to see a happy fixed Settlement of divine Worship among you consistent with the Orthodox Faith of the Lutheran Church, & have found no way more safe then that you make your application to the Bishop of Swedland, who has proved to you & your Forefathers as a nursing Father and will do so still, as you may see by his last letter to Vicaco Church. If you now should decline from him without a Cause, you would expose yourselves as Ungratefull members, & not only so, but to deprive you & your Posterity any more from expecting such favour. Which to prevent I thought proper to send a Paper with your Clerck, Andrew Hopman, on purpose to see how many

have a mind to send for one. And as for supplying the vacancy in the meanwhile, I understand the Major Part of the congregation is for Mr. Brizelius, who (tho' not ordained and sent from the Bishop of Swedland) may officiate either till the Congregation gets his own from Swedland or till Vicaco Minister comes in, who undoubtedly will assist you, as formerly Mr. Sandel did: and as for Penn's neck, I will take upon me to supply that place, as Mr. Birk did, which will be every other Sunday, & that is as much as use to have when you have your own Minister. You may in the meanwhile make use of the Service Mr. Brizelius has offered, since you would not agree with Mr. Falk for whom I have laid myself so much out for. But let me beseech you to be unanimous in Sending for one to Swedland, and I will recommend your Case in the best manner. I remain for the rest

“Gentlemen

“Your most humble Servant

“PET. TRANBERG.”

LETTER OF BENJAMIN WEST TO WILLIAM RAWLE.—The following letter from Benjamin West, the artist, to William Rawle (the elder), one of the founders, in 1805, of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, is in the Historical Society's collection:

“LONDON, Newman Street, Sepr. 21st. 1805.

“DEAR SIR.

“Your letter the 2nd of July last gave me great pleasure as it was a token of regard, and that I was not effaced from your memory.

“I have to assure you, that yourself and those young gentlemen from Pennsylvania who have visited this capital since my residence in it, it has always given me much pleasure to render them any little civility in my power, and to have given them that attention which I thought was due to my countrymen.

“The death of my much respected friend Samuel Shoemaker<sup>1</sup> I had heard of before I received your letter—and I am gratified to find that you are in possession of the Print of the Apotheosis of the King's two children which His Majesty commanded me to place in the hands of Mr. Shoemaker as a token of the high respect His Majesty had for his character:<sup>2</sup> the Print is very scarce.

“Your account of the state of the fine arts in the city of Philadelphia, and the views which yourself and others in that city have to cherish and reward them into higher excellence, is greatly to your honour.

“The citizens of New York having commenced their Academy with many casts from the fine statues by the Greeks, they are highly proper for an academy where youth are taught to delineate the human figure—and to form their minds to what it is that constitutes justness of character, and refinement in beauty. By such studies he is the better able to see, and judge what is character and beauty in natural objects when they present thierselves to his observation. In that part of your academy I recommend to the citizens of Philadelphia, to follow the example of the New Yorkers in forming the means of study to the ingenious youth.

“It is my wish that your academy should be so indowed in all the points which are necessary to instruct, not only the mind of the student in what is excellent in art—but that it should equally instruct the eye and judgement of the public to know, and properly appreciate excellence

<sup>1</sup> See Galt's "Life of West," pp. 27, 215, and 216. Mr. Rawle was the step-son of Mr. Shoemaker.

<sup>2</sup> See PENNA. MAG. OF HIST. AND BIOG., Vol. II. p. 35.

when it is produced—because the correct artist and a correct taste in the public must be in unison: it is therefore necessary that not only a few of the fine examples of Greek art should be procured; but the highly endowed productions of the moderns in paintings should be added—when from the aggregate of ancient and modern art the Philosophic mind of the Philadelphian would make up their judgement in what was truly grate, just, and beautiful in art.

“The City of Philadelphia so furnished in the materials of instruction, would in a few years be the vortex of all that was mental in the Western world.

“In the course of this winter I shall bear your academy in mind, and I flatter myself that by the spring ships, not only be able to give you my further advice, but to be able to send you the casts of the Anatomy figures we have in the Royal Academy—as well as to point out to you the casts from the Greek figures most proper for study.

“The correspondence between the secretary of foreign correspondence of our academy, and the academies on the continent, I send you by the hands of Col. Williamson: that work will show you the movements of the arts in Europe—and with it, I likewise send you the abstract of the Laws and regulations of the Royal Academy of the fine arts in London.

“You will see by the academical correspondence of what importance the arts are viewed in the European world, and I am persuaded they will not be less valued on your side the water.

“I have a lively interest in the elevation of the fine arts in my native country—and I shall at all times be gratified to hear of their prosperity.

“With great regard, and esteem, I have the honour to be,

“Dear Sir,

“Yours with sincerity,

“BENJ<sup>n</sup> WEST.

“MR. RAWLE.”

WASHINGTON - BEFORE - BOSTON MEDAL.—A design for the medal ordered by Congress, March 25, 1776, to commemorate the evacuation of Boston by the British army, was made at the instance of the Committee of Congress by Pierre Eugène Du Simitière, of Philadelphia, artist and antiquary, as appears by the following entry in his note-book (*PENNA. MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY*, October, 1889, p. 357): “1776. 7ber a drawing in Indian ink for a medal to be given gen<sup>l</sup> Washington on the english evacuation of Boston, begun some time ago.”

The original drawings for the obverse and reverse of this medal are preserved among the Du Simitière papers in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia, the former being in India ink and the latter in pencil. On the obverse, to the left, Washington is represented standing in full uniform and cocked hat, a drawn sword in his right hand, while beside him and leaning on his left shoulder stands a figure of Liberty; on the right of the design the British troops are seen embarking. The figure of Liberty is badly drawn and the expression of face anything but pleasant,—in fact, she seems to be leering at Washington. The composition and drawing of the embarkation, however, are commendable. The reverse presents, in the middle of the field, the All-seeing eye casting rays over a naked sword, held upright by a hand, the whole surrounded by thirteen shields bearing the names of the different original States. Diameter, three inches.

The Journals of Congress of November 29, 1776, p. 485, record: “Paid P. E. Du Simitière for designing, making & drawing a medal for General Washington, \$32.”

It will thus be seen that the committee, composed of such men as John Adams, John Jay, and Stephen Hopkins, made at least one effort to obtain in this country a suitable design for the "Washington-before-Boston medal," before ordering its execution in Europe, the result being the fine medal by Pierre Simon Duvivier, struck at Paris in 1786.

W. S. BAKER.

LETTER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR GEORGE JOHNSTONE, JUNE 18, 1778.—Mr. William John Potts sends us the following clipping from the *London Chronicle*, August 8-11, 1778: "Extracts from a letter of an officer in Gen. Clinton's army to a friend in Hampshire, dated at Billingsport in the Delaware, 20 June, 1778," to which is added a copy of a letter from General Washington to Governor George Johnstone, 18th June, 1778. Although the letter does not appear in Sparks, we believe it to be genuine, from the contents of the letter of Joseph Read to Washington of June 15.

"My letter by the last packet will inform you of the transactions of this place down to the 15th instant. One whole fleet is still in the Delaware, and we expect the final evacuation of Philadelphia will take place this day. This letter will go by the Porcupine man of war which bears the government dispatches. I visited the commissioners twice or thrice on board the Trident, after they had forwarded their message to Congress; an answer to which is not yet received. I saw Gov. Johnstone in Philadelphia a few days before I left it, and had some conversation with him. Through the means of the Commander in Chief and Mr. Galloway, he sent several private introductory letters of himself to some American gentlemen in power, one to Mr. Morris, a leading member of the Congress, from a Quaker-house in London, and also three others to Gen. Washington, Mr. Johnson, the Governor of Maryland, and to a Mr. Carmichael, lately Secretary to the Commissioners at Paris, these last were given to him by a Maryland Gentleman who lives at B——, and visited the Commissioners on board the Trident, before she left Spithead. These letters were laid before General Clinton, and he appointed Mr. Brown with a flag of truce to carry them. I understand they were merely introductory to Gov. Johnstone, and conveyed the hopes and wishes of their writers, that such introduction might lead to personal conversation, and tend to produce an accommodation on honourable terms to both countries. Washington's answer was received the next day, and is not looked upon by us as a favourable omen to peace. I herewith annex you a copy of it, and refer you to the government accounts by the Porcupine for further particulars. The Commissioners are to go with the fleet to New York, and there wait for the Congress' answer. I am &c.  
W. M."

"CAMP AT VALLEY FORGE, June 18, 1778.

"I take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging letter by Mr. Brown, which covered the introductory one of yourself to me. I have also received and forwarded the other letters to the different gentlemen they are directed to. I am thankful to you sir, for your very indulging opinion of me, and much obliged to my friend for his intention to bring us acquainted. I am sorry that pleasure must be denied me until the termination of your intended negotiation with Congress; for situated as I am, were it ever so much my wish to see you, my occupations and duty to the cause I am engaged in, are essential barriers for the present.

"You will find Sir, when you become more acquainted with this country

that the voice of the Congress is the general voice of the people, and that they are deservedly held up as the guardians of the United States. I shall always be happy to render you any services, and for the present I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

“To his Excellency Geo. Johnstone, Esq., Philadelphia.”

ESCAPE OF AMERICAN PRISONERS FROM THE BRITISH PRISON NEAR GOSPORT IN 1778.—From a letter dated Portsmouth, 7th September, 1778, the following account of the escape of fifty-seven American prisoners from Fortune Prison near Gosport is taken: “Early on Monday morning it was discovered at Fortune prison, near Gosport, that fifty-seven prisoners all Americans, had effected their escape in the night; immediately the picquet guard from Weovill camp scoured the coast and country, and the alarm was made as general as possible, so that it is hoped they will soon be retaken. Justice to the officers and privates of the Westminster regiment and the 41st, who were upon that duty, require that some little account should be given of the manner in which they succeeded, as no blame whatever can be imputed to them, no attention or care having been wanting on their parts, but it is necessary to say, that the good subscribers to the American prisoners contribute greatly to the means of doing it, their agent at Gosport having access to them, and furnishing them with what is necessary to bribe poor and mercenary people to secrete them, and forward their escape. The black hole in which the refractory have been confined, is immediately under the room where the other prisoners sleep; those in the dungeon had for several days undermined and worked a subterraneous passage, which led beyond the wall that incloses the prisons so that they had only to open the ground upwards into the country where they knew there was no guard to discover them. A hole sufficient to admit a man through was made from the ceiling of their bed-room down to the black hole, by which they had conveyed up the rubbish brought from the working below, some of which they had put into their beds, and some into the chimney, and the hole was easily covered over with a bed when any person came into the room to prevent any suspicion of their intention. The prison is by no means adequate to the purposes, and if continued, ought to be inclosed with a very high wall at some distance from the house.

“A private of the Westminster is likely to suffer for having communicated a letter which one of the prisoners showed him on Sunday last. It related to the intention of providing a vessel to be waiting for them in Stoke’s-bay which is little more than a mile from the prison; such information might have tended to the apprehending of the prisoners and there is little doubt that many of them will now be taken, as a reward of five pounds is offered for every prisoner taken.”

STRAHAN-HALL CORRESPONDENCE [without date].—

“DEAR DAVIE.

. . . . . “Yesterday I received yours of the 31st March, via Dublin, enclosing a Bill on Nesbitt, Drummond and Franks for £293. . . . . Fordyce’s Sermons to Young Women sell much here. They are really well written. The Character of Isabella (Vol 2d page 289.) was taken from my poor Rachel, with whom he was intimately acquainted; from whence you may see what Reason I and all that were concerned in her have to regret her loss.

“I am truly sorry to find by your last letter that you run some Risque



of losing the Assembly's Business, which, as it was handsomely paid for, must be of real Detriment to you. This is the natural consequence, however, of setting up another Printer from Party Motives. Those who encouraged him to settle with you, and who may perhaps be personally interested in his success, will, of course leave no stone contrived to serve him and promote his Interest, and this without regard to, or ill-will against, any other Printer. From the success of his Paper I think you have nothing to apprehend; but the Depriving you of the Publick Business will be a loss indeed; which yet nevertheless as matters now stand, you cannot possibly prevent perhaps. Upon this subject I have little to add to what I said in my last; but that I am wholly ignorant of the Provocation they had to set up a new Paper with you (for I find it has been intended for some time past) for that you refused to do equal Justice to both Parties in your paper I cannot believe: and yet I find this is the Reason they assign; nothing on the *popular* side of the Question being for many Years past admitted by you, without the utmost Difficulty, and most frequently absolutely refused; which laid that Party under an invincible necessity of setting up another public Paper. It is peculiarly unlucky that G——r F. and his Father are so deeply engaged in a different System of Politics, from what you seem to lean to, otherwise I think nothing could have induced either of them to have afforded the least Countenance or Protection to any Person in opposition to your Interest, as you have so long been so intimately connected together to your mutual Satisfaction; a Satisfaction which Dr. Fr. never fails to express to me upon all Occasions. What Party it is, that your Party Disputes should exist so long, and are likely to last much longer. I think they might be adjusted without much Difficulty; nay, I look upon them as so very clear, that I am vain enough to imagine, that were they referred to me, I could undertake to settle them to the Contentment of both sides, on Penalty in case of Failure of being hanged up upon the next Sign Post. But I am at the same time sensible that People at a Distance from the Scene of Dispute, must necessarily be very incompetent Judges.

“My politics (which shall always be *only* sent to you) you have in a separate Letter. We are all pure well here. I am thinking of taking a trip to Scotland next July along with my Wife and Peggy. Whether I shall be able to make it out I cannot yet say. Our best Loves and Respects to Mrs. Hall and the Children.

“I remain unalterably

“Dear Davie

“Yours most affectionately

“WILL: STRAHAN.”

PASSENGER LIST OF THE “PENNSYLVANIA PACKET,” 1773.—Rupp in his “Thirty Thousand Names of Immigrants to Pennsylvania,” p. 404, gives a list of the passengers on board the “Pennsylvania Packet,” which arrived at Philadelphia 30th April, 1773, but it is so incomplete, and so many of the names are incorrect, that we give a copy of the original agreement between Captain Osborne and his passengers, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

“We whose Names are hereunto annexed do hereby acknowledge that we have agreed with Capt. Peter Osborne, Commander of the good Ship called the Pennsylvania Packett to pay Him for our Passage from London to Philadelphia in North America Fourteen Days after our safe arrival at the said place, (the said Capt. Osborn finding us in sufficient meat & drink during the said passage) at & after the rate of eight pounds

eight shillings Sterling per Head—& in case of nonperformance of the said payment by any of us, that then the said Captain, Peter Osborne or the Owners of the said Ship shall have full Power to dispose of us for the said money, or any of us that shall not make good the said Payment within the said fourteen Days above limited Witness our Hands in London the 16th day of February in the year of our Lord 1773.

Arnold Boedeker,  
 Frederick Basermann,  
 John Hartman,  
 Peter Goebel,  
 Gerhard Meyer,  
 Anton Konig,  
 Christopher Rintelman,  
 Johannis Müller,  
 John Frederick Rintelman,  
 Heinrich Müller,  
 Carl Glickner,  
 Heinrich Kaese,  
 Christoph Hebigt,  
 Christian Brand,

Philip Bohne,  
 Johannus Miller,  
 Christoph Reincke,  
 Thomas Riddle,  
 Johann D. Lehmann,  
 Adolph Strohl,  
 Edeine Halbon,  
 Pierre Charles Pouponnot,  
 Joseph Bourghele,  
 Marie J. Peternellen,  
 Sara Bourghele,  
 Samuel Dowgy,  
 Maria Lewineul,  
 Gottfried Gebauer.”

A CORRECTION.—In “Address to the Allegheny County Bar Association,” by Judge Daniel Agnew, PENNA. MAG., Vol. XIII. p. 44, eighth line from foot of page, for Percy read *Presley* Hamilton Craig.

LETTER OF CAPTAIN ALEXANDER HUNTER TO OWEN BIDDLE.—

“URABANNA 21st Feb<sup>r</sup>. 1777

“SIR,

“I hear Inclose you a letter from your Cougan Charles the Small artickles sent by me is all safe ashore but dose knot know how the Can be forwarded to you on acc<sup>t</sup> of the Shiping Being in this bay if you think proper Shall Dispose of them hear and make no doubt to a Good advantage as you Could do with you and Can Remite you the amounts by Some opportunity with Safty. I am Glad to hear of the Sucksess which has adend your army laterly hope it May Continue Charles was treated Cruely in Jamacia on acct of them Knowing he was Brother to Cap<sup>t</sup> Nichoulas Biddle and indeed the had papers who had y<sup>r</sup> name and y<sup>r</sup> B<sup>r</sup> Clemt and some more of the Biddles which made them more Easeperated against him then otherweis the would have when we weare Examined by the dam<sup>d</sup> Old adm<sup>l</sup> he asked Cap<sup>t</sup> Cha<sup>s</sup> was the B<sup>r</sup> to that Villian who command one of the America frigets on which he told him he had a brother who had the honour to Com<sup>d</sup> one of them but never new him By the name of a vilan on which he Began to abuse him and Ordered him to be put in Irons: but youl have the pleasure of seeing him Shortly he was in the Mole and well when I left ther which is not yet three weeks please to Rember me to y<sup>r</sup> father’s family Mrs. Biddle and y<sup>r</sup> Children and Believe me Sir to

“Be y<sup>r</sup> Verry Humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

“ALEX<sup>r</sup> HUNTER.

“PS: Cap<sup>n</sup> Pickran on a brig Belongin to Charlstown went in dry harbour in the N<sup>o</sup> Side of Jamacia and Cut out a ship w<sup>t</sup> 300 Hhds Sugar and a schooner Loaded w<sup>t</sup> Rum and pomenta the French in Cape francway is now fiting out privetars the have But one American on Board w<sup>t</sup> a Commison from Congress or Some of y<sup>r</sup> States one of them so fited

took a schooner of Cape N'amole from Jamacia But a few days before I left that."

"MARKET" AND "RACE" STREETS.—There is a general impression that the names of Market and Race Streets in Philadelphia are quite recent, having been officially changed from their so-called old names "High" and "Sassafras" Streets within the memory of those now living. The following extracts from two advertisements in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* show they were known by the present names a hundred and thirty years ago. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 8, 1758, Samuel Grisley, wine merchant, advertises his store "In High-Street commonly called Market Street, a little below the Jersey Market, a Lamp before the Door." *Ibid.*, July 20, 1758, "Thomas Lee Silk Dyer and Scowerer, from London, but now in Partnership with the widow Brown in Sassafras Street commonly called Race Street between Second and Front Street."

W. J. P.

PROTECTION IN ENGLAND.—Few persons are aware of the extreme to which the English carried "Protection" in the last century. These notes are interesting for comparison with their treatment of the Colonies, as exemplified in the article "British Views of American Trade and Manufactures during the Revolution," published in the *PENNA. MAGAZINE*, Vol. VII., 1883, as they refer to the same year, 1778. We doubt if the wildest American Protectionist of the present day ever dreamed of such an extreme enforcement of Protection as we have here shown, which was not a dead letter but a living reality. Many other instances might be given to show how the law was carried out, but these are sufficient to prove it was enforced upon all classes of society.

*London Chronicle*, Aug. 18-20, 1778.—"A Taylor gave information before the Bench against a Brother in the trade for selling him a waist-coat with buttons covered with the same stuff contrary to the 4th of George I. which inflicts a penalty of 40s. per dozen upon the sellers of such garments, upon the oaths of two witnesses; but the informer being the sole witness he lost the benefit of that statute; and by a subsequent statute of the 7th of George I. to explain the first act, one witness is sufficient, but confines the penalty to wearers of such buttons only, whereby the whole force of the information was defeated."

*Ibid.*, Sept. 5-8, 1778.—"On the 5th inst. was duly Convicted before John King, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, a Linen Draper at Charing-cross, for wearing on a garment, buttons covered contrary to law, for which he paid the penalty of 40s. per dozen. There were 307 duly convicted last month."

*Ibid.*, Oct. 3-6, 1778.—"A few days since a lady who had a muslin gown on, had the same burnt on her back in Shoreditch, by some men who call themselves *aqua fortis men* who have entered into a Society in order to destroy everything that is foreign manufacture they see ladies wear in the streets."

*Ibid.*—"On the 29th of last month, a Gentleman, of St. Ann's Westminster, was convicted before Wm. Martin, Esq; one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace, for wearing on a coat buttons covered contrary to law for which he paid the penalty of 40s. per dozen. There were 149 convicted last month 86 of which were Salesmen and Master Taylors."

*Ibid.*, Aug. 4-6, 1778.—"We are advised from Lancaster, that during last month there were 23 persons convicted before the Recorder of that town for wearing buttons covered, contrary to law, and that there were 14 informations exhibited against gentlemen in that neighborhood."

*Ibid.*, Aug. 8, 1778.—“On the 8th instant a Gentleman of Hollis street St. James’s, convicted before Rob. Elliot, Esq.; for wearing on a waistcoat ten buttons contrary to law, for which he paid a penalty of 33s. 4d.

“Also on the same day, and before the same Magistrate, a Nobleman in St. James, was convicted for wearing on a tambour waistcoat buttons covered contrary to law, for which he paid the penalty of 3s. 4d. each button. There are informations exhibited against several persons of distinction.”

W. J. P.

### Queries.

REES THOMAS AND MARTHA AWBREY.—Mr. George Vaux, in his very interesting article in the PENNA. MAG. for October, 1889, on Rees Thomas and Martha Awbrey, of Merion, mentions only three children of this couple: Rees, Awbrey, and William. They had, however, as appears of record, six. They were—

Rees, b. 2 mo. 22, 1693.

Awbrey, b. 11 mo. 30, 1694.

Herbert, b. 9 mo. 3, 1696; m. Mary, d. John Havard.

Elizabeth, b. 8 mo. 10, 1698.

William, b. 5 mo. 2, 1701.

Richard, b. 5 mo. 23, 1703.

It seems probable that William and David Thomas, early settlers in Merion and Radnor, were brothers of Rees, or else very near kinsmen. Rees, it will be noticed, in his letter to his father-in-law, William Awbrey, mentions John Bevan, who, with his wife Barbara, had lately come from Treverig, Glamorganshire, as his uncle, and Awbrey was a family name in the Bevan and Richardson families. Did John Bevan (John ap Evan) marry an Awbrey? Can any one tell how he was an uncle to Rees Thomas? It may perhaps interest the descendants of Thomas to know that he was a prominent member of the Provincial Assembly, and a justice of the peace for Merion.

Rees Thomas purchased from Sarah Eckley, widow of John, three hundred acres of land in “Merion township, in the Welsh tract.” The deed was dated 6 mo. 15, 1692, and the land is described as follows: “Beginning at a stake in Ellis Hughe’s line and extending thence E.N.E. 102 Perches, thence S.E. 480 Perches, thence S.W. 102 Perches, to the road dividing it and the Radnor Township, and thence by said road. N.N.W. 480 Perches to place of Beginning.” He subsequently bought of Edward Prichard an adjoining tract. In his will, dated 10th September, 1742, Rees Thomas leaves “unto my son William Thomas . . . two hundred acres of land to be laid out of the N. end of tract of land that I bought of Sarah Eckley wid. . . . Unto my son Rees Thomas. . . . my dwelling house and plantation. . . . being 290 acres of land (that is to say) 100 acres that I bought of Sarah Eckley and 170 acres part of the tract of land I bought of Edward Prichard.” This will was proved at Philadelphia 12th February, 1742. A part of this property long continued in the possession of descendants. In 1787, Anthony Tunis and Mary his wife, daughter of Rees Thomas 3d, conveyed their share in a parcel of it to William Thomas, eldest son of said Rees Thomas 3d, and brother of Mary. This William Thomas and Naomi his wife sold some of the same to William Colflesh; it, however, reverted by deed to Thomas in 1805. William Thomas left a will proved in 1840, by which he devised to his daughter Jane W. Cleaver (widow in 1842) a part of same; who sold it to Thomas Stanley. Another

Thomas, designated in the records "William Thomas 1st," and son of old Rees Thomas, died in 1776, and letters of administration were granted on his estate to John Llewellyn and Nathan Jones. GLENN.

### Book Notices.

FRANKLIN BIBLIOGRAPHY. A List of Books written by, or relating to, Benjamin Franklin. By Paul Leicester Ford. Brooklyn, N. Y., 1889. 8vo. LXXI. 467 pp.

This is the most elaborate attempt that has yet been made to bring together the titles of the writings of Franklin and of the works relating to him. It is divided into seven parts, the subjects being as follows:

Part I.—Books and pamphlets wholly or partly written by Franklin,—613 titles.

Part II.—Periodicals and serials containing writings of Franklin,—20 titles.

Part III.—State Papers and Treaties in the formation of which Franklin aided,—15 titles.

Part IV.—Works containing letters of Franklin,—71 titles.

Part V.—Pseudonymes used by Franklin,—18 titles.

Part VI.—Writings wrongfully or doubtfully ascribed to Franklin,—18 titles.

Part VII.—Works relating to, written to, or dedicated to, Franklin,—214 titles.

The whole is prefaced with an excellent introduction, treating largely of Franklin as an author, and is supplemented by three indices. References are given to libraries where the publications can be found. In the volume we find described one hundred and fifty-three editions to the "Way to Wealth," fifty-four of the Autobiography, and about one hundred and twenty collections of Franklin's "Works" in which the Autobiography is included. From this description, the scope of the book will be understood, and its value to any one interested in studying Franklin's career will be appreciated. While it is not free from omissions, and its arrangement could in some respects be improved, there are few pioneer works, in so broad a field, that possess less faults. It is in every way a creditable piece of work, bearing evidence of great labor, careful investigation, and acute observation. As no edition of the works of Franklin contains more than two-thirds of what he is known to have written, such books as Mr. Ford's are invaluable, and, although they may not reach his ears, he will receive the hearty thanks of many earnest workers for the time and labor he has saved them by his investigations. The volume is uniform with the works of Franklin edited by Mr. Bigelow.

ANCESTRY OF THIRTY-THREE RHODE ISLANDERS BORN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By John Osborne Austin. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1889. Large 4to., pp. 139.

This work is by the author of the "Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island." It contains the pedigrees of thirty-three Rhode Islanders, born in the eighteenth century. Their ancestors are traced back for five generations, and while there are some omissions, Mr. Austin has been remarkably successful in making the record as complete as it is. The pedigrees given are those of Daniel Anthony, Welcome Arnold, Rowse Babcock, Isaac Barker, William Barton, Nicholas Brown, Henry Bull, William Ellery Channing, Thomas Durfee, Benjamin Dyer, James Fenner, Nathaniel Green, Ray Green, Elisha Harris, Rowland Hazard, Stephen Hopkins, Richard Jackson, Nehemiah Rice Knight, Christopher

Lippitt, Daniel Lyman, Stephen Olney, Oliver Hazard Perry, Elisha Reynolds Potter, Sr., Stephen Randall, William Sprague, Gilbert Stuart, Wilkins Updike, Samuel Ward, Wagner Weeden, John Whipple, Isaac Wilbour, Oziel Wilkinson.

The book also contains twenty-seven charts, giving the descendants of Roger Williams, an account of Lewis Latham, falconer to King Charles I., a chart of the Latham family, and a list of one hundred and eighty portraits of prominent Rhode Islanders.

CHRONICON EPHRATENSE: A HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY OF SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS AT EPHRATA, LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNA. BY LAMECH AND AGRIPPA. Translated from the original German by J. Max Hark, D.D., Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1889. Pp. 288.

The English translation of this rare work will be appreciated by all who are interested in the history of the Ephrata community, and to Messrs. S. H. Zahm & Co., of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, they are indebted for its publication. The translator, J. Max Hark, D.D., of the Moravian Church, has been most successful in his reproduction, particularly so with regard to involved sentences, local idioms, mystical expressions, and curious phrases, which he has rendered with scrupulous fidelity. The book is printed on good paper and with clear type, and the edition is limited.

COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY OF THE LOCKWOOD FAMILY IN AMERICA, FROM A.D. 1630. Compiled by Frederic A. Holden and E. Dunbar Lockwood. Printed privately by the family. Philadelphia, 1889. Royal 8vo, pp. 884.

This is one of the best genealogies in arrangement, paper, and type published this year, and the descendants of Robert Lockwood, of Watertown, are indebted to Mr. Frederic A. Holden and Mr. E. Dunbar Lockwood, of Philadelphia, who have been diligent and successful collectors in compiling so complete a family history. The biographical sketches, the list of over two hundred and seventy descendants who served in the army and navy, from the colonial period to a recent date; the records of those distinguished in the church, at the bar, in the legislature, and in the scientific world, as well as those allied to the family by marriage, are interesting and valuable features of the work. Forty-five illustrations, consisting of the family coat of arms, portraits, fac-similes of autographs, wills, commissions, and muster-rolls, letters and sermons, an appendix, and a copious index containing over nine thousand names, lend special value and completeness to this handsome volume.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.— We have received the "Records of the American Catholic Historical Society," Vol. II. 406 pp., which contains, among other valuable and interesting papers, "The Early Registers of the Catholic Church in Pennsylvania," by P. S. P. Connor; "Rev. Louis Barth, a Pioneer Missionary in Pennsylvania," by Rev. Jules C. Foin; "A Memoir of Thomas Fitzsimons," by M. I. J. Griffin; "Catholic Choirs and Choir Music in Philadelphia," by Michael H. Cross; "List of Baptisms, St. Joseph's Church, 1776-1781;" "Marriage Registers, St. Joseph's Church, 1758-1786;" and "Goshenhoppen Register, 1741-1764." The Genealogical Department, edited by C. H. A. Esling, contains genealogies of the Esling, Sehner, and Kelly-Hendry families. We are pleased to observe that the Society continues the publication of the registers of St. Joseph and other congregations, which fills a want so long felt by all genealogists. The book is a credit to the Society in every particular.



*Treasurer.*

J. Edward Carpenter.

*Council (to serve four years).*

James T. Mitchell,                      William S. Baker,  
Charles Hare Hutchinson.

No other nominations being made, the chairman appointed tellers to conduct the election on May 6.

Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker related the story of "A Woman's Curse and its Fulfilment,"—a tradition connected with the town of Phoenixville, Penna., and its vicinity.

Edward Shippen, Esq., read extracts from the "Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Bordley Gibson," with some familiar letters to her friend, Martha Derby, of Boston.

Mr. Frederick D. Stone read a sketch appropriate to the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of Washington. Remarks were made by Prof. John Bach McMaster, Joseph G. Rosengarten, Esq., and Mr. Stone.

On motion of Richardson L. Wright, Esq., a vote of thanks was tendered to the gentlemen who had spoken during the evening.

A special meeting of the Society was held April 6, Vice-President Hon. S. W. Pennypacker in the chair.

The Chairman introduced Hampton L. Carson, Esq., who delivered an address on "The First Congress of the United States."

On motion of John J. Pinkerton, Esq., the thanks of the Society were given to Mr. Carson.

Mr. Frederick D. Stone read an article, published in the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, relating to some historical incidents connected with Bradford's Coffee-House.

There being no other business, the meeting adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held May 6, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

Minutes of meetings read and approved.

The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

The Report of the Council for the year 1888 was read, and ordered to be spread on the minutes.

The President announced that Vice-President John Jordan, Jr., had presented to the Society a fund for the erection of a fire-proof wing to the building on the Thirteenth Street side of the lot belonging to the Society; and that by the will of Captain William Man the following



bequests had been made: \$5000 to the General Fund; \$8000 to the Library Fund; \$2000 to the Binding Fund.

After appropriate remarks, Joseph G. Rosengarten, Esq., offered the following:

*Resolved*, That the President of the Society appoint a committee to collect the published and unpublished correspondence and writings of John Dickinson, with a view of including them in the memoirs of the Society, and that Charles J. Stillé, Esq., LL.D., be invited to edit the same."

Colonel Frank M. Etting offered the following:

*Resolved*, That a standing committee be constituted whose duty it shall be to take note of all historical monuments and buildings of every description in Philadelphia; to report periodically to the Society the condition of all such, how tended or cared for; to recommend, where necessary, suitable inscriptions to be placed thereon, and what intervention, if any, is needed for their preservation."

Mr. William S. Baker read an account of the painting by Charles Wilson Peale, in the winter of 1778-79, of a portrait of Washington for the Supreme Executive Council of the State, and of the engraving in mezzotinto of the picture by the artist in 1780.

A stated meeting of the Society was held November 11, Vice-President Horatio Gates Jones, Esq., in the chair.

General W. W. H. Davis was introduced, and read a paper on "Lafayette in Bucks County."

After passing a vote of thanks, the Society adjourned.





## EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

*Statement of Finances, December 31, 1888.*

DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

To Real Estate . . . . .	\$117,008 02
Investments . . . . .	63,913 67
Cash . . . . .	3,709 13

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:

General Fund, Invested . . . . .	\$5,500 00	
"    "    Loan to Real Estate . . . . .	5,500 00	
"    "    Interest Account . . . . .	547 81	
Binding Fund, Invested . . . . .	3,300 00	
"    "    Interest Account . . . . .	234 24	
Library Fund, Invested . . . . .	8,000 00	
"    "    Interest Account . . . . .	270 08	
Publication Fund, Invested . . . . .	32,111 78	
"    "    Uninvested . . . . .	792 97	
"    Interest Account . . . . .	1,617 85	
Endowment Fund, Invested . . . . .	15,001 89	
"    "    Uninvested . . . . .	32 75	
Investments of Real Estate . . . . .	111,023 54	
Loan Emily Bell . . . . .	565 41	
Balance Donation for Harleian Publications . . . . .	68 50	
Sundries . . . . .	64 00	
	\$184,630 82	\$184,630 82

*Publication Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1888 . . . . .	\$1,213 41
Interest, Dividends, and Rents . . . . .	1,985 02
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc. . . . .	776 75
	\$3,975 18
Disbursements for 1888 . . . . .	2,357 33
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	\$1,617 85

*General Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1888 . . . . .	\$102 16
Annual Dues, 1888 . . . . .	4,983 00
Donations . . . . .	300 00
Interest, Dividends, etc. . . . .	447 49
“ Trustees Endowment Fund . . . . .	740 00
	<hr/>
	\$6,572 65
Disbursements: General Expenses, Taxes, and Sundries for 1888 . . . . .	6,024 84
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Treasurer . . . . .	\$547 81

*Binding Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1888 . . . . .	\$308 39
Interest, Dividends, etc. . . . .	157 90
	<hr/>
	\$466 29
Disbursements for Binding, 1888 . . . . .	232 05
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	\$234 24

*Library Fund.*

Receipts: Cash on hand, January 1, 1888 . . . . .	\$43 02
Interest on Investments . . . . .	464 00
Penna. Loan Redeemed . . . . .	400 00
Donations and Sales of Duplicates, etc. . . . .	125 99
	<hr/>
	\$1,033 01
Disbursements: Purchase of Books in 1888 . . . . .	762 93
	<hr/>
Balance in hands of Trustees . . . . .	\$270 08

*Endowment Fund.*

Receipts: Interest and Dividends. . . . .	\$740 00
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