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HISTORICAL

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES,

BY

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

Dañ sy haltend styff das widerspyl, vnd leerend, die Oberkeit möge und sölle sich der Religion vnd Gloubens sachen nüt annehmen. * * *
Es bedunckt die Töuffler vngebürlich syn, dass in der kirchen ein ander schwärtdt dañ nun dess Göttlichen worts sölle gebruchet werden: vnd noch vil vngebürlicher, dass man menschen, das ist, denen die in der Oberkeit sind, sölle die sachen der Religion oder Gloubens handel vnderwerffen.

Bullinger's Widertöufferen Vrsprung, p. 165, printed
by Froshower, at Zurich, 1560.

PHILADELPHIA, PA. :
ROBERT A. TRIPPLE,
1883.

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P R E F A C E .

THE philologist, who seeks to know something of the language of the primeval man of Europe, finds amid the mountains of the Pyrenees, the Basques, who have preserved down to the present time the tongue of these remote forefathers. The ethnologist studies the habits of prehistoric races not by the uncertain light of early legends, but by going to the Islands of the South Pacific, where savage life still exists, as it was before the dawn of civilization. The historian, who pursuing the same methods of investigation, would stand face to face with the Reformation, need only visit the Mennonites of Lancaster County, in Pennsylvania, where he can see still rigorously preserved, the thought, the faith, the habits, the ways of living, and even the dress of that important epoch. The hymn book in ordinary use by the Amish was written in the 16th Century, and from it they still zealously sing about Felix Mantz, who was drowned at Zurich, in 1526, and Michael Sattler, who had his tongue torn out and was then burned to death at Rottenburg in 1527. Whether we regard their personal history, or the results of their teachings, the Mennonites were the most interesting people who came to America. There is scarcely a family among them which cannot be traced to some ancestor burned to death because of his faith. Their whole literature smacks of the fire. Beside a record like theirs, the sufferings of Pilgrim and Quaker seem trivial. A hundred years before the time of Roger Williams, George Fox and William Penn, the Dutch reformer Menno Simons contended for the complete severance of Church and State, and the struggles for religious and political liberty, which convulsed England and led to the English colonization of America in the Seventeenth Century, were logical results of doctrines advanced by the Dutch and German Anabaptists in the one which preceded.

About ten years ago I formed the design of writing the history of the Mennonites in America. It was for many reasons a task of extreme difficulty. It required a preliminary knowledge of the German and Dutch languages. No collection of their books had ever been made in this country, nothing of value had been published concerning them except some papers in the "Pennsylvania Dutch," which were descriptive rather than historical, and the structure had to be erected from its foundation. More than all, the conviction entertained by them that fame is only one of the vanities, and the desire for it but a form of worldliness, has led them in the past to destroy, rather than to preserve, those materials which are the ordinary sources of historical information. When a book was written the name of the author did not appear; when a meeting house was built, no tablet told the date; and when a man was buried, no stone was raised to his memory. These difficulties and the exacting demands of a professional life have so far retarded, if not prevented, the completion of the design, and the results up to the present time have been a somewhat full collection of their books and manuscripts, and the first seven papers gathered into this volume.

Though a torso, I believe the work so far as it has gone to be thorough, and if it should not progress to the end, I shall at least have the satisfaction of having contributed something to the history of a people who are in every way worthy of the most careful study, and who will sooner or later attract wide attention.

The circumstances under which the other papers were written are for the most part explained in the notes accompanying them. All of those which have heretofore appeared in the magazines of the day are so described in the sub-titles, and they have all been here corrected and enlarged. Full credit has been given in the notes and elsewhere for the use made of the labors of other investigators. It ought, however, to be said, that I am much indebted to Mr. F. D. Stone for assistance and suggestions in the preparation of the article upon David Rittenhouse.

PHILADELPHIA. *April 9th. 1833.*

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THE
SETTLEMENT OF GERMANTOWN, PA.
AND THE
CAUSES WHICH LED TO IT.

From the Pennsylvania Magazine of History
and Biography. Vol. IV, p. 1.

THE SETTLEMENT OF GERMANTOWN, PA.

Hail to posterity!
Hail, future men of Germanopolis!
Let the young generations yet to be
Look kindly upon this.
Think how your fathers left their native land,
Dear German land, O! sacred hearths and homes!
And where the wild beast roams
In patience planned
New forest homes beyond the mighty sea,
There undisturbed and free
To live as brothers of one family.
What pains and cares befell,
What trials and what fears,
Remember, and wherein we have done well
Follow our footsteps, men of coming years;
Where we have failed to do
Aright, or wisely live,
Be warned by us, the better way pursue.
And knowing we were human, even as you,
Pity us and forgive.
Farewell, Posterity;
Farewell, dear Germany;
Forever more farewell!—WHITTIER.¹

When the history of Pennsylvania comes to be thoroughly understood, it will be found that the Dutchman, as he is generally called, occupies a position by

¹ From the Latin of Francis Daniel Pastorius in the Germantown Records, 1688, first published by Prof. Oswald Seidensticker.

no means so inconspicuous as that which the most of us are apt to assign to him. Every one is willing to admit that to him is due much of the material prosperity for which this State is no noted, that his hogs are fat, his butter is sweet, his lands are well tilled, and his barns are capacious; but the claim that there is anything distinguished in his origin, or brilliant in his career, is seldom made, and that he has approached his English associates in knowledge of politics, literature, or science those of us who get our Saxon blood by way of the Mersey and the Thames would quickly deny. The facts which tell in his favor, however, are many and striking. Pastorius possessed probably more literary attainments, and produced more literary work than any other of the early emigrants to this province, and he alone, of them all, through the appreciative delineation of a New England poet, has a permanent place in the literature of our own time. Willem Rittinghuysen, in 1690, built on a branch of the Wissahickon Creek the first paper-mill in the Colonies.¹ The Bible was printed in German in America thirty-nine years before it appeared in English, and in the preface to his third edition in 1776, Saur was still able to say, "to the honor of the German people—for no other nation can assert that it has ever been printed in their language in this part of the world."²

¹ Jones's notes to Thomas's History of Printing, vol. i. p. 21.

² The lack of knowledge concerning the Germans amounts at times almost to obtuseness. Dr. William Smith wrote in 1753 a letter, recently printed, in which he said they were in danger of "sinking into barbarian ignorance," while in another sentence he complained with the utmost naiveté that "they import many foreign books, and in Penna. have their printing houses and their newspapers." The editor of the Magazine of American History lately gave space to a controversy as to whether Collin's Bible or Thomas's

No other known literary work undertaken in the Colonies equals in magnitude the Mennonite Martyrs' Mirror of Van Bragt, printed at Ephrata in 1748, whose publication required the labors of fifteen men for three years. The Speaker of the first House of Representatives under the Federal Constitution and seven of the Governors of Pennsylvania were men of German descent. The statue selected to represent in the capitol at Washington the military reputation of Pennsylvania is that of a German. Said Thomas Jefferson of David Rittenhouse: "He has not indeed made a world, but he has by imitation approached nearer its maker than any man who has lived from the creation to this day."¹ There are no Pennsylvania names more cherished at home, and more deservedly known abroad, than those of Wister, Shoemaker, Muhlenberg, Weiser, Hiester, Keppeler and Keim, and there are few Pennsylvanians, not comparatively recent arrivals, who cannot be carried back along some of their ancestral lines to the country of the Rhine. An examination of the earliest settlement of the Germans in Pennsylvania, and a study of the causes which produced it may, therefore, well be of interest to all who appreciate the value of our State history. The first impulse followed by the first wave of emigration came from Crefeld, a city of the lower Rhine, within a few miles of the borders of Holland. On the 10th of March, 1682, William Penn conveyed to Jacob Telner, of Crefeld, doing business as a merchant in Amsterdam, Jan Streypers, a merchant of Kaldkirchen, a village in the vicinity, still nearer to Hol-

Bible, both printed in 1791, was the "First great Quarto Bible in America," apparently unaware that Saur was a half century earlier.

¹ Jefferson's Notes on Virginia.

land, and Dirck Sipman, of Crefeld, each five thousand acres of land to be laid out in Pennsylvania. As the deeds were executed upon that day,¹ the design must

¹ Mr. Lawrence Lewis has suggested that under the system of double dating between Jan. 1st and March 25th, which then prevailed, it is probable that the date was March 10th, 1682-3. The evidence pro and con is strong and conflicting. The facts in favor of 1682-3 are mainly—

1. It is manifest from an examination of the patents that the custom was, whenever a single date, as 1682, was mentioned within those limits, the latter date, 1682-3, was meant.

2. A deed to Telner, dated June 2d, 1683 (Ex. Rec. 8, p. 655), recites as follows: "Whereas the said William Penn by indentures of lease and release, bearing date the ninth and tenth days of the month called March for the consideration therein mentioned, etc." The presumption is that the March referred to is the one immediately preceding.

3. The lease and release to Telner March 9th and 10th, 1682, and several deeds of June, 1683, are all recited to have been in the 35th year of the reign of Charles II. It is evident that March 10th, 1681-2, and June, 1683, could not both have been within the same year.

This would be enough to decide the matter if the facts in favor of 1681-2 were not equally conclusive. They are—

1. It is probable, *a priori*, and from the German names of the witnesses that the deeds to the Crefelders, except that to Telner, were dated and delivered by Benj. Furly, Penn's agent at Rotterdam for the sale of lands. In both Holland and Germany the present system of dating had been in use for over a century.

2. A patent (Ex. Rec. vol. i. p. 462) recites as follows: "Whereas by my indentures of lease and release dated the 9 and 10 days of March Anno 1682 . . . and whereas by my indentures dated the first day of April, and year aforesaid, I remised and released to the same Dirck Sipman the yearly rent. . . ." The year aforesaid was 1682, and if the quit rent was released April 1st, 1682, the conveyance to Sipman must have been earlier. If on the 25th of March another year, 1683, had intervened, the word *aforesaid* could not have been correctly used. This construction is strengthened by the fact that the release of quit rent to

have been in contemplation and the arrangements made some time before. Telner had been in America between the years 1678 and 1681, and we may safely infer that his acquaintance with the country had much influence in bringing about the purchase.¹

In November, 1682, we find the earliest reference to the enterprise which subsequently resulted in the formation of the Frankfort Company. At that date Pastorius heard of it for the first time, and he, as agent, bought the lands when in London between the 8th of May and 6th of June, 1683.² The eight original purchasers were Jacob Van de Walle, Dr. Johann Jacob Schutz, Johann Wilhelm Ueberfeldt, Daniel Behagel, Casper Merian, George Strauss, Abraham Hasevoet, and Jan Laurens, an intimate friend of Telner, apparently living at Rotterdam. Before Nov. 12th, 1686, on which day, in the language of the Manatawny patent, they "formed them-

Streypers, which took place April 1st, 1683, is recited in another patent (Ex. Rec. 1, p. 686) as follows: "Of which said sum or yearly rent by an indenture bearing date the first day of April for the consideration therein mentioned in the year 1683 I remised and released."

3. The lease and release to Telner on March 9th and 10th, 1682, are signed by William Penn, witnessed by Herbert Springett, Thomas Coxe, and Seth Craske, and purport to have been executed in England. An *Op den Graeff* deed in Germantown book recites that they were executed at London. Now in March, 1681-2, Penn was in England, but in March, 1682-3, he was in Philadelphia.

4. Pastorius says that Penn at first declined to give the Frankfort Co. city lots, because they had made their purchase after he (Penn) had left England and the books had been closed, and that a special arrangement was made to satisfy them. Penn left England Sept. 1st, 1682. The deeds show that the Crefelders received their city lots.

¹ Hazard's Register, vol. vi. p. 183.

² Pastorius MS. in the Historical Society of Pa.

selves into a company," the last named four had withdrawn, and their interests had been taken by Francis Daniel Pastorius, the celebrated Johanna Eleanora Von Merlau, wife of Dr. Johann Wilhelm Peterson, Dr. Gerhard Von Mastricht, Dr. Thomas Von Wylich, Johannes Lebrun, Balthasar Jawert, and Dr. Johannes Kemler. That this was the date of the organization of the Company is also recited in the power of attorney which they executed in 1700.¹ Up to the 8th of June, 1683, they seem to have bought 15,000 acres of land, which were afterwards increased to 25,000 acres. Of the eleven members nearly all were followers of the pietist Spener, and five of them lived at Frankfort, two in Wesel, two in Lubeck, and one in Duisberg. Though to this company has generally been ascribed the settlement of Germantown, and with it the credit of being the originators of German emigration, no one of its members except Pastorius ever came to Pennsylvania, and of still more significance is the fact that, so far as known, no one of the early emigrants to Pennsylvania came from Frankfort.

On the 11th of June, 1683, Penn conveyed to Govert Remke, Lenart Arets, and Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber, a baker, all of Crefeld, one thousand acres of land each, and they, together with Telner, Streypers, and Sipman, constituted the original Crefeld purchasers. It is evident that their purpose was colonization, and not speculation. The arrangement between Penn and Sipman provided that a certain number of families should go to Pennsylvania within a specified time, and probably the

¹ The power of attorney says, "und desswegen in Krafft des den 12 Novembris, 1686, beliebten brieffes eine Societat geschlossen." Both the original agreement and the letter of attorney, with their autographs and seals, are in my possession.

other purchasers entered into similar stipulations.¹ However that may be, ere long thirteen men with their families, comprising thirty-three persons, nearly all of whom were relatives, were ready to embark to seek new homes across the ocean. They were Lenart Arets, Abraham Op den Graeff, Dirck Op den Graeff, Hermann Op den Graeff, Willem Streppers, Thones Kunders, Reynier Tyson, Jan Seimens, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Johannes Bleikers, Jan Lucken, and Abraham Tunes. The three Op den Graeffs were brothers, Hermann was a son-in-law of Van Bebber, they were accompanied by their sister Margaretha, and they were cousins of Jan and Willem Streppers, who were also brothers. The wives of Thones Kunders and Lenart Arets were sisters of the Streppers, and the wife of Jan was the sister of Reynier Tyson. Peter Keurlis was also a near relative, and the location of the signatures of Jan Lucken and Abraham Tunes on the certificate of the marriage of a son of Thones Kunders with a daughter of Willem Streppers in 1710 indicates that they too were connected with the group by family ties.² On the 7th of June, 1683, Jan Streppers and Jan Lensen entered into an agreement at Crefeld by the terms of which Streppers was to let Lensen have fifty acres of land at a rent of a rix dollar and half a stuyver, and to lend him fifty rix dollars for eight years at the interest of six rix dollars annually. Lensen was to transport himself and wife to Pennsylvania, to clear eight acres of Strepper's land and to work for him twelve days in each year for eight years. The agreement proceeds, "I further promise to lend him a Linnen-weaving stool with

¹ Dutch deed from Sipman to Peter Schumacher in the Germantown Book in the Recorder's office.

² Streper MSS. in the Historical Society. The marriage certificate belongs to Dr. J. H. Conrad.

3 combs, and he shall have said weaving stool for two years . . . and for this Jan Lensen shall teach my son Leonard in one year the art of weaving, and Leonard shall be bound to weave faithfully during said year." On the 18th of June the little colony were in Rotterdam, whither they were accompanied by Jacob Telner, Dirck Sipman, and Jan Streypers, and there many of their business arrangements were completed. Telner conveyed 2000 acres of land to the brothers Op den Graeff, and Sipman made Hermann Op den Graeff his attorney. Jan Streypers conveyed 100 acres to his brother Willem, and to Seimens and Keurlis each 200 acres. Bleikers and Lucken each bought 200 acres from Benjamin Furly, agent for the purchasers at Frankfort. At this time James Claypoole, a Quaker merchant in London, who had previously had business relations of some kind with Telner, was about to remove with his family to Pennsylvania, intending to sail in the Concord, Wm. Jeffries, master, a vessel of 500 tons burthen. Through him a passage from London was engaged for them in the same vessel, which was expected to leave Gravesend on the 6th of July, and the money was paid in advance.¹ It is now ascertained definitely that eleven of these thirteen emigrants were from Crefeld, and the presumption that their two companions, Jan Lucken and Abraham Tunes, came from the same city is consequently strong. This presumption is increased by the indications of relationship, and the fact that the wife of Jan Seimens was Mercken Williamsen Lucken. Fortunately, however, we are not wanting in evidence of a general character. Pastorius,² after having an interview with Telner at Rot-

¹ Letter-book of James Claypoole in the Historical Society.

² Christian Pastorius, a citizen of Warburg, was the father of

terdam a few weeks earlier, accompanied by four servants, who seem to have been Jacob Schumacher, Isaac Dilbeeck, George Wertmuller, and Koenradt Rutters, had gone to America representing both the purchasers at Frank-

Martin Pastorius, assessor of the court at Erfurt, who married Briggitta, daughter of Christian Flinsberger of Muhlhausen. Their son, Melchior Adam, was born at Erfurt, Sept. 21st, 1624, and educated at the University of Wuertzburg. He studied both law and theology, and having married Magdalena, daughter of Stephen Dietz and of Margaretha Fischer, and having been converted to the protestant faith, he settled at Windsheim, where he held several offices, and finally became elder burgomaster and judge. Francis Daniel Pastorius, the son of Melchior and Magdalena, was born at Somershausen, Sept. 26th, 1651. When he was seven years old his father removed to Windsheim, and there he was sent to school. Later he spent two years at the University of Strasburg, in 1672 went to the high school at Basle, and afterwards studied law at Jena. He was thoroughly familiar with the Greek, Latin, German, French, Dutch, English, and Italian tongues, and at the age of twenty-two publicly disputed in different languages upon law and philosophy. On the 24th of April, 1679, he went to Frankfort, and there began the practice of law; but in June, 1680, he started with Johan Bonaventura Von Rodeck, "a noble young spark," on a tour through Holland, England, France, Switzerland, and Germany, which occupied over two years. On his return to Frankfort in November, 1682, he heard from his friends the Pietists of the contemplated emigration to Pennsylvania, and with a sudden enthusiasm he determined to join them, or in his own words, "a strong desire came upon me to cross the seas with them, and there, after having seen and experienced too much of European idleness, to lead with them a quiet and Christian life." He immediately began his preparations by writing to his father to ask his consent and obtain some funds, and by sending his books to his brother. He sailed from London June 10th, 1683, and arrived in Philadelphia August 20th. His great learning and social position at home made him the most conspicuous person at Germantown. He married Nov. 20th, 1688, Ennecke Klosterman, and had two sons, John Samuel and Henry. He describes himself as "of a Melancholy Cholerick Complexion, and, therefore (juxta Culpepper, p. 194), gentle, given to Sobriety,

fort and Crefeld. In his references to the places at which he stopped on his journey down the Rhine he nowhere mentions emigrants except at Crefeld, where he says: "I talked with Tunes Kunders and his wife, Dirck, Hermann, and Abraham Op den Graeff and many others, who six weeks later followed me."¹ For some reason

Solitary, Studious, doubtful, Shamefaced, timorous, pensive, constant and true in actions, of a slow wit, with obliviousness, &c.,

If any does him wrong,
He can't remember't long."

From his father and other relations he received altogether 1263 Reichsthaler, of which he says, "Tot pereunt cum tempore Nummi." He wrote punning poems in various languages, and a host of books, of which a few were printed, and many have been lost. The following letter is characteristic:—

"Dear Children John Samuel and Henry Pastorius: Though you are (*Germano sanguine nati*) of high Dutch Parents, yet remember that your father was Naturalized, and y^e born in an English Colony, Consequently each of you *Anglus Natus* an Englishman by Birth. Therefore, it would be a shame for you if you should be ignorant of the English Tongue, the Tongue of your Countrymen; but that you may learn the better I have left a Book for you both, and commend the same to your reiterated perusal. If you should not get much of y^e Latin, nevertheless read y^e the English part oftentimes OVER AND OVER AND OVER. And I assure you that *Semper aliquid hærebit*. For the Dripping of the house-eaves in Time maketh a hole in an hard stone. *Non vi sed sæpe cadendo*, and it is very bad Cloath that by often dipping will take no Colour.

Lectio lecta placet, decies repetita placebit

Quod Natura negat vobis Industria præstet.—F. D. P."

Israel Pemberton, a pupil fourteen years old, on whom he had used the rod, wrote concerning him 13th of 6th mo. 1698: "The first time I saw him I told my father that I thought he would prove an angry master. He asked me why so: I told him I thought so by his nose, for which he called me a prating boy."

He died Sept. 27th, 1719.

¹ Pastorius MS. cited by Seidensticker in the *Deutsche Pionier*, vol. ii., p. 142.

the emigrants were delayed between Rotterdam and London, and Claypoole was in great uneasiness for fear the vessel should be compelled to sail without them, and they should lose their passage money. He wrote several letters about them to Benjamin Furlly at Rotterdam. June 19th he says, "I am glad to hear the Crevill friends are coming." July 3d he says, "before I goe away weh now is like to be longer than we expected by reason of the Crevill friends not coming we are fain to loyter and keep the ship still at Blackwall upon one pretence or another;" and July 10th he says, "It troubles me much that the friends from Crevillt are not yet come."¹ As he had the names of the thirty-three persons, this contemporary evidence is very strong, and it would seem safe to conclude that all of this pioneer band, which, with Pastorius, founded Germantown, came from Crefeld. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg says the first comers were platt-deutch from the neighborhood of Cleves.² Despite the forebodings of Claypoole the emigrants reached London in time for the Concord, and they set sail westward on the 24th of July. While they are for the first time experiencing the dangers and trials of a voyage across the ocean, doubtless sometimes looking back with regret, but oftener wistfully and wonderingly forward, let us return to inquire who these people were who were willing to abandon forever the old homes and old friends along the Rhine, and commence new lives with the wolf and the savage in the forests upon the shores of the Delaware.

The origin of the sect of Mennonites is somewhat involved in obscurity. Their opponents, following Sleidanus and other writers of the 16th century, have re-

¹ Letter Book of James Claypoole.

² Hallesche Nachrichten, p. 665.

proached them with being an outgrowth of the Anabaptists of Munster. On the contrary, their own historians, Mehrning, Van Braght, Schynn, Maatschoen, and Roosen, trace their theological and lineal descent from the Waldenses, some of whose communities are said to have existed from the earliest Christian times, and who were able to maintain themselves in obscure parts of Europe, against the power of Rome, in large numbers from the 12th century downward. The subject has of recent years received thorough and philosophical treatment at the hands of S. Blaupot Ten Cate, a Dutch historian.¹ The theory of the Waldensian origin is based mainly on a certain similarity in creed and church observances; the fact that the Waldenses are known to have been numerous in those portions of Holland and Flanders where the Mennonites arose and thrived, and to have afterward disappeared; the ascertained descent of some Mennonite families from Waldenses; and a marked similarity in habits and occupations. This last fact is especially interesting in our investigation, as will be hereafter seen. The Waldenses carried the art of weaving from Flanders into Holland, and so generally followed that trade as in many localities to have gone by the name of *Tisser-*

¹ *Geschiedkundig Onderzoek naar den Waldenzischen oorsprong van de Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden.* Amsterdam, 1844.

A nearly contemporary authority, which seems to have escaped the observation of European investigators, is "De vitis, sectis, et dogmatibus omnium Hæreticorum, &c., per Gabrielem Prateolum Marcossium," published at Cologne in 1583, which says, p. 25: "Est perniciosior etiam tertia quæ quoniam a Catholicis legitime baptizatos rebaptizat, Anabaptistorum secta vocatur. De quo genere videntur etiam fuisse fratres Vualdenses; quos et ipsos non ita pridem rebaptizasse constat, quamvis eorum nonnulli, nuper adeo, sicut ipsi in Apologia sua testantur, iterare Baptismum desierint; in multis tamen eos cum Anabaptistis convenire certum est."

ands, or weavers.¹ It is not improbable that the truth lies between the two theories of friend and foe, and that the Baptist movement which swept through Germany and the Netherlands in the early part of the 16th century gathered into its embrace many of these communities of Waldenses. At the one extreme of this movement were Thomas Munzer, Bernhard Rothman, Jean Matthys, and John of Leyden; at the other were Menno Simons, and Dirk Philips. Between them stood Battenburg and David Joris of Delft. The common ground of them all, and about the only ground which they had in common, was opposition to the baptism of infants. The first party became entangled in the politics of the time, and ran into the wildest excesses. They preached to the peasantry of Europe, trodden beneath the despotic heels of Church and State, that the kingdom of Christ upon earth was at hand, that all human authority ought to be resisted and overthrown, and all property be divided. After fighting many battles and causing untold commotion, they took possession of the city of Munster, and made John of Leyden a king. The pseudo-kingdom endured for more than a year of siege and riot, and then was crushed by the power of the State, and John of Leyden was torn to pieces with red hot pincers, and his bones set aloft in an iron cage for a warning.²

Menno Simons was born at the village of Witmarsum in Friesland, in the year 1492, and was educated for the priesthood, upon whose duties early in life he entered. The beheading of Sieke Snyder for rebaptism in the year 1531 in his near neighborhood called his attention to the subject of infant baptism, and after a careful examination

¹ Ten Cate's *Onderzoek*, p. 42.

² Catrou's *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, p. 462.

of the Bible and the writings of Luther and Zwinglius, he came to the conclusion there was no foundation for it in the Scriptures. At the request of a little community near him holding like views he began to preach to them, and in 1536 formally severed his connection with the Church of Rome. Ere long he began to be recognized as the leader of the *Doopsgezinde* or *Taufgesinnte*, and gradually the sect assumed from him the name of Mennonites. His first book was a dissertation against the errors and delusions in the teachings of John of Leyden, and after a convention held at Buckhold in Westphalia in 1538, at which Battenburg and David Joris were present, and Menno and Dirck Philips were represented, the influence of the fanatical Anabaptists seems to have waned.¹ His entire works, published at Amsterdam in 1681, make a folio volume of 642 pages. Luther and Calvin stayed their hands at a point where power and influence would have been lost, but the Dutch reformer, Menno, far in advance of his time, taught the complete severance of Church and State, and the principles of religious liberty which have been embodied in our own federal constitution were first worked out in Holland.² The Mennonites believed that no baptism was efficacious unless accompanied by repentance, and that the ceremony administered to infants was vain. They took not the sword and were entirely non-resistant.³ They swore not at all.⁴ They practiced the washing of the feet of the brethren,⁵ and made use of the ban or the avoidance

¹ Nippold's Life of David Joris. Roosen's Menno Simons, p. 32.

² Barclay's Religious Societies of the Commonwealth, pp. 78, 676; Menno's "Exhortation to all in Authority," in his works. Funk's edition, vol. i. p. 75; vol. ii. p. 203.

³ Matthew xxvi. 52.

⁴ Matthew v. 32 to 37.

⁵ John xiii. 4, 17; I. Timothy v. 10.

of those who were pertinaciously derelict.¹ In dress and speech they were plain, and in manners simple. Their ecclesiastical enemies, even while burning them for their heresies, bore testimony to the purity of their lives, their thrift, frugality, and homely virtues.² They were generally husbandmen and artisans, and so many of them were weavers that, we are told by Roosen, certain woven and knit fabrics were known as Mennonite goods.³ The shadow of John of Leyden, however, hung over them, the name of Anabaptist clung to them, and no sect, not even the early Christians, was ever more bitterly or persistently persecuted. There were put to death for this cause at Rotterdam 7 persons, Haarlem 10, the Hague 13, Cortrijk 20, Brugge 23, Amsterdam 26, Ghent 103, and Antwerp 229, and in the last-named city there were 37 in 1571 and 37 in 1574, the last by fire.⁴ It was usual to burn the men and drown the women. Occasionally some were buried alive, and the rack and like preliminary tortures were used to extort confessions, and get information concerning others of the sect. Ydse Gaukes gives, in a letter written to his brother from prison, a graphic description of his own treatment. After telling that his hands were tied behind his back, he continues: "Then they drew me up about a foot from the ground and let me hang. I was in great pain, but I tried to be quiet. Nevertheless, I cried out three times,

¹ Matthew xviii. 17; I. Corinthians v. 9, 11; II. Thes. iii. 14.

² Says Catrou, p. 259, "On ne peut disconvenir que des sectes de la sorte n'ayent été remplies d'assez bonnes gens et assez réglées pour les moeurs." And page 103, "Leurs invectives contre le luxe, contre l'ivrognerie, et contre incontinence avoient je ne scai quoi de pathétique."

³ Life of Gerhard Roosen, p. 9.

⁴ Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Holland, etc., Ten Cate, p. 72.

and then was silent. They said *that is only child's play*, and letting me down again they put me on a stool, but asked me no questions, and said nothing to me. They fastened an iron bar to my feet with two chains, and hung on the bar three heavy weights. When they drew me up again a Spaniard tried to hit me in the face with a chain, but he could not reach; while I was hanging I struggled hard, and got one foot through the chain, but then all the weight was on one leg. They tried to fasten it again, but I fought with all my strength. That made them all laugh, but I was in great pain." He was afterward burned to death by a slow fire at Deventer, in May, 1571.¹ Their meetings were held in secret places, often in the middle of the night, and in order to prevent possible exposure under the pressure of pain, they purposely avoided knowing the names of the brethren whom they met, and of the preachers who baptized them.² A reward of 100 gold guilders was offered for Menno, malefactors were promised pardon if they should capture him,³ Tjaert Ryndertz was put on the wheel in 1539 for having given him shelter, and a house in which his wife and children had rested, unknown to its owner, was confiscated. He was, as his followers fondly thought, miraculously protected however, died peacefully in 1559, and was buried in his own cabbage garden. The natural result of this persecution was much dispersion. The prosperous communities at Hamburg and Altona were founded by refugees, the first Mennonites in Prussia fled there

¹ Van Braght's *Blutige Schauplatz oder Martyrer Spiegel*.—Ephrata, 1748, vol. ii. p. 632.

² Van Braght, vol. ii. p. 468.

³ A copy of the proclamation may be seen in Ten Cate's *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Friesland, etc.*, p. 63.

from the Netherlands, and others found their way up the Rhine.¹ Crefeld is chiefly noted for its manufactures of silk, linen, and other woven goods, and these manufactures were first established by persons fleeing from religious intolerance.

From the Mennonites sprang the general Baptist churches of England, the first of them having an ecclesiastical connection with the parent societies in Holland, and their organizers being Englishmen who, as has been discovered, were actual members of the Mennonite church at Amsterdam.² It was for the benefit of these Englishmen that the well-known Confession of Faith of Hans de Ries and Lubbert Gerritz was written,³ and according to the late Robert Barclay, whose valuable work bears every evidence of the most thorough and careful research, it was from association with these early Baptist teachers that George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, imbibed his views. Says Barclay: "We are compelled to view him as the unconscious exponent of the doctrine, practice, and discipline of the ancient and stricter party of the Dutch Mennonites."⁴ If this be correct, to the spread of Mennonite teachings we owe the origin of the Quakers, and

¹ Life of Gerhard Roosen, p. 5. Rechwitz und Waldzeck, p. 19.

² Barclay's Religious Societies, pp. 72, 73, 95.

³ The preface to that Confession, Amsterdam, 1686, says: "Ter cause, also daer eenige Engelsche uyt Engeland. gevluht ware, om de vryheyd der Religie alhier te genieten, en alsoo sy een schriftelijke confessie (van de voornoemde) hebben begeert, want veele van hare gheselschap inde Dnytsche Tale onervaren zijnde, het selfde niet en konde verstaen, ende als dan konde de ghene die de Tale beyde verstonde de andere onderrechten, het welke oock niet onvruchtbaer en is ghebleven, want na overlegh der saecke zijn sy met de voornoemde Gemeente vereenight."

⁴ P. 77.

the settlement of Pennsylvania. The doctrine of the inner light was by no means a new one in Holland and Germany, and the dead letter of the Scriptures is a thought common to David Joris, Caspar Schwenckfeldt, and the modern Quaker. The similarity between the two sects has been manifest to all observers, and recognized by themselves. William Penn, writing to James Logan of some emigrants in 1709, says: "Herewith comes the Palatines, whom use with tenderness and love, and fix them so that they may send over an agreeable character; for they are a sober people, divers Mennonists, and will neither swear nor fight. See that Guy has used them well."¹ Thomas Chalkley, writing from Holland the same year, says: "There is a great people which they call Mennonists who are very near to truth, and the fields are white unto harvest among that people spiritually speaking."² When Ames,³ Caton, Stubbs, Penn, and others of the early Friends went to Holland and Germany, they were received with the utmost kindness by the Mennonites, which is in strong contrast with their treatment at the hands of the established churches.

The strongest testimony of this character, however, is given by Thomas Story, the recorder of deeds in Pennsylvania, who made a trip to Holland and Germany in 1715. There he preached in the Mennonite meeting houses at Hoorn, Holfert, Drachten, Goredyke, Heerveen, Jever, Oudeboone, Grow, Leeuwarden, Dokkum, and Henleven, while at Malkwara no meeting was held because "a Person of note among the Menists being departed this life,"

¹ Penn Logan Correspondence, vol. ii: p. 354.

² Works of Thomas Chalkley, Phila. 1749, p. 70.

³ William Ames, an accession to Quakerism from the Baptists, was the first to go to Holland and Germany, and it was he who made the converts in Amsterdam and Krisheim.

and none at Saardam because of "the chief of the Menists being over at Amsterdam" These meetings were attended almost exclusively by Mennonites, and they entertained him at their houses. One of their preachers he describes as "convinced of truth," and of another he says that after a discourse of several hours about religion they "had no difference." Jacob Nordyke, of Harlingen, a "Menist and friendly man," accompanied the party on their journey, and when the wagon broke down near Oudeboone he went ahead on foot to prepare a meeting. The climax of this staid good fellowship was capped, however, at Grow. Says Story in his journal: "Hemine Gosses, their preacher, came to us, and taking me by the hand he embraced me and saluted me with several kisses, which I readily answered, for he expressed much satisfaction before the people, and received us gladly, inviting us to take a dish of tea with him. . . . He showed us his garden, and gave us of his grapes of several kinds, but first of all a dram lest we should take cold after the exercise of the meeting," and "treated us as if he had been a Friend, from which he is not far, having been as tender as any at the meeting."

William Sewel, the historian, was a Mennonite, and it certainly was no accident that the first two Quaker histories were written in Holland.¹ It was among the Mennonites they made their converts.² In fact transition between the two sects both ways was easy. Quakers became members of the Mennonite church at Crefeld³ and at Haarlem,⁴ and in the reply which Peter Henrichs and Jacob Claus of Amsterdam made in 1679 to a pamphlet by Heinrich Kassel, a Mennonite preacher at

¹ Sewel and Gerhard Croese. ² Sewel, Barclay, Seidensticker.

³ Life of Gerhard Roosen, p. 66. ⁴ Story's Journal, p. 490.

Krisheim, they quote him as saying "that the so-called Quakers, especially here in the Palatinate, have fallen off and gone out from the Mennonites."¹

These were the people who, some as Mennonites,² and others, perhaps, as recently converted Quakers, after being unresistingly driven up and down the Rhine for a century and a half, were ready to come to the wilds of America. Of the six original purchasers Jacob Telner and Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber are known to have been members of the Mennonite Church; Govert Remke,³ January 14th, 1686, sold his land to Dirck Sipman, and had little to do with the emigration; Sipman selected as his attorneys here at various times Hermann Op den Graeff, Hendrick Sellen, and Van Bebber, all of whom were Mennonites; and Jan Streypers was represented also by Sellen, was a cousin of the Op den Graeff's, and was the uncle of Hermannus and Arnold Kuster, two of the most active of the early Pennsylvania members of that sect. Of the emigrants Dirck, Hermann, and Abraham Op den Graeff were Mennonites, and were grandsons of Hermann Op den Graeff, the delegate from Crefeld to the Council

¹ This rare and valuable pamphlet is in the library of A. H. Cassel.

² In this connection the statement of Hortensius in his *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, Paris, 1695, is interesting. He says in the preface: "Car cette sorte de gens qu'on appelle aujourd'hui Mennonites ou Anabaptistes en Hollande et ceux qui sont connus en Angleterre sous le nom de Koakres ou Trembleurs, qui sont partagés en plus de cent sortes de Sectes, ne peuvent point conter d'autre origine que celle des Anabaptistes de Munster quoi qu'a present ils se tiennent beaucoup plus en repos, et qu'ils n'ayent aucune ambition pour le gouvernement ou l'administration des affaires temporelles, et mesme que le port ou l'usage de toute sortes d'armes soit entierement defendu parmi eux."

³ Johanu Remke was the Mennonite preacher at Crefeld in 1752.

which met at Dordrecht in 1632, and adopted a Confession of Faith.¹ Many of the others, as we have seen, were connected with the Op den Graeffs by family ties. Jan Lensen was a member of the Mennonite church here. Jan Lucken bears the same name as the engraver who illustrated the edition of Van Braght published in 1685, and others of the books of that church, and the Dutch Bible which he brought with him is a copy of the third edition of Nicolaes Biestkens, the first Bible published by the Mennonites.² Lenart Arets, a follower of David Joris, was beheaded at Poeldyk in 1535. The name Tunes occurs frequently on the name lists of the Mennonite preachers about the time of this emigration, and Hermann Tunes was a member of the first church in Pennsylvania. This evidence, good as far as it goes, but not complete, is strengthened by the statements of Mennonite writers and others upon both sides of the Atlantic. Roosen tells us "William Penn had in the year 1683 invited the Mennonites to settle in Pennsylvania. Soon many from the Netherlands went over and settled in and about Germantown."³ Funk, in his account of the first church, says: "Upon an invitation from William Penn to our distressed forefathers in the faith it is said a number of them emigrated either from Holland or the Palatinate, and settled in Germantown in 1683, and there established the first church in America."⁴ Rupp asserts that, "In Europe they had been sorely persecuted, and

¹ Scheuten genealogy in the possession of Miss Elizabeth Muller, of Crefeld. I am indebted for extracts from this valuable MS., which begins with the year 1562, to Frederick Muller, the celebrated antiquary and bibliophile of Amsterdam.

² The Bible now belongs to Adam Lukens, of North Wales, Bucks Co., Pennsylvania.

³ P. 60.

⁴ Mennonite Family Almanac for 1875.

on the invitation of the liberal-minded William Penn they transported themselves and families into the province of Pennsylvania as early as 1683. Those who came that year and in 1698 settled in and about Germantown."¹ Says Haldeman: "Whether the first Taufgesinneten or Mennonites came from Holland or Switzerland I have no certain information, but they came in the year 1683."² Richard Townsend, an eminent Quaker preacher, who came over in the *Welcome*, and settled a mile from Germantown, calls them a "religious good people," but he does not say they were Friends, as he probably would have done had the facts justified it.³ Abraham, Dirck, and Hermann Op den Graeff, Lenart Arets, Abraham Tunes, and Jan Lensen were linen weavers, and in 1686 Jan Streypers wrote to his brother Willem inquiring "who has wove my yarns, how many ells long, and how broad the cloth made from it, and through what fineness of comb it has been through."⁴

The pioneers had a pleasant voyage, and reached Philadelphia on the 6th of October. In the language of Claypoole, "The blessing of the Lord did attend us so that we had a very comfortable passage, and had our health all the way."⁵ Unto Johannes Bleikers a son Peter was born while at sea. Cold weather was approaching, and they had little time to waste in idleness or curiosity. On the 12th of the same month a warrant was issued to Pastorius for 6000 acres "on behalf of the German and Dutch purchasers," on the 24th Thomas Fairman measured off fourteen divisions of land, and the next day

¹ History of Berks County, p. 423.

² Geschichte der Gemeinde Gottes, p. 55.

³ Hazard's Register, vol. vi. 198.

⁴ Deeds, Streper MSS.

⁵ Claypoole letter-book.

meeting together in the cave of Pastorius they drew lots for the choice of location. Under the warrant 5350 acres were laid out May 2d, 1684, "having been allotted and shared out by the said Daniel Pastorius, as trustee for them, and by their own consent to the German and Dutch purchasers after named, as their respective several and distinct dividends, whose names and quantities of the said land they and the said Daniel Pastorius did desire might be herein inserted and set down, viz. : The first purchasers of Frankfort, Germany, Jacobus Van de Walle 535, Johan Jacob Schutz 428, Johan Wilhelm Uberfeld 107, Daniel Behagel 356 $\frac{2}{3}$, George Strauss 178 $\frac{1}{2}$, Jan Laurens 535, Abraham Hasevoet 535, in all 2675 acres of land. The first purchasers of Crefeld, in Germany, Jacob Telner 989, Jan Streypers 275, Dirck Sipman 588, Govert Renke 161, Lenert Arets 501, Jacob Isaacs 161, in all 2675 acres." In addition 200 acres were laid out for Pastorius in his own right, and 150 to Jurian Hartsfelder, a stray Dutchman or German, who had been a deputy sheriff under Andross in 1676, and who now cast his lot in with the settlers at Germantown.¹ Immediately after the division in the cave of Pastorius they began to dig the cellars, and build the huts in which, not without much hardship, they spent the following winter. Thus commenced the settlement of Germantown. Pastorius tells us that some people making a pun upon the name called it *Armentown*, because of their lack of supplies, and adds, "it could not be described, nor would it be believed by coming generations in what want and need, and with what Christian contentment and persistent industry this Germantown-

¹ Exemplification Record, vol. i. p. 51. It is also said that Heinrich Frey was here before the landing of Penn.

ship started."¹ Willem Streppers wrote over to his brother Jan on the 20th of 2d mo. 1684, that he was already on Jan's lot to clear and sow it, and make a dwelling, but that there was nothing in hand, and he must have a year's provision, to which in due time Jan replied by sending a "Box with 3 combs, and 3—, and 5 shirts and a small parcel with iron ware for a weaving stool," and telling him "to let Jan Lensen weave a piece of cloth to sell, and apply it to your use." In better spirits Willem wrote Oct. 22d, 1684: I have been busy and made a brave dwelling house, and under it a cellar fit to live in, and have so much grain, such as Indian Corn and Buckwheat that this winter I shall be better off than what I was last year."²

Other emigrants ere long began to appear in the little town. Cornelis Bom, a Dutch baker, whom Claypoole mentions in association with Telner, and who bears the same name as a delegate from Schiedam to the Mennonite convention at Dordrecht, arrived in Philadelphia before Pastorius. David Scherkes, perhaps from Muhlheim on the Ruhr, and Walter Seimens and Isaac Jacobs Van Bebber, both from Crefeld, were in Germantown Nov. 8th, 1684. Van Bebber was a son of Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber, and was followed by his father and brother Matthias in 1687. Jacob Telner, the second of the six original Crefeld purchasers to cross the Atlantic, reached New York after a tedious voyage of twelve weeks' duration, and from there he wrote Dec. 12th, 1684, to Jan Laurens of Rotterdam, that his wife and daughter were "in good health and fat," that he had made a trip to Pennsylvania, which "he found a beautiful land with a healthy atmos-

¹ Seidensticker's Pastorius in the Deutsche Pioneer, vol. ii. p. 176.

² Streper MSS.

phere, excellent fountains and springs running through it, beautiful trees from which can be obtained better fire-wood than the turf of Holland," and that he intended to take his family there the following spring.¹ He seems to have been the central figure of the whole emigration. As a merchant in Amsterdam his business was extensive. He had transactions with the Quakers in London, and friendly relations with some of the people in New York. One of the earliest to buy lands here, we find him meeting Pastorius immediately prior to the latter's departure, doubtless to give instructions, and later personally superintending the emigration of the Colonists. During his thirteen years' residence in Germantown his relations both in a business and social way with the principal men in Philadelphia were apparently close and intimate. Penn wrote to Logan in 1703, "I have been much pressed by Jacob Telner concerning Rebecca Shippen's business in the town,"² and both Robert Turner and Samuel Carpenter acted as his attorneys. He and his daughter Susanna were present at the marriage of Francis Rawle and Martha Turner in 1689, and witnessed their certificate. The harmonious blending of the Mennonite and the Quaker is nowhere better shown than in the fact of his accompanying John Delavall on a preaching and proselyting tour to New England in 1692.³ He was the author of a "Treatise" in quarto mentioned by Pastorius,

¹ Two letters in Dutch from Bom and Telner to Jan Laurens were printed in Rotterdam, in 1685. The only known copy is in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem.

² Penn Logan Correspondence, vol. i. p. 189.

³ Smith's History, Hazard's Register, vol. vi. p. 309. Smith adopts him as a Friend, but in his own letter of 1709, written while he was living among the Quakers in England, he calls himself a Mennonite.

and extracts from his letters to Laurens were printed at Rotterdam in 1685.¹ About 1692 he appears to have published a paper in the controversy with George Keith charging the latter with "impious blasphemy and denying the Lord that bought him."² He was one of the first burgesses of Germantown, the most extensive landholder there, and promised to give ground enough for the erection of a market house, a promise which we will presume he fulfilled. In 1698 he went to London, where he was living as a merchant as late as 1712, and from there in 1709 he wrote to Rotterdam concerning the miseries of some emigrants, six of whom were Mennonites from the Palatinate, who had gone that far on their journey, and were unable to proceed. "The English Friends who are called Quakers," he says had given material assistance.³ Doubtless European research would throw much light on his career. He was baptized at the Mennonite church in Amsterdam March 29th, 1665. His only child Susanna married Albertus Brandt, a merchant of Germantown and Philadelphia, and after the death of her first husband in 1701 she married David Williams.⁴ After deducting the land laid out in Germantown, and the 2000 acres sold to the Op den Graeffs, the bulk of his 5000 acres was taken up on the Skippack, in a track for many years known as "Telner's Township."⁵

In 1684 also came Jan Willeinse Bockenogen, a Quaker cooper from Haarlem.⁶

¹ The Treatise is described by Pastorius in the enumeration of his library. MS. Hist. Society.

² A true Account of the Sence and Advice of the People called Quakers.

³ Dr. Scheffer's paper in the PENN'A MAGAZINE, vol. ii. p. 122.

⁴ Exemp. Record, vol. vii. p. 208. ⁵ Exemp. Record, vol. viii. p. 360.

⁶ Among his descendants was Henry Armitt Brown, the orator.

Oct. 12th, 1685, in the "Francis and Dorothy" arrived Hans Peter Umstat from Crefeld, with his wife Barbara, his son John, and his daughters Anna Magaretta, and Eve;¹ Peter Schumacher with his son Peter, his daughters Mary, Frances, and Gertrude, and his cousin Sarah; Gerhard Hendricks with his wife Mary, his daughter Sarah and his servant Heinrich Frey, the last named from Altheim in Alsace: and Heinrich Buchholtz and his wife Mary. Peter Schumacher, an early Quaker convert from the Mennonites, is the first person definitely ascertained to have come from Krisheim, the little village in the Palatinate, to which so much prominence has been given. Fortunately we know under what auspices he arrived. By an agreement with Direk Sipman, of Crefeld, dated August 16th, 1685, he was to proceed with the first good wind to Pennsylvania, and there receive 200 acres from Hermann Op den Graeff, on which he should erect a dwelling, and for which he should pay a rent of two rix dollars a year.² Gerhard Henricks also had bought 200 acres from Sipman.³ He came from Krisheim, and I am inclined to believe that his identity may be merged in that of Gerhard Hendricks Dewees. If so, he was associated with the Op den Graeffs and Van Bebers, and was the grandson of Adrian Hendricks Dewees, a Hollander, who seems to have lived in Amsterdam.⁴ This identification, however, needs further investigation. Dewees bought land of Sipman, which his widow, *Zytien*, sold in 1701. The wife of Gerhard Hendricks in the The Bockenogens were Mennonite weavers, who fled to Haarlem because of persecution about 1578.

¹ He brought over with him the family Bible of his father, Nicholas Umstat, which I have inherited through his daughter Eve.

² See his deed in Dutch in the Germantown book.

³ Deed book E 4, vol. 7, p. 180.

⁴ Rathsbuch.

court records is called *Sytje*. On the tax list of 1693 there is a Gerhard Hendricks, but no Dewees, though the latter at that time was the owner of land. Hendricks after the Dutch manner called one son William Gerrits and another Lambert Gerrits, and both men, if they were two, died about the same time. Much confusion has resulted for a want of familiarity on the part of local historians with the Dutch habit of omitting the final or local appellation. Thus the Van Bebbers are frequently referred to in contemporaneous records as Jacob Isaacs, Isaac Jacobs, and Matthias Jacobs, the Op den Graeffs as Dirck Isaacs, Abraham Isaacs, and Hermann Isaacs; and Van Burklow as Reynier Hermanns. In 1685 also came Heivert Papen, and on the 20th of March, 1686, Johannes Kassel, a weaver, and another Quaker convert from the Mennonites, from Krisheim, aged forty-seven years, with his children, Arnold, Peter, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sarah, both having purchased land from individual members of the Frankfort Company. About the same time Klas Tamsen arrived. In the vessel with Kassel was a widow, Sarah Shoemaker, from the Palatinate, and doubtless from Krisheim, with her children, George, Abraham, Barbara, Isaac,¹ Susanna, Elizabeth, and Benjamin. Among the Mennonite martyrs mentioned by Van Braght there are several bearing the name of Schoenmaker, and that there was a Dutch settlement in the neighborhood of Krisheim is certain. At Flomborn, a few miles distant, is a spring which the people of the vicinity still call the

¹ He married Sarah, only daughter of Gerhard Hendricks. Their son Benjamin, and their grandson Samuel, were successively Mayors of Philadelphia, and a great-granddaughter was the wife of William Rawle. I am indebted for some of these facts to the kindness of W. Brooke Rawle, Esq.

“Hollander’s Spring.”¹ The Pannebakkers went there at some remote date from North Brabant in Holland. I have a Dutch medical work published in 1622 which belonged to Johannes Kassel, many Dutch books from the same family are in the possession of that indefatigable antiquary, Abraham H. Cassel, and the deed of Peter Schumacher is in Dutch. The Kolbs, who came to Pennsylvania later, were grandsons of Peter Schumacher, and were all earnest Mennonites. The Kassels brought over with them many of the manuscripts of one of their family, Ylles Kassel, a Mennonite preacher at Krisheim, who was born before 1618, and died after 1681, and some of these papers are still preserved. The most interesting is a long poem in German rhyme, which describes vividly the condition of the country, and throws the strongest light upon the character of the people and the causes of the emigration. The writer says that it was copied off with much pain and bodily suffering Nov. 28th, 1665. It begins: “O Lord! to Thee the thoughts of all hearts are known. Into Thy hands I commend my body and soul. When Thou lookest upon me with thy mercy all things are well with me. Thou hast stricken me with severe illness, which is a rod for my correction. Give me patience and resignation. Forgive all my sins and wickedness. Let not Thy mercy forsake me. Lay not on me more than I can bear,” and continues, “O Lord God! Protect me in this time of war and danger, that evil men may not do with me as they wish. Take me to a place where I may be concealed from them, free from such trials and cares. My wife and children too, that they may not come to shame

¹ I am indebted for this and other information to Herr Johannes Pfannebecker Geheimer Regierungs Rath (of Germany), living in Worms, who, at the request of Dr. Seidensticker and myself, made an investigation at Krisheim.

at their hands. Let all my dear friends find mercy from Thee." After noting a successful flight to Worms he goes on, "O dear God and Lord! to Thee be all thanks, honor, and praise for Thy mercy and pity, which Thou hast shown to me in this time. Thou hast protected me from evil men as from my heart I prayed Thee. Thou hast led me in the right way so that I came to a place where I was concealed from such sorrows and cares. Thou has kept the way clear till I reached the city, while other people about were much robbed and plundered. I have found a place among people who show me much love and kindness . . . Gather us into Heaven of which I am unworthy, but still I have a faith that God will not drive me into the Devil's kingdom with such a host as that which now in this land with murder and robbery destroys many people in many places, and never once thinks how it may stand before God . . . Well is it known what misery, suffering, and danger are about in this land with robbing, plundering, murdering, and burning. Many a man is brought into pain and need, and abused even unto death. Many a beautiful home is destroyed. The clothes are torn from the backs of many people. Cattle and herds are taken away. Much sorrow and complaint have been heard. The beehives are broken down, the wine spilled."¹

Occasionally we catch a glimpse of the home life of the early dwellers at Germantown. Pastorius had no glass, and, therefore, he made windows for his house of oiled paper, and over the door he wrote: "Parva domus, amica bonis, procul este profani," an inscription which much amused Penn. Willem Streypers in 1685 had two pair of leather breeches, two leather doublets, handker-

¹ These papers also belong to A. H. Cassel, his descendant.

chiefs, stockings, and a new hat. Bom wrote to Rotterdam Oct. 12th, 1684, "I have here a shop of many kinds of goods, and edibles. Sometimes I ride out with merchandise, and sometimes bring something back, mostly from the Indians, and deal with them in many things. I have no regular servants except one negro, whom I bought. I have no rent or tax or excise to pay. I have a cow which gives plenty of milk, a horse to ride around, my pigs increase rapidly so that in the summer I had seventeen when at first I had only two. I have many chickens and geese, and a garden, and shall next year have an orchard if I remain well, so that my wife and I are in good spirits." The first to die was Jan Seimens, whose widow was again about to marry in October, 1685.¹ Bom died before 1689, and his daughter Agnes married Anthony Morris, the ancestor of the distinguished family of that name.² In 1685 Wigard and Gerhard Levering came from Muhlheim on the Ruhr,³ a town also far down the Rhine near Holland, which, next to Crefeld, seems to have sent the largest number of emigrants. The following year a fire caused considerable loss, and a little church was built at Germantown. According to Seidensticker it was a Quaker meeting house, and he shows conclusively that before 1692 all of the original thirteen, except Jan Lensen, had in one way or another been associated with the Quakers. In 1687 Arent Klincken arrived from Dalem in Holland, and Jan Streypers wrote: "I intend to come over myself," which intention he carried into effect before 1706, as at that date he signed a petition for naturalization.⁴ All of the original Crefeld pur-

¹ Pastorius' Beschreibung, Leipsic, 1700, p. 23, Streper MSS.

² Ashmead MSS.

³ Jones' Levering Family.

⁴ Jan Streypers and his son-in-law, H. J. Van Aaken, met Penn

chasers, therefore, came to Pennsylvania sooner or later, except Remke and Sipman. He, however, returned to Europe, where he and Willem had an undivided inheritance at Kalkkirchen, and it was agreed between them that Jan should keep the whole of it, and Willem take the lands here. The latter were 275 acres at Germantown, 50 at Chestnut Hill, 275 at the Trappe, 448 in Bucks County, together with 50 acres of Liberty Lands and three city lots, the measurement thus considerably overrunning his purchase.

Another arrival of importance was that of Willem Rittinghuysen, a Mennonite minister, who with his two sons, Gerhard and Klaas, and a daughter, who later married Heivert Papen, came from Broich in Holland. His fore-

at Wesel in 1686, and brought him from that place to Crefeld. Van Aaken seems to have been a Quaker Sept. 30th. 1699, on which day he wrote to Penn: "I understand that Derick Sypman uses for his Servis to you, our Magistrates at Meurs, which Magistrates offers their Service to you again. So it would be well that you Did Kyndly Desire them that they would Leave out of the high Dutch proclomation which is yearly published throughout y^e County of Meurs & at y^e Court House at Crevel, that y^e Quakers should have no meeting upon penalty, & in Case you ffinde freedom to Desire y^e sd Magistrates at Meurs that they may petition our King William (as under whose name the sd proclomation is given forth) to leave out y^e word Quackers & to grant Leberity of Counsience, & if they should not optaine y^e same from the said King, that then you would be Constrained for the truth's Sake to Request our King William for the annulling of y^e sd proclomation Concerning the quackers, yo^r answer to this p. next shall greatly oblige me, Especially if you would write to me in the Dutch or German tongue, god almayghty preserve you and yo^r wife In soule and body. I myself have some thoughts to Come to you but by heavy burden of 8 Children, &c., I can hardly move, as also that I want bodyly Capacity to Clear Lands and ffall trees, as also money to undertake something Ells." An English translation of this letter in the handwriting of Matthias Van Bebber is in the collection of Dr. W. Kent Gilbert.

fathers had long carried on the business of manufacturing paper at Arnheim, and in 1690 he built the first paper-mill in America on a branch of the Wissahickon Creek. There he made the paper used by William Bradford, the earliest printer in the middle colonies. It appears from a letter in the Mennonite Archives at Amsterdam that he endeavored to have the Confession of Faith translated into English and printed by Bradford, and that he died in 1708 aged sixty-four years.¹ The erection of the paper-mill is likely to keep his memory green for many generations to come, and its value was fully appreciated by his contemporaries. In a *Description of Pennsylvania* in verse by Richard Frame in 1692 we are told, "A paper-mill near Germantown does stand," and says the quaint Gabriel Thomas, six years later, "all sorts of very good paper are made in the German town."

About 1687 came Jan Duplouvys, a Dutch baker, who was married by Friends ceremony to Weyntie Van Sanen in the presence of Telner and Bom, on the 3d of 3 mo. of that year; and Dirck Keyser, a silk merchant of Amsterdam, and a Mennonite, connected by family ties with the leading Mennonites of that city, arrived in Germantown in 1688 by way of New York. If we can rely on tradition the latter was a descendant of that Leonard Keyser who was burned to death at Scharding in 1527, and who, according to Ten Cate, was one of the Waldenses.²

There was a rustic murmur in the little burgh that year,

¹ Jones's Notes to Thomas on Printing. Barton's Life of David Rittenhouse. PENN. MAGAZINE, vol. ii. p. 120. The Mennonites had their Confession of Faith printed in English in Amsterdam in 1712, and a reprint by Andrew Bradford in 1727, with an appendix, is the first book printed in Pennsylvania for the Germans.

² See Pennypacker Reunion, p. 13.

which time has shown to have been the echo of the great wave that rolls around the world. The event probably at that time produced no commotion, and attracted little attention. It may well be that the consciousness of having won immortality never dawned upon any of the participants, and yet a mighty nation will ever recognize it in time to come as one of the brightest pages in the early history of Pennsylvania. On the 18th day of April, 1688, Gerhard Hendricks, Dirck Op den Graeff, Francis Daniel Pastorius, and Abraham Op den Graeff sent to the Friends meeting the first public protest ever made on this continent against the holding of slaves. A little rill there started which further on became an immense torrent, and whenever hereafter men trace analytically the causes which led to Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Appomattox they will begin with the tender consciences of the linen weavers and husbandmen of Germantown.

The protest is as follows :—

This is to y^e Monthly Meeting held at Rigert Worrells.

These are the reasons why we are against the traffick of mens-body as followeth: Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner? viz. to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearfull & faint-hearted are many on sea when they see a strange vassel being afraid it should be a Turck, and they should be tacken and sold for Slaves in Turckey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? yea rather is it worse for them, wch say they are Christians for we hear, that y^e most part of such Negers are brought heither against their will & consent, and that many of them are stollen. Now tho' they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men,

licke as we will be done our selves : macking no difference of what generation, descent, or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Conscience, wch is right & reasonable, here ought to be likewise liberty of y^e body, except of evildoers, wch is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed wch are of a black Colour. And we, who know that men must not comitt adultery, some doe comitt adultery in others, separating wives from their husbands, and giving them to others and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men. Oh! doe consider well this things, you who doe it, if you would be done at this manner? and if it is done according Christianity? you surpass Holland & Germany in this thing. This mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that y^e Quackers doe here handel men, Licke they handel there y^e Cattle; and for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it? Truly we can not do so except you shall inform us better hereoff, viz. that christians have liberty to practise this things. Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towarts us then if men should robb or steal us away & sell us for slaves to strange Countries, separating husband from their wife & children. Being now this is not done at that manner we will be done at, therefore we contradict & are against this traffick of men body. And we who profess that it is not lawfull to steal, must likewise avoid to purchase such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possibel and such men ought to be delivred out of y^e hands of y^e Robbers

and set free as well as in Europe. Then is Pensilvania to have a good report, in stead it hath now a bad one for this sake in other Countries. Especially whereas y^e Europeans are desirous to know in what manner y^e Quackers doe rule in their Province & most of them doe loock upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say, is don evil?

If once these slaves (wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses, as they did handel them before; will these masters & mastrisses tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to belive, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? and in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire & require you hereby lovingly that you may informe us herein, which at this time never was done, viz. that Christians have Liberty to do so, to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, & satisfie likewise our good friends & acquaintances in our natif Country, to whose it is a terrour or fairfull thing that men should be handeld so in Pensilvania.

This was is from our ~~monthly~~ meeting at Germantown hold y^e 18 of the 2 month 1688 to be delivred to the monthly meeting at Richard Warrels.

gerret hendericks
derick op de graeff
Francis daniell Pastorius
Abraham op den graef¹

¹ The Friends at Germantown, through William Kite, have recently had a fac-simile copy of this protest made. Care has been taken to give it here exactly as it is in the original, as to language,

The residents in 1689 not heretofore mentioned were Paul Wolff, a weaver from Fendern in Holstein near Hamburg, Jacob Jansen Klumpges, Cornelis Siverts, Hans Millan, Johan Silans, Dirck Van Kolk, Hermann Bom, Hendrick Sellen, Isaac Schaffèr, Ennecke Klosterman from Muhlheim on the Ruhr, Jan Doeden, and Andries Souplis. Of these, Siverts was a native of Friesland, the home of Menno Simons.¹ Sellen with his brother Dirck, were Mennonites from Crefeld, and Souplis

orthography, and punctuation. The disposition which was made of it appears from these notes from the Friends records: "At our monthly meeting at Dublin y^e 30 2 mo. 1688, we having inspected y^e matter above mentioned & considered it we finde it so weighty that we think it not Expedient for us to meddle with it here, but do Rather comitt it to y^e consideration of y^e Quarterly meeting, y^e tenuor of it being nearly Related to y^e truth. on behalfe of y^e monthly meeting. signed, pr. Jo. HART"

"This above mentioned was Read in our Quarterly meeting at Philadelphia the 4 of y^e 4 mo. '88, and was from thence recommended to the Yearly Meeting, and the above-said Derick and the other two mentioned therein, to present the same to y^e above-said meeting, it being a thing of too great a weight for this meeting to determine.

Signed by order of y^e Meeting,
ANTHONY MORRIS."

At the yearly meeting held at Burlington the 5 day of 7 mo. 1688. "A paper being here presented by some German Friends Concerning the Lawfulness and Unlawfulness of buying and Keeping of Negroes, It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a Positive Judgment in the case, It having so General a Relation to many other Parts, and, therefore, at present they forbear it."

The handwriting of the original appears to be that of Pastorius. An effort has been made to take from the Quakers the credit of this important document, but the evidence that those who sent and those who received it regarded each other as being members of the same religious society seems to me conclusive.

¹ Rath's Buch.

was admitted as a burgher and denizen of the city of New York Sept. 17th, 1685, with a right to trade anywhere in his majesty's dominions. The origin of the others I have not been able to ascertain. Hendrick Sellen was very active in affairs at Germantown, according to Funk gave the ground for the Mennonite Church there, was a trustee of the church on the Skippack, and in 1698 made a trip to Crefeld, carrying back to the old home many business communications, and we may well suppose many messages of friendship.

On the 14th of January, 1690, two thousand nine hundred and fifty acres north of Germantown were divided into three districts, and called Krisheim, Sommerhausen, from the birth-place of Pastorius, and Crefeld.

An effort at naturalization made in 1691 adds to our list of residents Reynier Hermanns Van Burklow, Peter Klever, Anthony Loof, Paul Kastner, Andris Kramer, Jan Williams, Hermann op de Trap, Hendrick Kasselberg, from Backersdorf in the county of Brugge, and Klas Jansen. The last two were Mennonites, Jansen being one of the earliest preachers. Op de Trap, or Trapman, as he is sometimes called, appears to have come from Muhlheim on the Ruhr, and was drowned at Philadelphia in 1693. Gisbert Wilhelms died the year before.

Pastorius served in the Assembly in the years 1687 and 1691, and Abraham Op den Graeff in the years 1689, 1690, and 1692, though they were both still aliens.

The village had now become populous enough to warrant a separate existence, and on May 31st, 1691, a charter of incorporation was issued to Francis Daniel Pastorius, bailiff; Jacob Telner, Dirck Op den Graeff, Hermann Op den Graeff, and Thones Kunders, burgesses; Abraham Op den Graeff, Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber, Johannes Kassel, Heivert Papen, Hermann Bom, and Dirck Van Kolk,

committeemen, with power to hold a court and a market, to admit citizens, to impose fines, and to make ordinances. The bailiff and first two burgesses were constituted justices of the peace.¹ The primitive Solons and Lycurguses of Germantown did not want their laws to go unheeded. They were not keen enough to invent that convenient maxim *Ignorantia legis neminem excusat*. It was, therefore, ordered that "On the 19th of 1st mo. in each year the people shall be called together, and the laws and ordinances read aloud to them."² Oh ye modern legislators! think how few must have been the statutes, and how plain the language in which they were written, in that happy community.

As we have seen, the greater number of the first Crefeld emigrants were weavers. This industry increased so that Fraime describes Germantown as a place—

"Where lives High *German* people and Low *Dutch*
Whose trade in weaving linnen cloth is much;
There grows the Flax as also you may know
That from the same they do divide the tow;"

and Thomas says they made "very fine German Linen such as no Person of Quality need be ashamed to wear." When, therefore, Pastorius was called upon to devise a town seal, he selected a clover on one of whose leaves was a vine, on another a stalk of flax, and on the third a weaver's spool, with the motto, "Vinum, Linum, et Textrinum." This seal happily suggests the relations of the town with the far past, and it is a curious instance of the permanence of causes that these simple people, after the lapse of six centuries, and after being transplanted to a distance of thousands of miles, should still be pursuing the occupation of the Waldenses of Flanders. The corpora-

¹ Penna. Archives, vol. i. p. 111.

² Rath's Buch

tion was maintained until January 11th, 1707, but always with considerable difficulty in getting the offices filled. Says Löher, "They would do nothing but work and pray, and their mild consciences made them opposed to the swearing of oaths and courts, and would not suffer them to use harsh weapons against thieves and trespassers." Through conscientious scruples Arent Klincken declined to be burgess in 1695, Heivert Papen in 1701, Cornelis Siverts in 1702, and Paul Engle in 1703; Jan Lensen to be a committeeman in 1701, Arnold Kuster and Daniel Geissler in 1702; Matteus Millan to be constable in 1703; and in 1695 Albertus Brandt was fined for a failure to act as juryman, "having no other escape but that in court in Phila. he was wronged upon the account of a jury." New-comers were required to pay £1 for the right of citizenship, and the date of the conferment of this right doubtless approximates that of the arrival.¹

In 1692 culminated the dissensions among the Quakers caused by George Keith, and the commotion extended to the community of Germantown. At a public meeting Keith called Dirck Op den Graeff an "impudent rascal," and since, as we have seen, the latter was a justice of the peace in the right of his position as a burgess it was looked upon as a flagrant attack upon the majesty of the law. Among those who signed the testimony of the yearly meeting at Burlington 7th of 7th mo. 1692, against Keith were Paul Wolff, Paul Kastner, Francis Daniel Pastorius, Andries Kramer, Dirck Op den Graeff, and Arnold Kassel. The certificate from the Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia, which Samuel Jennings bore with him to London in 1693, when he went to present the matter before the Yearly Meeting there, was signed

¹ Rath's Buch and Court Record.

by Dirck Op den Graeff, Reynier Tyson, Peter Schumacher, and Caspar Hoedt. Pastorius wrote two pamphlets in the controversy.¹ On the other hand Abraham Op den Graeff, was one of five persons who, with Keith, issued the *Appeal*, for publishing which Wm. Bradford, the printer, was committed, and a testimony in favor of Keith was signed by Hermann Op den Graeff, Thomas Rutter, Cornelis Siverts, David Scherkes, and Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber.² The last named furnishes us with another instance of one known to have been a Mennonite acting with the Friends, and Sewel, the Quaker historian, says concerning Keith: "and seeing several Mennonites of the County of Meurs lived also in Penna, it was not much to be wondered that they who count it unlawful for a Christian to bear the sword of the magistracy did stick to him."

Caspar Hoedt, then a tailor in New York, married there 6th mo. 12th, 1686, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Nicolaes De la Plaine and Susanna Cresson, who were French Huguenots. James De la Plaine, a relative and probably a son of Nicolaes, came to Germantown from New York prior to Aug. 28th, 1692, on which day he was married by Friends ceremony to Hannah Cock. Susanna, a daughter of Nicolaes, became the wife of Arnold Kassel 9th mo. 2d, 1693.³

¹ The titles of these hitherto unknown pamphlets are:—

I. "Ein Send Brieff Offenherziger Liebsbezeugung an die sogenannte Pietisten in Hoch Teutschland.

Zu Amsterdam Gedruckt vor Jacob Claus buchhaendler, 1697."

II. "Henry Bernhard Koster, William Davis, Thomas Rutter, and Thomas Bowyer, four Boasting Disputers of this World, Rebuked and Answered according to their Folly, which they themselves have manifested in a late pamphlet, entitled *Advice for all Professors and Writers*."—William Bradford, New York, 1697.

² Potts Memorial, p. 394.

³ Notes of Walter Cresson.

A tax list made by order of the Assembly in 1693 names the following additional residents, viz.: Johannes Pettinger, John Van de Woestyne, and Paulus Kuster. Kuster, a Mennonite, came from Crefeld with his sons Arnold, Johannes, and Hermannus, and his wife Gertrude. She was a sister of Jan and Willem Streppers.

In 1662, twenty years before the landing of Penn, the city of Amsterdam sent a little colony of twenty-five Mennonites to New Netherlands under the leadership of Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy, of Zierik Zee. They were to have power to make rules and laws for their own government, and were to be free from taxes and tenths for twenty years. Each man was loaned a hundred guilders to pay for his transportation. They settled at Horekill, on the Delaware, and there lived on peaceful terms with the Indians. The hand of fate, however, which so kindly sheltered Telner and Pastorius, fell heavily upon their forerunner Plockhoy. An evil day for this colony soon came. When Sir Robert Carr took possession of the Delaware on behalf of the English he sent a boat in 1664 to the Horekill, and his men utterly demolished the settlement, and destroyed and carried off all of the property, "even to a naile." What became of the people has always been a mystery. History throws no light on the subject, and of contemporary documents there are none. In the year 1694 there came an old blind man and his wife to Germantown. His miserable condition awakened the tender sympathies of the Mennonites there. They gave him the citizenship free of charge. They set apart for him at the end street of the village by Peter Klever's corner a lot twelve rods long and one rod broad, whereon to build a little house and make a garden, which should be his as long as he and his wife should live. In front of it they planted a tree. Jan Doeden and Willem

Rittinghuysen were appointed to take up "a free will offering," and to have the little house built. This is all we know, but it is surely a satisfaction to see a ray of sunlight thrown upon the brow of the helpless old man as he neared his grave. After thirty years of untracked wanderings on these wild shores, friends had come across the sea to give him a home at last. His name was Cornelis Ploekhoy.¹

On the 24th of June of the same year Johannes Kelpius, Henry Bernhard Koster, Daniel Falkner, Daniel Lutke, Johannes Seelig, Ludwig Biderman, and about forty other Pietists and Chiliasts arrived in Germantown, and soon after settled on the Wissahickon, where they founded the Society of the "Woman in the Wilderness." The events in the strange life of Kelpius, the Hermit of the Wissahickon, have been fully told by Seidensticker and Jones. Together with Johannes Jawert and Daniel Falkner he was appointed an attorney for the Frankfort Company in 1700, but he never acted. Falkner had more to do with the affairs at Germantown, being bailiff in 1701, and in Montgomery County *Falkner's Swamp* still preserves the remembrance of his name. In 1700 he went to Holland, where he published a small volume in German, giving information concerning the province, to which he soon returned.²

George Gottschalek from Lindau, Bodensee, Daniel Geissler, Christian Warner, and Martin Sell were in Germantown in 1694, Levin Harberdineck in 1696, and in 1698 Jan Linderman came from Muhlheim on the Ruhr. During the last year the right of citizenship was conferred

¹ Rath's Buch. Brodhead's History of New York, vol. i. p. 688.

² Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania in Norden-America von Daniel Falknern, Professore &c., Franckfurt und Leipzig, 1702.

upon Jan Neuss, a Mennonite and silversmith,¹ Willem Hendricks, Frank Houfer, Paul Engle, whose name is on the oldest marked stone in the Mennonite graveyard on the Skippack under date of 1723, and Reynier Jansen. Though Jansen has since become a man of note, absolutely nothing seems to have been known of his antecedents, and I will, therefore, give in detail such facts as I have been able to ascertain concerning him. On the 21st of May, 1698, Cornelis Siverts, of Germantown, wishing to make some arrangements about land he had inherited in Friesland, sent a power of attorney to Reynier Jansen, lace maker at Alkmaer in Holland. It is consequently manifest that Jansen had not then reached this country. On the 23d of April, 1700, Benjamin Furly, of Rotterdam, the agent of Penn at that city, gave a power of attorney to Daniel and Justus Falkner to act for him here. It was of no avail, however, because as appears from a confirmatory letter of July 28th, 1701, a previous power "to my loving friend Reynier Jansen," lace maker, had not been revoked, though no intimation had ever been received that use had been made of it. It seems then that between the dates of the Siverts and Furly powers Jansen had gone to America. On the 29th of November, 1698, Reynier Jansen, who afterward became the printer, bought of Thomas Tresse 20 acres of Liberty Lands here, and on the 7th of February, 1698-9, the right of citizenship, as has been said, was conferred by the Germantown Court upon Reynier Jansen, lace maker. These events fix with some definiteness the date of his arrival. He must soon afterward have removed to Philadelphia, though retaining his associations with Ger-

¹ Penn bought from him in 1704 a half-dozen silver spoons, which he presented to the children of Isaac Norris, while on a visit to the latter.—See Journal.

mantown, because ten months later, Dec. 23d, 1699, he bought of Peter Klever 75 acres in the latter place by a deed in which he is described as a *merchant* of Philadelphia. This land he as a *printer* sold to Daniel Geissler Oct. 20th, 1701. Since the book called "God's protecting providence, etc.," was printed in 1699 it must have been one of the earliest productions of his press, and the probabilities are that he began to print late in that year. Its appearance indicates an untrained printer, and a meagre font of type. He was the second printer in the middle colonies, and his books are so rare that a single specimen would probably bring at auction now more than the price for which he then sold his whole edition. He left a son, Stephen, in business in Amsterdam, whom he had apportioned there, and brought with him to this country two sons, Tiberius and Joseph, who after the Dutch manner assumed the name Reyniers, and two daughters, Imity, who married Matthias, son of Hans Millan, of Germantown, and Alice, who married John Piggot. His career as a printer was very brief. He died about March 1st, 1706. leaving personal property valued at £226 1s. 8d., among which was included "a p'cell of Books from Wm. Bradford £4 2s. 0d."¹ We find among the residents in 1699 Heinrich Pannebecker, the first German surveyor in the province, and Evert In den Hoffen from Muhlheim on the Ruhr, with Hermann, Gerhard, Peter, and Annecke, who were doubtless his children, some of whom are buried in the Mennonite graveyard on the Skippack.

Four families, members of the Mennonite Church at Hamburg, Harmen Karsdorp and family, Claes Berends

¹ Rath's Buch. Exemp. Record, vol. vi. p. 235. Deed Book E 7, p. 560. Germantown Book, pp. 187, 188. Will Book C, p. 22.

and family, including his father-in-law, Cornelius Claessen, Isaac Van Sintern and family, and Paul Roosen and wife, and two single persons, Heinrich Van Sintern and the widow Trientje Harmens started for Pennsylvania March 5th, 1700, and a few months later at least four of them were here.¹ Isaac Van Sintern was a great-grandson of Jan de Voss, a burgomaster at Hanschooten, in Flanders, about 1550, a genealogy of whose descendants, including many American Mennonites, was prepared in Holland over a hundred years ago. In 1700 also came George Muller and Justus Falkner, a brother of Daniel, and the first Lutheran preacher in the province. Among the residents in 1700 were Isaac Karsdorp and Arnold Van Vossen, Mennonites, Richard Van der Werf, Dirck Jansen, who married Margaret Millan, and Sebastian Bartlesen; in 1701 Heinrich Lorentz and Christopher Schlegel: in 1702 Dirck Jansen, an unmarried man from Bergerland, working for Johannes Kuster, Ludwig Christian Sprogell, a bachelor from Holland, and brother of that John Henry Sprogell, who a few years later brought an ejection against Pastorius, and feed all the lawyers of the province Marieke Speikerman, Johannes Rebenstock, Philip Christian Zimmerman, Michael Renberg with his sons Dirck and Wilhelm, from Muhlheim on the Ruhr, Peter Bun, Isaac Petersen and Jacob Gerritz Holtzhooven, both from Guelderland in Holland, Heinrich Tibben, Willem Hosters, a Mennonite weaver from Crefeld, Jacob Claessen Arents, from Amsterdam, Jan Krey, Johann Conrad Cotweis, who was an interpreter in New York in 1709, and Jacob Gaetschalck, a Mennonite preacher; and in 1703 Anthony Gerckes, Barnt Hendricks, Hans Heinrich Meels, Simon Andrews, Hermann

¹ Mennonitische Blatter, Hamburg.

Dors,¹ and Cornelius Tyson. The last two appear to have come from Crefeld, and over Tyson, who died in 1716, Pastorius erected in Axe's graveyard at Germantown what is, so far as I know, the oldest existing tombstone to the memory of a German in Pennsylvania.²

On the 28th of June, 1701, a tax was laid for the building of a prison, erection of a market, and other objects for the public good. As in all communities, the prison preceded the school-house, but the interval was not long. Dec. 30th of that year "it was found good to start a school here in Germantown," and Arent Klucken, Paul Wolff, and Peter Schumacher, Jr., were appointed overseers to collect subscriptions and arrange with a school teacher. Pastorius was the first pedagogue. As early as January 25th, 1694-5, it was ordered that stocks should be put up for the punishment of evildoers. We might, perhaps, infer that they were little used from the fact that, in June, 1702, James De la Plaine was ordered to remove the old iron from the rotten stocks and take care of it, but alas! Dec. 31st, 1703, we find that "Peter Schumacher and Isaac Schumacher shall arrange with workmen that a prison house and stocks be put up as soon as possible."³

¹ "One Herman Dorst near Germantown, a Batchelor past 80 Years of Age, who for a long time lived in a House by himself, on the 14th Instant there dyed by himself."—American Weekly Mercury, October 18th, 1739.

² It bears the following inscription :

"Obijt Meiy 9 1716
Cornelis Tiesen
Salic sin de doon
Die in den Here sterve
Theilric is haer Kroon
Tgloriric haer erve."

³ Rath's Buch.

Feb. 10th, 1702-3, Arnold Van Vossen delivered to Jan Neuss on behalf of the Mennonites a deed for three square perches of land for a church, which, however, was not built until six years later.

In 1702 began the settlement on the Skippack. This first outgrowth of Germantown also had its origin at Crefeld, and the history of the Crefeld purchase would not be complete without some reference to it. As we have seen, of the 1000 acres bought by Govert Remke 161 acres were laid out at Germantown. The balance he sold in 1686 to Dirck Sipman. Of Sipman's own purchase of 5000 acres, 588 acres were laid out at Germantown, and all that remained of the 6000 acres he sold in 1698 to Matthias Van Bebber, who, getting in addition, 500 acres allowance, and 415 acres by purchase, had the whole tract of 6166 acres located by patent Feb. 22d, 1702, on the Skippack. It was in the present Perkiomen Township, Montgomery County, and adjoined Edward Lane and William Harmer, near what is now the village of Evansburg.¹ For the next half century at least it was known as Bebber's Township, or Bebber's Town, and the name being often met with in the Germantown records has been a source of apparently hopeless confusion to our local historians. Van Bebber immediately began to colonize it, the most of the settlers being Mennonites. Among these settlers were Heinrich Pannebecker, Johannes Kuster, Johannes Umstat, Klas Jansen, and Jan Krey in 1702; John Jacobs in 1704; John Newberry, Thomas Wiseman, Edward Beer, Gerhard and Hermann In de Hoffen, Dirck and William Renberg in 1706; William and Cornelius Dewees, Hermannus Kuster, Christopher Zimmerman, Johannes Scholl, and Daniel

¹ Exemp. Record, vol. i. p. 470.

Desmond in 1708; Jacob, Johannes, and Martin Kolb, Mennonite weavers from Wolfsheim in the Palatinate, and Andrew Strayer in 1709; Solomon Dubois, from Ulster County, New York, in 1716; Paul Fried in 1727; and in the last year the unsold balance of the tract passed into the hands of Pannebecker. Van Bebber gave 100 acres for a Mennonite church, which was built about 1725, the trustees being Hendrick Sellen, Hermannus Kuster, Klas Jansen, Martin Kolb, Henry Kolb, Jacob Kolb, and Michael Ziegler.

The Van Bebbers were undoubtedly men of standing, ability, enterprise, and means. The father, Jacob Isaacs, moved into Philadelphia before 1698, being described as a merchant in High street, and died there before 1711.¹ Matthias, who is frequently mentioned by James Logan, made a trip to Holland in 1701, witnessing there Benjamin Furly's power of attorney July 28th, and had returned to Philadelphia before April 13th, 1702. He remained in that city until 1704, when he and his elder brother, Isaac Jacobs, accompanied by Reynier Hermanns Van Burklow, a son-in-law of Peter Schumacher, and possibly others, removed to Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, Maryland. There he was a justice of the peace, and is described in the deeds as a merchant and a gentleman. Their descendants, like many others, soon fell away from the simple habits and strict creed of their fathers; the Van Bebbers of Maryland have been distinguished in all the wars and at the bar; and at the Falls of the Kanawha, Van Bebber's rock, a crag jutting out at a great height over the river, still preserves the memory and recalls the

¹ He had three grandsons named Jacob, one of whom was doubtless the Jacob Van Bebber who became Judge of the Supreme Court of Delaware Nov. 27th, 1764.

exploits of one of the most daring Indian fighters in Western Virginia.

I have now gone over two decades of the earliest history of Germantown. It has been my effort to give the names of all those who arrived within that time, and as fully as could be ascertained the dates of their arrival and the places from which they came, believing that in this way the most satisfactory information will be conveyed to those interested in them as individuals, and the clearest light thrown on the character of the emigration. The facts so collected and grouped seem to me to warrant the conclusion I have formed that Germantown was substantially a settlement of people from the lower Rhine regions of Germany and from Holland, and that in the main they were the offspring of that Christian sect, which, more than any other, has been a wanderer,¹ which, endeavoring to carry the injunctions of the New Testament into the affairs of daily life, had no defence against almost incredible persecutions except flight, and which to-day is sending thousands of its followers to the Mississippi and the far West after they have in a vain quest traversed Europe from the Rhine to the Volga.²

¹ Says Löher in his *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, p. 35, "As the true pilgrims upon earth going from place to place in the hope to find quiet and rest appear the Mennonites. They were the most important among the German pioneers in North America."

² In the compilation of this article I have been especially indebted to Dr. J. G. De Hoop Scheffer, of the College at Amsterdam, for European researches, to Prof. Oswald Seidensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania, whose careful investigations I have used freely, and to Abraham H. Cassel, of Harleysville, Pa., whose valuable library, it is, perhaps, not too much to say, is the only place in which the history of the Germans of Pennsylvania can be found. In giving the orthography of proper names I have, as far as practicable, followed autographs.

DAVID RITTENHOUSE,

THE

AMERICAN ASTRONOMER.

From Harper's Monthly, for May, 1882.

DAVID RITTENHOUSE.¹

THERE have been very few men, even among those possessed of extraordinary talents, who have been so entirely unskilled in the arts that attract popular attention, and have nevertheless attained to such eminence during their own lives, as did David Rittenhouse. The people of provincial Pennsylvania fully believed they had found among themselves in the farmer's lad of the Wissahickon one upon whom the divine light of genius had fallen, and they came to him with offerings of homage, as well as of pounds, shillings and pence, perhaps all the more willingly because he shrank from the honor with an appearance of shyness, if not of timidity. His career more nearly resembled that of Franklin than that of any other of his contemporaries. Both began life in an obscure way and under adverse circumstances; the fame of both as philosophers and men of science extended over the world; both were drawn into the politics of their day, and living in the same city, and being of the same way of thought, bore

¹ The principal authorities consulted and used in the preparation of this paper were Barton's Life, Renwick's Life, Rush's Memoir, Colonial Records and Archives, Votes of Assembly, Sargent's Loyalist Poetry, Pennsylvania Gazette, Pennsylvania Packet, The Chronicle, Jacobs MSS., Jefferson's Works, Adams' Works, Miller's Retrospect, Life and Times of Dr. William Smith, Rittenhouse's Oration, Du Simitiere Papers, Accounts of Pennsylvania, Graydon's Memoirs, Life of Judge Henry, Journals of Congress, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Columbian Magazine, MS. Minutes of the Democratic Society, and the Portfolio.

a conspicuous part in the Revolutionary struggle; and each at the time of his death was president of that learned society which had afforded them many of their opportunities.

Here, however, the parallel ends. Rittenhouse was more of a scientist, and Franklin more of a politician. With the boldness which comes of strength, blended with a sufficiency of shrewdness, Franklin went out into the world knowing there was much in it he wanted, and determined to get what he could. Despite of his admirable talents, his knowledge of men and affairs, his sagacious forecast of the future, and his magnificent work in various fields, he had many of the characteristics of an adventurer. In scanning the events of his life we cannot help but wish that as an apprentice he had not run away from his master, that his relations with women had never become the subject of conversation, that he had given more credit to Kinnersley for his electrical experiments, and that he had not united with the Quakers while they were in power, or had remained with them after they lost it. Rittenhouse, on the other hand, was altogether clean, simple, and pure, and in the supreme event of his life, the observation of the transit of Venus, after making the instruments, noting the contacts, and calculating the parallax, he left for his colleague, Dr. Smith, the preparation of the report for publication. While, therefore, it may well be that through lack of aggressiveness or through overnicety he failed to gather all that he might have secured, we approach him with full faith that whatever he did was his own work, and whatever he gained belonged to him.

He came of good ancestry. His paternal forefathers had long been paper-makers in the city of Arnheim, in Holland, and there belonged to the Mennonites—a relig-

ious sect which in creed and observances the Quakers much resemble, and which, according to some authorities, they have followed.

The Mennonites call themselves "Defenseless Christians," being strictly opposed to all warfare, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they suffered terribly at the stake and by other methods of persecution. It was of Dirck Willems, a Mennonite burned in 1569 for having been rebaptized and holding meetings in his house, that Motley tells a pathetic story, copied from Van Braght. To escape threatened capture he fled across a lake covered with thin ice. One of his pursuers, more eager than wise, followed, and breaking through was unable to extricate himself. Willems, seeing the danger of his adversary, returned and assisted him to the shore, when the base wretch, with unequalled ingratitude, arrested his rescuer and hurried him away to prison. There were very nearly as many martyrs among the Mennonites in the city of Antwerp alone as there were Protestants burned to death in England during the whole reign of bloody Mary.

Willem Rittinghuysen, the first Mennonite preacher in Pennsylvania, came with his family and others of the sect to Germantown in 1688, and on a branch of the Wissahickon Creek, in Roxborough Township, built in 1690, the earliest paper mill in America. It is with reference to this mill that Gabriel Thomas, a quaint old chronicler of the seventeenth century, says, "All sorts of very good paper are made in the German Town," and it supplied the paper used by William Bradford, the first printer in Pennsylvania, as well as the first in New York. Here, on the 8th of April, 1732, David Rittenhouse, a great-grandson of the emigrant, was born. His mother, Elizabeth Williams, was the daughter of Evan Williams,

a native of Wales, and probably one of the Quaker converts who came from that country and settled a number of townships in Pennsylvania. When he was three years old, his father, Matthias, removed with his family to a farm in Norriton, now Montgomery County, and naturally enough he determined that David, the oldest son, should follow the same pursuit. As soon, therefore, as he was strong enough to be of assistance, he was put to the ordinary farm-work, and he ploughed and harrowed, sowed and reaped, like all the boys by whom he was surrounded. His tastes, however, ran in another direction, and one of those occurrences which are sometimes called accidents gave him an opportunity to gratify them. An uncle, who was a carpenter, died, leaving a chest of tools, and among them a few books containing the elements of arithmetic and geometry, and some mathematical calculations. These things, valueless to every one else, became a treasure to David, then about twelve years old, and they seem to have determined the bent of his life. The handles of his plough, and even the fences around the fields, he covered with mathematical calculations. At the age of eight he made a complete water-mill in miniature. At seventeen he made a wooden clock, and afterward one in metal. Having thus tested his ability in an art in which he had never received any instruction, he secured from his somewhat reluctant father money enough to buy in Philadelphia the necessary tools, and after building a shop by the roadside, set up in business as a clock and mathematical instrument maker. His days were given to labor at his chosen trade, and his nights to study. By too close application he injured his health, contracting an affection of the lungs, attended with great pain, that clung to him all of his life, and seriously interfered with his writing, but he solved the most abstruse

mathematical and astronomical problems, discovering for himself the method of fluxions. For a long time he believed himself its originator, being unaware of the controversy between Newton and Leibnitz for that great honor. "What a mind was here!" said Dr. Benjamin Rush, later, in a burst of enthusiastic admiration. "Without literary friends or society, and with but two or three books, he became, before he had reached his four-and-twentieth year, the rival of two of the greatest mathematicians of Europe."

He mastered the *Principia* of Newton in an English translation, and became so engrossed in the study of optics that he wrote of himself in 1756, during the French and Indian war, that should the enemy invade his neighborhood, he would probably be slain making a telescope, as was Archimedes while tracing geometrical figures on the sand. In 1751, the Rev. Thomas Barton, of Lancaster County, an alumnus of Trinity College, Dublin, who afterward married the sister of Rittenhouse, and became a professor in the University of Pennsylvania, went to Norriton to teach school, and making the acquaintance of the young philosopher and clockmaker, they became warm friends. Barton supplied him with books from which he obtained a knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and two years later brought to him from Europe a number of scientific works. Though his clocks had become celebrated for their accuracy, and he had obtained a local reputation for astronomical information, it seems to have been through Barton that the attention of men of learning was first drawn to him. Among these were Dr. William Smith, provost of the University, John Lukens, surveyor-general (another Pennsylvania Dutchman, whose direct paternal ancestor, Jan Lucken, settled in Germantown in 1683), and Richard Peters, provincial secretary. Through

the last-named he was called upon in 1763 to perform his first public service, and one of very serious importance. It was provided in an agreement between the Penns and Lord Baltimore, settling the disputed boundary of their respective provinces, that a circle should be drawn with a radius of twelve miles around the town of Newcastle. With instruments of his own manufacture, Rittenhouse laid out this circle topographically, and alone he made a number of tedious and intricate calculations in such a satisfactory manner that he was tendered extra compensation. The astronomers Mason and Dixon, furnished with the best instruments for the purpose that could be made in England, accepted Rittenhouse's circle without change when, in 1768, they completed their famous line, which for so many years divided the Free from the Slave States. The point where the forty-first degree of latitude, the northern limit of New Jersey, reaches the Hudson, was fixed by Rittenhouse at the request of a commission appointed by New York and New Jersey, in 1769, and in this peaceful way, by an appeal to the telescope rather than ordnance, were settled between adjacent independent States, questions which in other lands have frequently led to sanguinary wars. On the 20th of February, 1766, he married Eleanor, daughter of Bernard Colston, a Quakeress, and the following year the University of Pennsylvania conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, because, as was said by the provost, of his improvement by the felicity of natural genius in mechanics, mathematics and astronomy.

Very early in his career his attention was drawn to the variations in the oscillations of the pendulum, caused by the expansion and contraction of the material of which it is made, and appreciating the importance of an accurate chronometer, he devised a novel and satisfactory plan of

compensation by attaching to the pendulum a bent tube of glass, partially filled with alcohol and mercury. In 1767 he wrote a paper for the *Pennsylvania Gazette* upon the famous problem of Archimedes, and made some experiments upon the compressibility of water, reaching the conclusion, notwithstanding the tests of the Florentine Academy, that it was compressible. The same year he made a thermometer based upon the principle of the expansion and contraction of metals. An index moved upon a flat surface over a semicircle, which was graduated according to the Fahrenheit degrees of heat. During the present century Breguet has obtained much reputation by inventing anew this forgotten instrument.

A greater mechanical design was, however, now in contemplation than any he had before undertaken. He conceived the idea of endeavoring to represent by machinery the planetary system. Similar attempts had previously been made, but all had represented the planetary movements by circles, being mere approximations, and none were able to indicate the astronomical phenomena at any particular time. The production of Rowley, a defective machine, giving the movement of only two heavenly bodies, was bought by George I. for a thousand guineas. Rittenhouse determined to construct an instrument not simply to gratify the curious, but which would be of practical value to the student and professor of astronomy. After three years of faithful labor, in the course of which, refusing to be guided by the astronomical tables already prepared, he made for himself the calculations of all the movements required in this delicate and elaborate piece of mechanism, he completed, in 1770, his celebrated orrery. Around a brass sun revolved ivory or brass planets in elliptical orbits properly inclined toward each other, and with velocities varying as they approached their aphelia

or perihelia. Jupiter and his satellites, Saturn with his rings, the moon and her phases, and the exact time, quantity, and duration of her eclipses, the eclipses of the sun and their appearance at any particular place on the earth, were all accurately displayed in miniature. The relative situations of the members of the solar system at any period of time for five thousand years backward or forward could be shown in a moment. It is not difficult to appreciate the enthusiasm with which this proof of a rare genius was received more than a century ago, but it is entertaining to witness the expression of it.

“A most beautiful machine It exhibits almost every motion in the astronomical world,” wrote John Adams, who was always a little cautious about praising the work of other people. Samuel Miller, D. D., in his *Retrospect*, said: “But among all the contrivances which have been executed by modern talents, the machine invented by our illustrious countryman Dr. David Rittenhouse, and modestly called by him an orrery, after the production of Graham, is by far the most curious and valuable whether we consider its beautiful and ingenious structure, or the extent and accuracy with which it displays the celestial phenomena.”

“There is not the like in Europe,” said Dr. Gordon, the English historian: and Dr. Morse, the geographer, added, anticipating what has actually occurred; “Every combination of machinery may be expected from a country a native son of which, reaching this inestimable object in its highest point, has epitomized the motions of the spheres that roll throughout the universe.”

His friend Thomas Jefferson wrote: “A machine far surpassing in ingenuity of contrivance, accuracy and utility anything of the kind ever before constructed. . . . He has not indeed made a world, but he has by imitation

approached nearer its maker than any man who has lived from the creation to this day."

Barlow, the author of that ponderous poem the "Columbiad," put in rhyme :

" See the sage Rittenhouse with ardent eye
Lift the long tube and pierce the starry sky !
He marks what laws the eccentric wanderers bind,
Copies creation in his forming mind,
And bids beneath his hand in semblance rise
With mimic orbs the labors of the skies."

Two universities vied with each other for its possession, and after Dr. Witherspoon, of Princeton College, had secured it for £300, Dr. Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, wrote, with a slight touch of spleen: "This province is willing to honor him as her own, and believe me many of his friends regretted that he should think so little of his noble invention as to consent to let it go to a *village*." Smith was mollified, however, by an engagement immediately undertaken to construct a duplicate, and he delivered a series of lectures on the subject to raise the money required. Wondering crowds went to see it, and after the Legislature of Pennsylvania had viewed it in a body, they passed a resolution giving Rittenhouse £300 as a testimony of their high sense of his mathematical genius and mechanical abilities, and entered into an agreement with him to have a still larger one made, for which they were to pay £400. It even found its way into the field of diplomacy, for when Silas Deane was in France endeavoring to arrange a treaty of alliance between that country and our own against Great Britain, he suggested to the secret committee of Congress that the orrery be presented to Marie Antoinette as a *douceur*. It was somewhat injured by the British troops while in Princeton during the war.

The year 1769 is memorable in the annals of astronomy. During that year occurred the transit of Venus—a phenomenon which offers the best means for calculating the distances between the heavenly bodies. It had up to that time never been satisfactorily observed. No man then living could ever have the opportunity again because it would not recur for one hundred and five years. Astronomers all over the world were alive to its importance. Arrangements were made for taking such observations as were possible in the capitals of Europe, and the governments of England and France sent expeditions for the purpose to Otaheite, Hudson's Bay, and California. As early as June 21st in the preceding year, Rittenhouse read before the American Philosophical Society a series of calculations showing the time and duration of the coming transit. The Legislature of Pennsylvania gave £200 sterling toward the expense of buying a telescope and micrometer and the other outlays, and on the 7th of January, 1769, the society appointed three committees to make observations in three different localities. One of these committees consisting of Rittenhouse, Dr. William Smith, John Lukens, and John Sellers, was to repair to the home of Rittenhouse at Norriton, and to him were intrusted all of the preliminary arrangements. In November he began the erection of an observatory, which was completed in April. He continued for months a series of observations to determine the exact latitude and longitude of the place, and to test the accuracy of his time-pieces. Thomas Penn sent from Europe a reflector, used by Smith; a set of glasses intended for Harvard University, but which came too late to be forwarded, Rittenhouse fitted into a refractor for Lukens; and his own telescope he retained. Several other necessary instruments, including a device for keeping time, he made with his own hands, and, like

all of his construction, they were admitted to have been better than could have been obtained abroad. According to Smith, the committee trusted in this respect entirely to the extensive knowledge of Rittenhouse, and when he and the others arrived, two days before the transit, they had nothing to do but adjust the telescopes to their vision. A rainy day, even a passing cloud, would have made all the labor vain, but fortunately it happened to be perfectly clear. The previous anxiety, the sense of responsibility at the critical moment, the delight consequent upon the great success, constituted a sequence of emotions too exciting for the physically delicate Rittenhouse, and when the contact had ended he swooned away. The observations, according to the testimony of Maskelyne, the royal astronomer of England, were excellent and complete. Rittenhouse at once made calculations to determine the parallax of the sun, and gave them to Dr. Smith, who added his own and prepared a report to the society, which was printed in its proceedings; and so it happened that the first approximately accurate results in the measurement of the spheres were given to the world, not by the schooled and salaried astronomers who watched from the magnificent royal observatories of Europe, but by unpaid amateurs and devotees to science in the youthful province of Pennsylvania.

Said a learned English author: "There is not another society in the world that can boast of a member such as Mr. Rittenhouse, theorist enough to encounter the problem of determining from a few observations the orbit of a comet, and also mechanic enough to make with his own hands an equal-altitude instrument, a transit telescope, and a time-piece."

In the year 1769 there was also a transit of Mercury, a phenomenon by no means so rare or of such moment as

that of Venus, but still of importance. Observations of it were made by Rittenhouse, Smith, Lukens, and Owen Biddle, and were published by the American Philosophical Society. The following year he calculated the elements of the motion and the orbit of a comet then visible, showing himself, by comparison with European investigators engaged in the same task, capable of performing the most difficult of computations in physical astronomy, and adding to his already extended reputation. In fact, these achievements had given him so wide a fame that his powers could no longer remain pent up in Norriton, and with the prospect of many advantages both in the way of his handiwork and of his science, he removed to Philadelphia, the American centre of learning and intelligence: He still gained his livelihood by mechanical labor, and it is curious to find him as late as 1775 assuming charge, at a small salary, of the State-house clock. About this time the almanacs of the day began to announce to their readers that, "as to the calculations, I need only inform the public they are performed by that ingenious master of mathematics, David Rittenhouse, A. M., of this city, etc." And "our kind customers are requested to observe that the ingenious David Rittenhouse, A. M., of this city, has favored us with the astronomical calculations of our almanac for this year; therefore they may be most firmly relied on." Soon after his removal his wife died, and in December, 1772, he married Hannah Jacobs, a member of a distinguished and influential Quaker family in Chester and Philadelphia counties. In 1771 he made some experiments on the electrical properties of the gymnotus; in 1772, after constructing the necessary instruments, he and Samuel Rhoads, for the Assembly of Pennsylvania, surveyed and ascertained the levels of the lands lying between the Susquehanna and the Delaware, with a view

to the connection of those two rivers by a canal; in 1773 he was appointed president of a commission to make the river Schuylkill navigable, a duty which they performed by constructing rough dams, and which was continued for a number of years; and in 1774 he and Samuel Holland, commissioners from their respective provinces, fixed the northeastern extremity of the boundary between New York and Pennsylvania.

In 1770 he prepared for the publications of the American Philosophical Society a paper giving a method of ascertaining the true time of the sun's passing the meridian that attracted the attention of Von Zach, the Saxon astronomer. He was chosen one of the secretaries of that society in 1771, and on the 24th of February, 1775, he read before it an oration upon the subject of astronomy. This oration is the most elaborate of his literary productions. The language is simple, the style strong and clear, and it displays much research and special knowledge. In it he traces the history of astronomical discoveries and progress down to the time at which he wrote, but the most interesting portion of the address, as a test of his own acumen, is that in which he endeavors to forecast the future, and to point out the most promising paths for further investigation. The possibility of the existence of the planets that were then unknown seems to have occurred to him, for he says, "The telescope had discovered all the globes whereof it is composed, at least as far as we yet know." He believed in the existence of beings differing from man more or less in their natures on the other planets. The spots on the sun he conjectured to be solid and permanent cavities, darkened by matter that occasionally and accidentally collected in them. But it was among the fixed stars that with correct inference he expected the greatest discoveries to be made; and the

Milky Way whose mysteries the telescopes of his day were not powerful enough to unravel, whetted his fancy and aroused his eloquence. The Milky Way, composed of millions of small stars, seemed to him to be a vein of closer texture running through material creation, which he supposed to be confined between parallel planes of immeasurable extent. The discoveries of Herschel and others subsequently verified many of his hypotheses. "We shall find sufficient reason to conclude," he says, "that the visible creation, consisting of revolving worlds and central suns, even including all those that are beyond the reach of human eye and telescope, is but an inconsiderable part of the whole. Many other and very various orders of things, unknown to and inconceivable by us, may and probably do exist in the unlimited regions of space. And all yonder stars, innumerable, with their dependencies, may perhaps compose but the leaf of a flower in the Creator's garden, or a single pillar in the immense building of the Divine Architect." His sentiments on some other subjects were occasionally interwoven. Frederick the Great he called the tyrant of the north and scourge of mankind. He commiserated with those who, because their bodies were disposed to absorb or reflect the rays of light in a way different from our own, were in America doomed to endless slavery. The rapid growth of the American colonies seemed to him to indicate an early fall. He dreaded the introduction of articles of luxury, and the growth of luxurious tastes, through a too easy intercourse with Europe. "I am ready to wish—vain wish," he added—"that Nature would raise her everlasting bars between the New and the Old World, and make a voyage to Europe as impracticable as one to the moon."

In March of the same year the American Philosophical

Society presented for the consideration of the Assembly a plan for the prosecution of discoveries in astronomy, geography, and navigation, to which they said they were urged by some of the greatest men of Europe. It contemplated the erection of a public observatory, by subscription, upon a lot of ground to be granted by the proprietaries, who had expressed their concurrence. It should be furnished with the necessary instruments, which would be of but little expense, because the gentleman who it was proposed should conduct the design was capable of constructing them all in the most masterly manner. He should receive an annual salary both in the capacity of public astronomer and as surveyor of roads and waters. Here the captains and mates of vessels, and young men desirous of obtaining practical knowledge, should be taught the use of instruments and receive other instruction, and the observations made should be published annually for the benefit of learned societies at home and abroad. "We have a gentleman among us," they went on to say, "whose abilities, speculative as well as practical, would do honor to any country, and who is nevertheless indebted for bread to his daily toil, in an occupation the most unfriendly both to health and study." To give him an occasion to use his genius for the advantage of his country would be an honor which crowned heads might glory in, but which Pennsylvania ought not to yield to the greatest prince or people on earth. Should the present opportunity be neglected, whole centuries might not afford another.

The fact that such a design should be seriously proposed and favorably entertained at that early period shows a remarkable appreciation of the abilities of Rittenhouse, and a regard for the interests of science which is certainly creditable to the society, the Legislature, and to public

taste. It was the habit of the day to compare Rittenhouse to Newton, and who can say that if this scheme could have been carried into execution, and he could have devoted the remainder of his days to quiet study and investigation in those pursuits in which unquestionably he was a master, the parallel would not have been justified? Fate, however, determined otherwise. It was not to be. America had other work to do, and her science must bide its time, though it be for ages. The whirlwinds of war were about to be let loose over the land, and even then the drums were beating in the town of Boston. A month later occurred the battles of Concord and Lexington. The next we see of Rittenhouse he was busily engaged in military rather than astronomical problems, and henceforth his time, his energies, and his talents were in the main occupied with sublunary affairs. He had made many clocks; their leaden weights were now needed for bullets, and it was ordered by the Committee of Safety that he and Owen Biddle "should prepare moulds for the casting of clock weights, and send them to some iron furnace, and order a sufficient number to be immediately made for the purpose of exchanging them with the inhabitants of this city for their leaden clock weights." He understood the measurement of heights and the establishment of levels, and was therefore sent to survey the shores of the Delaware to ascertain what points it would be best to fortify in order to prevent a landing of the enemy. The Committee of Safety appointed him their engineer in October, 1775, and in this capacity he was called upon to arrange for casting cannon of iron and brass, to view a site for the erection of a Continental powder mill, to conduct experiments for rifling cannon and musket balls, to fix upon a method of fastening the chain for the protection of the river, to superintend

the manufacture of saltpetre, and to locate a magazine for military stores on the Wissahickon. The assembly appointed him one of the Committee in April, 1776, and in August he was elected its vice-president. As presiding officer he issued in November two proclamations, printed in the form of handbills, one of which announced to the citizens that the enemy were advancing, and that only the most vigorous measures could prevent the city from falling into their hands. "We therefore entreat you by the most sacred of all bonds, the love of virtue, of liberty, and of your country, to forget every distinction, and unite as one man in this time of extreme danger. Let us defend ourselves like men determined to be free." The other was addressed to the colonels of battalions, and informing them that General Howe with his army was already at Trenton, continued, "This glorious opportunity of signaling himself in defense of our country, and securing the rights of America forever, will be seized by every man who has a spark of patriotism in his bosom." In March, 1776, he was elected a member of the Assembly from the city of Philadelphia, and later a member of the Convention which met July 15th, 1776, and drafted the first Constitution for the State of Pennsylvania. No delegate to the Convention was intrusted with more important duties than he, and frequently he presided over its deliberations. He was one of the committee which drafted the frame of government, and subsequently, together with Benjamin Franklin and William Vanhorn, he revised its language. A committee of which he was a member prepared an address to the people setting forth the reasons for the different actions which had been taken. On the 8th of April, 1777, David Rittenhouse, Owen Biddle, Joseph Dean, Richard Bache, and John Shee were appointed a board of war for the State of Pennsylvania;

and in the fall of that year, after the British army had entered within its borders and secured possession of Philadelphia, he was one of the Council of Safety, to whom the most absolute powers were temporarily granted. In order to provide for the preservation of the commonwealth, they were authorized to imprison and punish, capitally or otherwise, all who should disobey their decrees, to regulate the prices of all commodities, and to seize private property, without any subsequent liability to suit because of any of their proceedings. Surely no other twelve men were ever vested with greater powers over their fellow-beings than these.

On the 14th of January, 1777, he was elected by the Assembly the first State Treasurer under the new Constitution, and he was unanimously re-elected to the same position in each of the succeeding twelve years, and until he finally refused longer to serve. In consequence of the fluctuating values of both the State and Continental currencies, and their almost constant depreciation, together with the unusual demands for funds and the difficulties in the way of their collection incident to a state of war, it was an office of great trial and responsibility, for which the small commissions afforded a very inadequate compensation. It occupied his time and annoyed him so much that he once wrote to his wife while hundreds of miles away in the forest, surrounded by savages, that nothing so reconciled him to his present deprivations "as the aversion I have to the plagues of that same office." When the approach of the British army and the subsequent capture of Philadelphia in the fall of 1777 made necessary a withdrawal of the government departments, the Treasury was removed to the second-story front room of the house of Mr. Henry in Lancaster. The family of Rittenhouse were at Norriton, so near to the lines of the

enemy that the presence there of a member of the Council of Safety and Treasurer would have been attended with great risk, and he was therefore compelled to endure an anxious separation from them until the following June. In addition to holding the office of Treasurer, he was trustee of the Loan Office for ten years, from 1780 to 1790, at which latter date it was superseded. The Loan Office was established in 1723 for the purpose of providing a circulating medium of exchange, and was authorized to loan bills of credit, which were legal tenders, upon the security of mortgages upon real estate. The duties of this office required the exercise of the greatest prudence in the issue of the bills and the nicest care in the valuation of the mortgages, and it is a tribute to the practical judgment of Rittenhouse, who was sole trustee, that its affairs were finally closed entirely without loss.

The disputes between Pennsylvania and Virginia upon the question of boundaries became serious, and in 1779 George Bryan, John Ewing, and David Rittenhouse for the former State, and James Madison and Robert Andrews for the latter, were appointed commissioners to adjust them. They entered into an agreement to extend Mason and Dixon's line due west five degrees of longitude from the river Delaware, and from its western extremity to draw a meridian to the northern limit of Pennsylvania, for the southern and western boundaries of that State. This agreement was subsequently ratified, but uncertainty as to the exact location of the line led to numerous collisions between settlers claiming under grants from the two States, and even hostilities were threatened. At one time the authority of Congress was invoked in the interest of peace. It finally became necessary to run and mark the lines, and in 1784 Pennsylvania appointed as commissioners for that purpose John Ewing, David Rittenhouse,

John Lukens, and Thomas Hutchins. They accepted the appointment in a letter in which they say, "An anxious desire to gratify the astronomical world in the performance of a problem which has never yet been attempted in any country by a precision and accuracy that would do no dishonor to our characters, while it prevents the State of Pennsylvania from the chance of losing many hundred thousands of acres secured to it by our agreement at Baltimore, has induced us to suffer our names to be mentioned in the accomplishment of the work."

The commissioners on behalf of Virginia were James Madison, Robert Andrews, John Page, and Andrew Ellicott. In April, Rittenhouse was busily engaged in constructing the necessary instruments, and in June he, with Lukens, Page, and Andrews, erected an observatory at Wilmington, Delaware, where they made a series of sixty observations of the eclipses of the moons of Jupiter before their departure. Page and Lukens were unable to endure the fatigue and labor of a six months' journey through the wilderness, and returned home, but the others accomplished their task with entire accuracy and certainty, and having ascertained the lines and the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania, marked them with stones and by killing trees. The following summer the western boundary of that State was fixed by Rittenhouse and Andrew Porter on behalf of Pennsylvania, and Joseph Neville and Andrew Ellicott on behalf of Virginia. For that portion of the line north of the Ohio River, Ellicott also acted for Pennsylvania. It was the most important work of the kind in which Rittenhouse was ever engaged, and to the general confidence in his skill was largely due the settlement of this serious and alarming controversy. In 1786 he and Andrew Ellicott on behalf of Pennsylvania, and James Clinton and Simeon Dewitt on behalf of New York, were

engaged in fixing the boundary between those two States. The New York representatives relied entirely upon the Pennsylvanians for a supply of instruments, and there was no sector suitable for the purpose, at least in that part of America. Rittenhouse therefore made one, which was used in determining the line, and which, in the language of Ellicott, was most excellent. On the 2d of December, 1785, Congress appointed Rittenhouse, with John Ewing and Thomas Hutchins, a commission to run a line of jurisdiction between the States of New York and Massachusetts, which work was performed in 1787, and constituted, says Dr. Rush, his farewell peace-offering to the union and happiness of his country.

After Congress had determined upon the establishment of a mint, Rittenhouse was appointed its first director, April 14th, 1792, by President Washington. He was extremely reluctant to undertake the task, but his mechanical knowledge and ability seemed to make him especially fitted for the organization of an institution whose successful working depended upon the construction and proper use of delicate machinery, and at the urgent solicitation of both Jefferson and Hamilton he consented. When it had been running for three years, however, finding that he could be relieved from what he felt to be a burden, and that the pressing necessity for his services no longer existed, he resigned.

The absorption of so much of his time since the beginning of the Revolutionary war in the performance of public duties, important and honorable as were the offices he held, was not only a source of regret to himself, but seems to have been generally regarded in the light of a sacrifice. As early as 1778, Jefferson felt impelled to write to him: "I doubt not there are in your country many persons equal to the task of conducting government, but you

should consider that the world has but one Rittenhouse, and never had one before. . . . Are those powers, then, which, being intended for the erudition of the world, are, like air and light, the world's common property, to be taken from their proper pursuit to do the commonplace drudgery of governing a single State—a work which may be executed by men of ordinary stature, such as are always and everywhere to be found?" The royalist party were fully as reluctant to see him participating in political affairs, and their sense of the loss to science would seem to have been equally as keen. A Tory poet published in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, December 2d, 1777, these lines:

“TO DAVID RITTENHOUSE.

- “ Meddle not with state affairs ;
 Keep acquaintance with the stars ;
 Science, David, is thy line ;
 Warp not Nature's great design,
 If thou to fame wouldst rise.
- “ Then follow learned Newton still ;
 Trust me, mischievous Machiavel
 Thou'lt find a dreary coast,
 Where, damped the philosophic fire,
 Neglected genius will retire,
 And all thy fame be lost.
- “ Politics will spoil the man
 Formed for a more exalted plan.
 Great Nature bids thee rise,
 To pour fair science on our age,
 To shine amidst the historic page,
 And half unfold the skies.
- “ But if thou crush this vast design,
 And in the politician's line
 With wild ambition soar,
 Oblivion shall entomb thy name,
 And from the rolls of future fame
 Thou'lt fall to rise no more.”

The Rev. Jonathan Odell, also a loyalist, contributed to Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, of New York, for September 8th, 1779, a long poem on "The Word of Congress," which contains the following:

" There dwelt in Norriton's sequestered bowers
 A mortal blessed with mathematic powers.
 To whom was David Rittenhouse unknown?
 Fair Science saw and marked him for her own.
 His eye creation to its bounds would trace,
 His mind the regions of unbounded space.
 Whilst thus he soared above the starry spheres,
 The word of Congress sounded in his ears;
 He listened to the voice with strange delight,
 And swift descended from his dazzling height,
 Then mixing eager with seditious tools,
 Vice-President-elect of rogues and fools,
 His hopes resigned of philosophic fame,
 A paltry statesman Rittenhouse became."

Though the public affairs with which he was associated would have been sufficient to have exhausted the energies of a man of even more than ordinary abilities, and must necessarily have engrossed much of his attention, it must not be supposed that he abandoned his astronomical and philosophical studies. At the suggestion of Colonel Timothy Matlack, the Assembly, in April, 1781, granted him £250 for an observatory, which he erected probably at that time in the yard attached to his residence, at the north-west corner of Seventh and Arch streets, in Philadelphia, and which Lalande says in his *Astronomie* in 1792 was the only one in America. The publications of the American Philosophical Society contain between the years 1780 and 1796 no less than seventeen papers written by him upon optics, magnetism, electricity, meteors, logarithms and other mathematics, the improvement of time-keepers, the expansion of wood by heat,

astronomical observations upon comets, transits, and eclipses, and similar abstruse topics. Even during the trying period of 1776, 1777, and 1778, while these publications were suspended, and the war was surging around his own home, he and Smith, Lukens, and Biddle found time to note some observations upon a transit of Mercury and two eclipses of the sun. Within a week after the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, Rittenhouse was in the city, seated by his telescope, watching an eclipse. In 1776 he wrote a defence of the Newtonian system for the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and in 1782 invented a wooden hygrometer. From 1779 to 1782 he was Professor of Astronomy in the University of Pennsylvania, and also a trustee and vice-provost of the same institution.

In this connection an interesting incident is narrated in the *Life and Times of Dr. William Smith*. The announcement of the death of Franklin was brought by a messenger to a party of gentlemen, consisting of Thomas McKean, Henry Hill, Thomas Willing, Rittenhouse, and Dr. Smith, who were dining with Governor Thomas Mifflin, at the Falls of Schuylkill. A fierce thunder-storm happened to be raging at the same time. Impressed by the event and the circumstances under which they heard it, Smith wrote at the table this impromptu :

“ Cease, cease, ye clouds, your elemental strife!
 Why rage ye thus, as if to threaten life?
 Seek, seek no more to shake our souls with dread!
 What busy mortal told you Franklin's dead?
 What though he yields at Jove's imperious nod,
 With Rittenhouse he left his magic rod!”

He succeeded Franklin as president of the American Philosophical Society upon the death of the latter in 1790. He was elected a fellow of the Academy of Arts and

Sciences of Boston in 1782; the College of New Jersey gave him the honorary degrees of Master of Arts in 1772, and Doctor of Laws in 1789; the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, gave him the honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1784, designating him as *principem philosophorum*; but the highest distinction of this character he ever received, and the highest in the world then attainable by a man of science, was his election as a foreign member of the Royal Society of London in 1795.

One of the closing events in the life of Rittenhouse has frequently been the subject of adverse criticism. The French people were then in the throes of their Revolution. The assistance given by France at the critical period of our war for independence, and the fact that she was now apparently in a death-struggle in an effort to secure her own liberties, appealed most forcibly to the sympathies of the American people.

Genet, a warm-blooded and, as it proved, a not very discreet young Frenchman, was sent as minister from the republic to this country. When the news came of his arrival at Philadelphia, where Congress was sitting, a meeting of citizens was called in Independence Square, and Rittenhouse was appointed chairman of a committee to draft resolutions. These resolutions, a little glowing in their tone, but carefully drawn so as not to conflict with the American position of neutrality, declared the cause of France to be that of the human race, and expressed the strongest sympathy with her in her struggles for "freedom and equality," as well as attachment, fraternal feeling, and gratitude. The assemblage then formed in line, and walked three abreast around to the City Tavern, where they presented their address to Genet, who said the citizens of France would consider that day as one of the happiest in the career of the infant republic.

Democratic societies, whose *raison d'être* was in the main hostility to England and sympathy for France, sprang into existence all over the United States, and one was organized in Philadelphia, with Rittenhouse as president. Among its members were A. J. Dallas, Peter S. Duponceau, Colonel Clement Biddle, Benjamin Rush, Cæsar Rodney, B. F. Bache, Stephen Girard, George Logan, Cadwalader Morris, and others of the most distinguished residents of the city. Doubtless the French example and party zeal somewhat heated their imaginations, and they took strong ground concerning the pending European struggle. They resolved to use no address save that of "Citizen," to suppress the polite formulas of ordinary correspondence, and to date their letters from the 4th of July, 1776. Rittenhouse had no participation in these grave trifles, and increasing infirmities having prevented him from attending the meetings, he within a year resigned the presidency. He did not withdraw, however, in time to save his reputation from political attack, and Cobbett, the porcupine, as he called himself, of the day, says, fiercely: "This Rittenhouse was an atheist. . . . How much he received a year from France is not precisely known. The American Philosophical Society is composed of a nest of such wretches as hardly ever met together before; it is impossible to find words to describe their ignorance or their baseness." Later generations of men have not been prone to look at the French Revolution through the lens of Burke, and the fact that the Democratic party came into power at the close of the administration of John Adams did much to whiten the work of the earlier Democratic societies, and to make it appear that Rittenhouse and his friends had only been a little in advance of the current.

The few remaining years of his life were spent in

comparative retirement, during which the physical difficulties he had been laboring under from youth gradually cumulated, and his power of resistance diminished. He died on the 26th of June, 1796, his last words being an expression of gratitude to a friend for some slight attention, and of confidence in the future—"You make the way to God easier."

There is a bust of him from life by Ceracchi, and a portrait by Peale. Dr. Benjamin Rush read a eulogy before the American Philosophical Society, in the presence of the President and Congress of the United States, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, foreign ministers, judges, and men of learning of the time. One of the city squares bears his name. His home on Arch street was long known as "Fort Rittenhouse," because, pending a dispute as to jurisdiction between Pennsylvania and the United States in 1809, it was guarded for three weeks by State militia, to prevent the service of a mandamus issued by the Federal courts.

Though he had never received any regular training, his attainments were extensive. In addition to the classics he mastered the French, German, and Dutch languages. From the German he translated the drama of *Lucia Sampson*, published by Charles Cist, and the *Idyls of Gesner*, and in the *Columbian Magazine* for February, 1787, is a copper-plate print of the Ohio Pyle Falls from one of his sketches. A man of culture said he was never in his presence without learning something. He elicited the admiration of all the great men of his day, unless it be John Adams, who could find no remarkable depth in his face, called him an anchorite, and sought perhaps to disparage his reputation by alluding sharply to Philadelphia as "the heart, the censorium, the pineal gland of the United States." In person he was tall and slender, and

the expression of his countenance was soft and mild. He had such a nice sense of honor that he refused to invest in the loans of the State while he was Treasurer, and when compelled to pay certain extravagant bills for the Mint, had them charged against his own salary. His modesty, partly due, doubtless, to the repression and religious seclusion through which his forefathers had for centuries passed, and partly to certain apparently feminine traits in his character, amounted to a diffidence which was his chief defect. His tender sympathies went out to all of his fellows, and were catholic enough to embrace the negro slaves and the Conestoga Indians who had fallen a prey to the vengeful instincts of the border. His tastes were simple and plain, his wants few, and his greatest pleasures were found within the circle of his own home. No higher tribute was ever accorded to human rectitude than was offered to him by the author of the Declaration of American Independence. "Nothing could give me more pleasure," wrote that statesman in a private letter to his daughter Martha, "than your being much with that worthy family, wherein you will see the best examples of rational life, and learn to imitate them."

Such was the career and such the character of David Rittenhouse. When, a few years ago, Pennsylvania was called upon to place in the Capitol at Washington the statues of her two worthiest sons, she ought to have taken her warrior Wayne, and beside him set her philosopher Rittenhouse, who in his ancestry best represents that quiet and peaceful religious thought which led to her settlement, and in himself the highest intellectual plane she has yet reached.

CHRISTOPHER DOCK,

THE

PIOUS SCHOOLMASTER ON THE SKIPPACK,

AND HIS WORKS.

CHRISTOPHER DOCK.

THE student of American literature, should he search through histories, bibliographies, and catalogues of libraries for traces of Christopher Dock or his works, would follow a vain quest. The attrition of the great sea of human affairs during the course of a century and a half has left of the pious schoolmaster, as the early Germans of Pennsylvania were wont to call him, only a name, and of his reputation, nothing. Watson, the annalist, says, that in 1740 Christopher Duck taught school in the old Mennonite log church, in Germantown; the catalogue of the American Antiquarian Society contains the title of his "Schul-ordnung" under the wrong year; and these meagre statements are the only references to him I have ever been able to find in any English book. There may be men still living who have heard from their grandfathers of his kindly temper and his gentle sway, but memory is uncertain, and they are rapidly disappearing. Between the leaves of old Bibles and in out-of-the-way places in country garrets, perhaps, are still preserved some of the *Schrifften*, and birds and flowers which he used to write and paint as rewards for his dutiful scholars, but whose was the hand that made them has long been forgotten. The good which he did has been interred with his bones, and all that he did was good. The details of his life that can now be ascertained are very few, but such as they are it is a fitting task to gather them together. The eye will sometimes leave the canvas on which are depicted the gaudy robes of a Catharine Cornaro, or the fierce passions

of a Rizpah, and gratefully turn to a quiet rural scene, where broad fields stretch out, and herds feed in the shade of oaks, and all is suggestive of peace, strength and happiness. It may well be doubted whether the story of the Crusades has attracted more readers than the *Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas a Kempis; the *Life of John Woolman* has found its way into the highest walks of literature, while that of Anthony Wayne is yet to be written; and the time may come when the American historian, wearied with the study of the wars with King Philip to the north of us, and the wars with Powhatan to the south of us, will turn his lens upon Pennsylvania, where the principles of the Reformation produced their ultimate fruits, and where the religious sects who were in the advance of thought, driven out of conservative and halting Europe, lived together at peace with the natives and in unity among themselves without wars. The sweetness and purity which filled the soul of the Mennonite, the Dunker, the Schwenkfelder, the Pietist, and the Quaker, was nowhere better exemplified than in Christopher Dock. It is told that once two men were talking together of him, and one said that he had never been known to show the slightest anger. The other replied that perhaps his temper had not been tested, and presently when Dock came along, he reviled him fiercely, bitterly and profanely. The only reply made by Dock was: "Friend, may the Lord have mercy upon thee." He was a Mennonite who came from Germany to Pennsylvania about 1714. There is a tradition that he had been previously drafted into the army but had been discharged because of his convictions and refusal to bear arms. In 1718, or perhaps four years earlier, he opened a school among the Mennonites on the Skippack. It was an occupation to which he felt that he was divinely

called, and he continued it, without regard to compensation, which was necessarily very limited, for ten years. At the expiration of this period he went to farming. On the 28th of 9th month, 1735, he bought from the Penns 100 acres of land in Salford Township, now Montgomery County, for £15, 10s., and, doubtless, this was the tract upon which he lived. For ten years he was a husbandman, but for four summers he taught school in Germantown, in sessions of three months each year, and it would seem to have occurred during this period. While away from the school he was continually impressed with a consciousness of duties unfulfilled, and in 1738 he gave up his farm and returned to his old pursuit. He then opened two schools, one in Skippack and one in Salford, which he taught three days each alternately, and for the rest of his life he devoted himself to this labor unceasingly.

In 1750, Christopher Saur, the Germantown publisher, conceived the idea that it would be well to get a written description of Dock's method of keeping school, with a view to printing it, in order, as he said, that other school-teachers whose gift was not so great might be instructed; that those who cared only for the money they received might be shamed; and that parents might know how a well arranged school was conducted, and how themselves to treat children. To get the description was a matter requiring diplomacy because of the decided feeling on the part of Dock that it would not be sinless to do anything for his own praise, credit or elevation. Saur, therefore, wrote to Dielman Kolb, a prominent Mennonite minister in Salford, and a warm friend of Dock, urging his request and presenting a series of questions which he asked to have answered. Through the influence of Kolb the reluctant teacher was induced to undertake a reply and

the treatise was completed on the 8th of August, 1750. He only consented, however, upon the condition that it should not be printed during his lifetime. For nineteen years afterward the manuscript lay unused. In the meantime the elder Saur had died, and the business had passed into the hands of his son, Christopher Saur the second. Finally in 1769 some "friends of the common good," getting wearied with the long delay, succeeded in overcoming the scruples of Dock, and secured his consent to having it printed. It met with further vicissitudes. Having read the MS., Saur mislaid it, and after a careful search concluded that it must have been sold along with some waste paper. He offered a reward for its return through his newspaper. People began to report that he had found something in it he did not like, and had put it away purposely. The satisfied author sent a messenger to him to say "that I should not trouble myself about the loss of the writing. It had never been his opinion that it ought to be printed in his lifetime, and so he was very well pleased that it had been lost." At length, after it had been lost for more than a year, it was found in a place through which he and his people had thoroughly searched. It was at once published in a large octavo pamphlet of fifty-four pages. The full title is: "Eine Einfaltige und gruendlich abgefaste Schul-ordnung darinnen deutlich vorgestellt wird, auf welche weisse die Kinder nicht nur in denen in Schulen gewoehlichen Lehren bestens angebracht sondern auch in der Lehre Gottseligkeit wohl unterrichtet werden moegen aus Liebe zu dem menschlichen Geschlecht aufgesetzt durch den wohlerfaruen und lang geuebten Schulmeister Christoph Dock: und durch einige Freunde des gemeinen Bestens dem Druck uebergeben. Germantown, Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1770."

The importance of this essay consists in the fact that it is the earliest, written and published in America, upon the subject of school teaching, and that it is the only picture we have of the colonial country school.¹ It is remarkable that at a time when the use of force was considered essential in the training of children, views so correct upon the subject of discipline should have been entertained. The only copy of the original edition I have ever seen is in the Cassel collection, recently secured by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and a ten years' search for one upon my own part has so far resulted in failure. A second edition was printed by Saur the same year, of which there is a copy in the library of the German Society of Philadelphia. In 1861, the Mennonites of Ohio published an edition, reprinted from a copy of the second edition, at the office of the "Gospel Visitor," at Columbia, in that State. This publication also met with an accident. A careless printer, who was setting type by candle light, knocked over his candle and burned up one of the leaves of the original. The work was stopped because the committee having the matter in charge could find no other copy. Finally, in despair, they wrote to Mr. A. H. Cassel, of Harleysville, Pa., who, without hesitation, took the needed leaf from his copy and sent it to them by mail. *Mirabile dictu!* It was scrupulously cared for and speedily returned. It is difficult to determine which is the more admirable, the

¹ It is always treading on dangerous ground to say of a thing that it is the first of its kind, and especially is this true of books, whose numbers are infinite. I know of no publication on the subject written earlier, and the bibliography of the American Antiquarian Society shows none. If there be any in New England or elsewhere to dispute priority with that of the Pennsylvania Dutchman, let it be produced.

confiding simplicity of a book lover who willingly ran such a risk of making his own copy imperfect, or the Roman integrity which, being once in the possession of the only leaf necessary to complete a mutilated copy, firmly resisted temptation.

The treatise is here for the first time translated into English, omitting the prefatory portions, and a catechism and two hymns which were appended.

Vol. I, No. 33, of the *Geistliches Magazien* an exceedingly rare periodical published by Saur, about 1764, is taken up with a "Copia einer Schrift welche der Schulmeister Christoph Dock an seine noch lebende Schueler zur Lehr und Vermahnung aus Liebe geschrieben hat." It is signed at the end by Dock, and the following note is added: "N. B. The printer has considered it necessary to put the author's name to this piece first, because it is specially addressed to his scholars, though it suits all men without exception, and it is well for them to know who addresses them; and, secondly, the beloved author has led, and still in his great age leads, such a good life that it is important and cannot be hurtful to him that his name should be known. May God grant that all who read it may find something in it of practical benefit to themselves."

No. 40 of the same magazine consists of "Hundert noethige Sitten-Regeln fuer Kinder." It may be claimed for these Rules of Conduct that they are the first original American publication upon the subject of etiquette. It is not only a very curious and entertaining paper, but it is exceedingly valuable as an illustration of the customs and modes of life of those to whom it was addressed, and of what was considered "manners" among them. From it a picture of the children silent until they were addressed, seated upon stools around a table, in the centre of

which was a large, common dish wherein each child dipped with his spoon, and of the homely meal begun and closed with prayer, may be distinctly drawn.

In No. 41 of the *Magazien* there is a continuation, or second part, containing "Hundert christliche Lebens-Regeln fuer Kinder." There is nothing said in either of these papers concerning the author, but if the internal evidence were not in itself sufficient, the descendants of Saur have preserved the knowledge that they were written by Dock.

In No. 15, Vol. II of the *Magazien*, are "Zwey erbauliche Lieder, welche der Gottselige Christoph Dock, Schulmeister an der Schipbach, seinen lieben Schuelern, und allen andern die sie lesen, zur Betrachtung hinterlassen hat."

He wrote a number of hymns, some of which are still used among the Mennonites in their church services. These hymns, so far as they are known to me, are as follows, the first line of each only being given :

1. Kommt, liebe Kinder, kommt herbey.
2. Ach kommet her ihr Menschen Kinder.
3. Mein Lebensfaden lauft zu Ende.
4. Ach Kinder wollt ihr lieben.
5. Fromm seyn ist ein Schatz der Jugend.
6. An Gottes gnad und milden Seegen.
7. Allein auf Gott setz dein Vertrauen.

During the later years of his life Dock made his home with Heinrich Kassel, a Mennonite farmer on the Skip-pack. One evening in the fall of 1771 he did not return from his labors at the usual time. A search was made and he was found in the school-house on his knees—dead. After the dismissal of the scholars for the day he had remained to pray and the messenger of death had overtaken him at his devotions—a fitting end to a life which

had been entirely given to pious contemplation and useful works.

He left two daughters, Margaret, wife of Henry Stryckers, of Salford, and Catharine, wife of Peter Jansen, of Skippack.

WORKS OF CHRISTOPHER DOCK.

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT.

AUGUST 8, 1750.

In acceding to Friend Dielman's request to me I could at once commence without preliminary remarks, but since Friend Christopher Saur requests Dielman to get information of everything, even of the letter-writing among the scholars, I must give Friend Saur a prefatory account by way of explanation of the subject.

After I had given up the school on the Skippack, which I had kept for ten years, I lived upon the land for ten years, and according to my little ability did farm work. Many opportunities offered themselves during this time for keeping school, and I was solicited in the matter until, finally, it came about again that I kept school in these two townships of Skippack and Salford, three days a week in each township. It was before known to me that school teaching in this country was far different from in Germany, since there the school stands upon such pillars that the common people cannot well overthrow it. I thought of the duties which this call imposed and formed the earnest resolution to truly live up to these duties, but I saw the depraved condition of the young, and the many difficulties of this world by which they are depraved and

injured by those older. I considered my own unworthiness, and the unequal influence of parents in the training of children, since some seek the welfare and happiness of their children in teaching and life with their whole hearts, and turn all their energies to advance the honor of God, and the welfare of their children, but, on the other hand, others are just the opposite in life and teaching, and set evil examples before their children. Through this it happens that not only between the schoolmaster and the children comes this unequal training, though he otherwise follows his calling truly and uprightly before God and man, but he is compelled to use unequal zeal and discipline; whereupon the schoolmaster at once gets the name of having favorites, and of treating one child harder than another, which, as a matter-of-fact, he must do for conscience sake, in order that the children of good breeding be not injured by those of bad breeding. In other respects it is undoubtedly the schoolmaster's duty to be impartial, and to determine nothing by favoritism or appearance. The poor beggar child, scabby, ragged and lousy, if its conduct is good, or it is willing to be instructed, must be as dear to him, though he should never receive a penny for it, as that of the rich, from whom he may expect a great reward in this life. The great reward for the poor child follows in the life to come. In brief, it would take too much time to describe all the duties which fall upon a schoolmaster to perform faithfully toward the young, but still longer would it take to describe all the difficulties which encompass him at home if he is willing to economize as his duties require. As I took all this into consideration, I foresaw that if I would and should do something valuable to the young it was necessary for me, daily and hourly, with David, to raise my eyes to the mountains for help. Ps. 121. Inasmuch

as I, amid these circumstances, was willing to erect something to the honor of God, and the benefit of the young, I again placed myself in the work, and have hitherto continued at it. I indeed wish that I had been able to do more, still I have come to thank the great God heartily that He has helped me to do as much as I have done.

Concerning Friend Saur's first question, viz. :

How I Receive the Children in School?

It is done in the following manner. The child is first welcomed by the other scholars, who extend their hands to it. It is then asked by me whether it will learn industriously and be obedient. If it promises me this I explain to it how it must behave, and if it can say the A, B, C's in order, one after the other, and also by way of proof can point out with the forefinger all the designated letters, it is put into the Ab Abs. When it gets this far its father must give it a penny and its mother must cook for it two eggs, because of its industry ; and a similar reward is due to it when it goes further into words, and so forth. But when it begins to read I owe it a token, if it has learned industriously and in the time fixed, and on the next day when this child comes to school it receives a ticket, on which is written the line "Industrious—one penny." This ticket it receives to show that it is taken into the school as a scholar. But it is told that from those scholars who are idle at study, or are otherwise disobedient, this token is taken away again, and that if they are not willing to be taught in any way, and remain stubborn they will be declared, before all the scholars, lazy and unfit, and that they belong in another harsh correction school. Then I ask the child again whether it will be obedient and industrious. If it answers "yes," then I show it the place where it will sit down. If it is

a boy I ask among the boys, if a girl, among the girls, which among them all will receive this new school child and teach and instruct it. Accordingly as the child is strange or known, or is agreeable in appearance or otherwise, there are generally many or few who are ready to offer to instruct it. If there are none willing, then I ask, who, for a Script or a Bird,¹ will instruct the child for a certain time, and this rarely fails.

So much as to how I receive the children in school.

Further information concerning the Assembling of the Children at School.

The assembling takes place in this way :

Since some here in the country have a long way to come but others live near to the school, so that the scholars cannot be all together at a fixed time and at the stroke of the clock, as in those places where men live together in a city or village, the rule and arrangements are that all of those who come first who can read in the Testament sit down on a bench, the boys together on one bench and the girls on another by themselves. A chapter is then given them out of the Testament to read and, without having studied it, they read in turn. Meanwhile I am writing before them. Those who read their verse without mistakes sit down at the table and write, but those who fail must go down to the foot on the bench. In the meantime all who come in take their places at the foot on the bench. Those who are freed as above sit down at the

¹ I have one of these Birds, neatly drawn, and a Script written by him. In the Cassel collection are a number of the Scripts or Schrifften. They are generally Scripture texts and verses, with more or less ornamentation. Schrifften of a similar kind, and some of them very elaborate, were, a century ago, to be found in almost every German household.

table and this is continued until they are all together. He who remains last on the bench is a *Lazy Scholar*. When they are all together, and are examined to see whether they are washed and combed, a morning hymn or psalm is given them to sing and I sing and pray with them. Whatever can be intelligibly implanted in their minds concerning the Lord's Prayer and the ten commandments, according to those gifts which God has imparted, for remembrance and instruction, is done. To the very little ones short prayers and quotations are recited. So much for information concerning the assembling of the scholars. This explanation however, is necessary concerning prayers. Since many children say the prayers they have learned at home with half words and swiftly, especially the **F**ather or **O**ur **F**ather, which form of prayer the Lord Jesus taught his disciples and contains everything it is necessary to ask of God for our bodies and souls, I am accustomed to say this prayer kneeling with them and they all kneeling repeat it after me. After the singing and prayer those who write go again to this exercise. But those who did not read in the Testament at the opening of school, have had the time during the delay to learn their reading. These, after prayers are finished, are called up to do their reading. Those who know their reading will have a **O** marked with chalk on their hands. This is a sign that they have failed in nothing. But those who do not know their reading well, and whose failures are not more than three, are sent back to learn their reading better until the little ones have all recited. If any one comes up again and fails as many as three times it is shown with a word to the scholars that he has failed three times, and all shout out at him "Lazy" and then his name is written down. Now whether a child naturally fears the rod or does not fear it, this I know from experience

that this shaming cry of the children gives them more pain and drives them more to study than if I should hold the rod before them and use it all the time. If such a child under these circumstances has friends in the school who can and will teach it, it will try more earnestly than before. The reason is that if its name is not rubbed out the same day, before school closes, the scholars are at liberty to write down the idle scholar's name and take it home with them. But if it is found in the future that the child knows well its lesson its name is again made known to the scholars and they are told that it has known its lessons perfectly and failed in nothing. Then they all call out "Industrious." When this happens its name is rubbed out of the list of idle scholars and the former misdoing is forgotten.

Concerning those Children who are in Spelling.

These are every day also put to the proof in regard to pronunciation. At the recitation in spelling where the word has more than one syllable, they must all seek for the pronunciation and then it is soon found by the test, though they know how to spell properly, whether through mispronunciation they are unfit to be so soon put at reading. Before reaching this point the child must go over his task repeatedly and it is done in this way. The child gives me its book. I spell, and it must pronounce. If it cannot do it quickly another in the same way gives the pronunciation. In this way it learns to distinguish how it must be governed in pronunciation by the spelling and not by its own notions.

Concerning the A, B, O Scholars.

To make these scholars familiar with the letters at first the easiest way, if I had but one child in the school, would

be to give them in the beginning only a line to learn and prove forward and backwards in order for them to learn to know and call the letters better, so that they would not get their A, B, C, by rote. But having many of this kind I let them repeat the A, B, Cs, after one another, but when the child has recited, I ask it whether it cannot show to me the letter with its finger? If I find that the child doesn't know, or is backward, I ask another in the same way or as many as there are. Whichever finger shows the letter first I take in my hand and hold it until I have made for that child a mark with chalk. Then I ask again for the other letters and so on. The child who during the day has received the most marks has shown the most letters, and to this one I owe something, sometimes a flower painted upon paper or a bird. But if there are several alike it is decided by lot. This gives the least discontent. This plan takes away from the backward something of their backwardness, which is a great hindrance to learning, and also increases their wish to go to school and love for it.

So much as to his request to know how I receive the children in school, and how I arrange the assembling of the children before prayer and continue the exercises after prayer, through what means the inattentive and careless are induced to give thought and attention to learning their lessons well, and how the too shy are, as much as possible, assisted.

Further Continuation of the Information.

After the little ones have recited I give the Testament scholars a chapter to learn. Those who read letters and news sit together, and those who cipher sit together. When I find among the little ones any who have progressed so far in reading that they will soon be ready to

read in the Testament, I point them out to the Testament scholars to try whether a good reader among the Testament scholars will receive them for instruction. Whoever is willing walks out, takes the said scholar by the hand, and they sit down near each other. When this is done a chapter is selected in which each has two verses to learn, but if it is found that further exercises are necessary, as to seek a quotation or chapter, or to learn a quotation by heart, in which exercise also each must read a verse, only a single verse is selected, so that it do not fall too hard on those trying to read in the Testament. If it is found that these scholars upon the trial are good and industrious in learning the selected verses, a week is given them for proof, in which week they learn and recite their lesson in the A, B, C book, with the little ones, and must learn and recite their verse with the Testament scholars. If they stand the proof well, the next week they come out of the A, B, C book into the Testament, and then they are permitted to commence writing. But those who do not bear the test must remain a stated time with the A, B, C scholars before they again have a trial. After the Testament scholars have recited, the little ones are again taken up. When this is done they are reminded of the chapter before read, and for my and their instruction are required to think over the teachings contained in it. Since it usually occurs that such teachings are also written in other places of the Holy Scriptures these latter are also hunted up and read. Afterward a hymn is given out which also contains these teachings. If afterward time remains a short quotation is given to them all together to learn by heart. After this is done they are required to show their writing, and after these are looked over and numbered, a hard word is given to the one, who has the first number, to spell. If he cannot

spell it it goes to the second, and so on. Whoever spells it receives his writing. Then another hard word is given to the first and is continued until all, through spelling, have received their writings.

Since the children bring their dinners with them there is an hour's intermission after dinner, but as they generally misuse this intermission if they are left alone, it is required that one or two of them, while I write, read out of the Old Testament, a useful history, or out of Moses and the Prophets, or Solomon or Ecclesiastes, until school calls.

There is also this Information.

Children have occasion to go out of school, and permission must be given to them or there will be filth and vile smells in the school. But the cry for permission to go out might continue the whole day, and it be asked without occasion, so that two or three could be out at a time to play. To guard against this, upon a nail driven into the post of the door hangs a wooden strip. Whoever has occasion to go out looks for the strip to see whether it hangs at the door. If the strip is there the pass is there also, he may go without asking, and he takes the strip with him and goes out. If another has occasion to go he need not ask, but placing himself by the door, as soon as the one comes in who has the strip, he takes it from him and goes out. If the strip remains out too long so that necessity compels him who waits at the door to call attention to it, then it is asked who went out last. He from whom the pass was taken knows, so that no one can delay too long.

How to teach figures and ciphery to those who are ignorant.

I write upon the Note-Board¹ which hangs where all can see it these figures

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

far enough apart that other figures may be placed before and after each of them. Then I place a 0 before the 1 and explain to them that though the 0 stand before the 1 still the number is not increased. Then I rub the 0 before the 1 out, and place it after the 1, which makes 10, if two naughts 100, if three 1000 and so on. In like manner I show them with all the figures. When this is done, to the first figure 1 another 1 is added which makes 11, but if a 0 is placed between the two, it make 101, but if after them 110; and in like manner I go through all the figures with them.

After this is finished I give them something to search for in the Testament or the Hymn Book. Those who are the readiest have something to expect either from me or at home.

Since in reading, in order to read with understanding, it is necessary to give attention to the comma, but this is difficult for those who have not had much experience in reading, I have made this regulation. Whoever among the Testament scholars does not read along, but stops before he comes to where the little point or mark stands, fails $\frac{1}{2}$, who reads over it without stopping in like manner fails $\frac{1}{2}$, and who repeats a word $\frac{1}{2}$. All the failures and especially what each one has failed are marked down. When all have recited, all who have failed must step out

¹ The Note-Board (Noten-Blank) was a black narrow board, upon each side of which were cut the lines of three musical staves, and it was used in teaching the children music.

and stand in a row according to their failures. Those who have not failed go together behind the table. The others sit down at the foot of the table.

Concerning the letter-writing to each other.

It may be mentioned that I attended to two schools as already said for twelve years, and also four summers (that is three months which I had free from harvest) kept school in Germantown. The scholars in Skippack, when I went to the school in Salford, gave me letters to take with me. When I came back again the Salford scholars did likewise. It was so arranged that those appointed to write to each other were of equal advancement. But if it happened that one was superior to the other, he then wrote to another to whom he thought himself equal. The superscription was only this, "My friendly greeting to N. N." The contents of the letter were a short rhyme, or a selection from the Bible, to which was added something concerning their school exercises, what they had for a motto during the week, and where it was written and the like. He also gave a question in his letter which the other should answer with a quotation from the Holy Scriptures. I do not doubt but that two schoolmasters, whether they lived in the same place or not, if they had such regard for each other and were willing to inculcate affection in the young, and were inspired in this work by a heartfelt love of God and the common good of youth, could inspire love in this way.

So much is circumstantially given as to the guiding and leading the young to learn spelling, and how they, step by step, must progress before they can be brought to the point which is kept in view for the honor of God and their welfare, and which at last follows.

*What now belongs to his second question or request, viz. :
How with different children of different training and
according to the measure of transgression, punishment
is increased or lessened.*

I would very willingly and heartily explain this in all points to the friend but, since it covers a wide scope, I hardly know from its extent where I should begin or end. The reason is because the depraved condition of the young is apparent in so many things, and the provocations by which the young are influenced by those who are older, are manifold, and since God himself says, 1 Book Moses 8, 21. "For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth," so that out of this unclean source, if daily efforts are not made to keep down and overcome the evil, there appears little prospect for improvement. The depravity is so great, and so increases at this time daily in all ways, that I see very clearly there is no longer any hope through one's own strength to make things any better. Where the Lord does not help to build the house, those who build thereat will all work in vain. The slap with the hand, the hazel switch, and birch rod are all means to prevent the breaking forth of the evil, but they are no means to change the depraved heart, which since the fall, naturally holds us all in such control that we are more inclined to evil than to good, so long as it remains in this condition unchanged, and it is not cleansed through the spirit of God. Still though the seed from youth up in man is such that he is inclined to evil, it could not so mature in him if our old injury was recognized and felt. We would then earnestly work that it might be rooted out and destroyed not only in ourselves but in our fellow men and our youth. While this old injury and serpent's bite

is the same, we should all seek earnestly for the right cure for this wound, and also the means which he has ordered for us to use for such injury, and turn to the remedy for ourselves and our youth, since without this remedy we cannot have true peace, but must feel to our everlasting destruction the gnawing worm which, through this bite of the snake, at all times gnaws our conscience. May God in his mercy support us all that we do not neglect to receive the promise for our peace, and no one of us remain behind! Amen.

Though, as before said, to give all of the details would carry me too far, I will show some of them to the friend, and also the means I have adopted to use against the trouble, but which means cannot cure. To the Lord of all Lords who has all in his hand, and for whose help and support we must in such circumstances pray with all our hearts, belongs the honor when we see that there is some improvement.

Among many children cursing and swearing are very common, and they appear in shameful words of all sorts and kinds. If the evil and bad habit is not earnestly opposed, this leaven will leaven the whole loaf.

Those children who are guilty of it, are first asked whether they understand what they say; and it often appears as clear as day that they do not understand the meaning. I then ask them whether they formed the words themselves, or heard others use them. Many children say that *he* or *she* said so. I ask them further why they also used them. Generally the answer is again, because *he* or *she* said so. So I find a want of knowledge in many of them that they know not why they do it. I then explain to them that they consider well, and speak no more such words, and that it is against God's word and will; also if they should hear

him or her from whom they heard these curses again make use of them, they should say to him that he doubly sinned since they had been punished in school, for learning such curses from him. If these children promise that they will use such words no more, they go free for the first time; but if it is found that after being warned they become hardened in this evil custom, and the fact is certainly established that they have again used such words, they are placed alone for a long time upon the punishment bench, and as a sign that they are in punishment they wear a yoke around the neck. If they then promise that they will be more careful in the future, they go free with a few blows from the hand. If they come again upon the punishment bench for cursing, the punishment is increased, and they are not let free without bail, and the more guilty they are the more bail they must give. The bail have this to consider, that they remind them of their promise, and warn them with all earnestness to be careful and keep themselves from punishment. This is the bridle and bit to be put in the mouth, for such bad habits, but a change of the heart must come from a higher hand, and must be sought with earnest supplication from Him who proves the heart and loins. It must also be shown to them, and all scholars, out of God's word for a warning what a heavy burden this is, if persisted in willfully unto the end, and that men must give a reckoning at the last day of every idle word they have spoken. These and similar injunctions they must search for and read, and for further instruction a hymn or psalm expressing the same thought is given them to sing.

Up to this time Pennsylvania has not been so much infected with this evil and poisonous contagion as those lands which have been long overrun and barrased with bloody wars. Among the rough and uncouth soldiery

neither culture nor decency is considered, but, without fear of God or man, evil habits are practiced with words, demeanor and works, through which means the poor innocent youth are depraved, and cursing and swearing are so common that they are by many no longer considered a sin—that is, by older persons. The poor innocent youth learn to repeat these things. They are, as we all know, born into the world amid bad surroundings. They have nothing to say about it, so that we cannot blame them for it, when they bring such uses of shameful words into the world with them. Ah, no! when they learn to speak they learn to repeat the words they hear. The understanding is not there. They do not know whether they repeat good or evil. Since, as has been said, this land, under God's protection, has been kept free from the ravages of war, and many of the first settlers and beginners here were men who had God before their eyes, and walked in the fear of Him, up to this time there has been little heard of such words among young or old. But the more men come to this land the more of such wares come along, and if they are not yet recognized as valid and merchantable wares, there is so much of a mixture that the more time passes the more of them there are used, to the great injury of the youth coming along.

Secondly. The great depravity of the young shows itself in this, that when they have done something wrong and are spoken to about it, they usually try to hide and conceal it with lies. If this is not earnestly punished in children and such snake poison removed, they will be by it betrayed into destruction, through time and eternity. Therefore parents and schoolmasters, so far as they seek to further the welfare and happiness of the poor children, will be earnestly solicitous to guard against it early. This evil habit is very old and appeared just after the

fall in Adam's first-born son Cain, when he was asked by God concerning the great sin he had committed toward his pious brother Abel, "Where is thy brother Abel?" He answered, against his knowledge and conscience, "I know not. Am I my brother's keeper?" 1 Moses, 4, 9. So it can be seen that the seed of the snake appeared soon after the fall, and still daily brings fruit to death and destruction. It will go hard with parents and schoolmasters to answer, if they do not earnestly strive to keep the young entrusted to them from it. How hard this often lies upon my heart no one knows better than myself. The scholar's hymn added hereto will to some extent show it.¹ The Lord Jesus Himself says, John viii, 44, that the Devil is the father of lies. The Scribes and the Pharisees outwardly had the appearance of piety, but what they did was not done in truth, to the honor of God, but they sought their own honor, and so they adorned their cause with lies against the truth. Wherefore Christ, as is to be seen in the said verse, addressed them with the following words: "Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie he speaketh of his own; for he is a liar and the father of it." So run the Lord Jesus's own words. John the Baptist calls them, for such evil work, a generation of vipers, as is to be seen in Matthew 3, 7. Read further and consider earnestly and with thought the 23d chapter of Matthew, and you will find what woe, lying and credit-seeking works bring upon themselves. The last judgment of woe is given in the 33d verse in the

¹ This hymn has been omitted in the translation.

following words: "Ye serpents! ye generation of vipers! how can ye escape the damnation of hell?"

When these evil roots and branches have been destroyed in the young, and instead thereof something good is implanted, and God is earnestly besought mercifully to give success to the planting and watering, there is hope that with His help something good for the young may be accomplished. The young are themselves at all times most to be excused, since they are like wax which may be moulded in any form. But if such evil roots are permitted to grow up and increase unhindered, there will be evil fruits upon the grown-up trees, and such men will be produced as are given up to woe and hell-fire, since the axe is already laid at the root of the tree, and the tree which produces not good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire. Now a lie is such fruit as belongs in the fire, it is the den in which other sins are concealed, so that they cannot be seen or found. In order that a deceiver may continue his deception and still be an honorable man, or be so considered, he covers his doings with lies. That a whore may have the honor of a maiden she uses lies. A thief, murderer and adulterer does the same, and if witnesses enough do not appear, may so defend and cover up the affair with lies that he still appears before the world an honorable man. But where, during the time for repentance, such sins are not admitted and repented before God, this cover cannot conceal them. In the end the burden must be borne. He who denies his sins shall not prosper, but he who confesses and forsakes them shall receive forgiveness. Proverbs 2, 13; 1 Ep. John, 189.

Concerning the means to prevent these evil growths from getting the upper-hand, I see clearly that it is not in the power of man to destroy the root in the ground.

God alone through the strength of his Holy Spirit must give us this blessing. Still it is the duty of preachers and elders, parents and schoolmasters, first to themselves and their neighbors and fellow men, and then to the young to work as much as they are able through God's mercy, not only to make this stained coat hateful, but that it may be taken off. And in my opinion the first and most necessary means is a heartfelt and fervent prayer to God, and since there is a want of knowledge and understanding among the young so that they do not perceive the great injury, it is necessary first to remind them in heart-felt love, what actions lead us to God, and what drive us from him; what have in themselves an odor of life to life, and what an odor of death to death; how good deeds flow from good, and again to good and lead again to their good source, and how on the other hand evil comes in the beginning from evil, and leads again to evil, and travels back to its evil source; and that good is rewarded with good, and evil with evil; that God is the highest good and the origin of all good, and that Satan is the evil enemy through whom all evil is founded; and how God is a God of truth, and on the other hand Satan is the father of lies; and that man must therefore love the truth, and must exert himself for it with words and works if he would come to God in Heaven and be happy forever, since liars have their part in hell and the fiery pool. When these and similar explanations have been made to them, the evidences of the Holy Scriptures which show these things ought to be made known to them. It is further necessary to place before them that in so far in the future as they do not take care to protect themselves from such evil conduct, but do such things either heedlessly or designedly, one would be in danger of his own soul if he let them go unpunished. If after this warning a like transgression

occurs and is apparent, and afterward the scholar lies purposely, the punishment for the transgression is divided into two parts, and the lie is punished first and hardest. For the lie no bail will be received, for the transgression itself the punishment may be lessened through bail, or without bail upon a promise to be careful in the future. After the infliction of the punishment, the punishment threatened for such misdeeds in the Scriptures is repeated to them.

The disposition to steal shows itself early in some children, and when they are caught at it they generally make use of lies and say that this or that person gave the thing to them, or traded with them for it, or that they found it, and these things are often so confused and twisted together that one has trouble to get them straightened out. To protect against it I have made an order that no child at school, or on the road, or at home without my knowledge, and that of their parents, shall give away or trade anything; also that whenever they find anything in school, or on the road, or wherever it may be, they must show it to me. What they find belongs not to them for themselves, but to him who lost it; but if after it has been made known a long time he cannot be discovered, it belongs to him who found it. Through these means it has been brought about, praise God! that there is little necessity for punishment on this account.

Ambition appears among children, but not at all in proportion to that which shows itself among the mature and the old, who often, for a bare seat of honor and title, bring about much war and shedding of blood. Not only among persons of high position but among men of little standing it appears. Yes, even the little word *thou* oftentimes causes contention and fighting. But among children this evil is much more easy to overcome. If a child is

found who will leave the upper seat, and abandons his own place, and forces himself to the uppermost without any right to it in reading, writing, &c., he is put at the bottom for a warning until, by industry, he again reaches the place that belongs to him. When the children once see this the difficulty is already cured. But who will bring down the old like the children, if they will not humble themselves according to the teaching of Christ? Matthew 20, 26, 27; ch. 23, 12. Luke 14, 11; ch. 18, 14.

Children are much easier to bring together after their quarrels than are grown persons. When children quarrel with each other, either in school or on the road, and it is found on examination that there was wrong on both sides and each is blamable, the transgression and the deserved punishment are put before, and adjudged to each, if they do not agree together. It is said to them that if they are not inclined to come into accord, they shall be separated at once from the other scholars and shall sit together upon the punishment bench until they do agree, and if not the merited punishment will follow. But it rarely goes so far that they separate and go upon the punishment bench; rather they stretch their hands to each other and the whole thing is over and the process has an end. If this happened so easily among the old and were so soon forgotten and forgiven as among children, then would

“ Durch Processen der Beutel nicht leer
 Dem Advocaten der Beutel nicht schwer.
 Das nagend Gewissen kam auch zu Ruh,
 Liebe und Fried kam auch dazu;
 Es brächte nicht so viel Gequäl
 Vor Leib und Seel.”

It is further asked of me in his letter to give information

Through what means I keep the children from talking and bring them into quiet.

Hereupon I answer that this is the hardest lesson for children and one which they do not learn willingly. It is a good while before they learn to speak and when they once can do it they are not easily kept from it. But in order that something orderly may be constructed and for improvement be implanted among children in school, it is necessary that speaking have its time and quiet also have its time, although it is so hard for children to accustom themselves to this rule. And it appears that we older ones have ourselves not properly learned this lesson that speaking and silence have each its time, which we ought to take more into thought in speaking and silence. That little member the tongue is not so easily tamed. It cannot be corrected with rods like the other members of the body. And the misdeeds which happen in words are performed by the tongue according to the state and inner condition of the heart. Matthew 12, 25. Although the talking and speaking, which children use among each other, is not regarded by many as very wrong, nevertheless nothing fruitful can be done unless, as has been said, speaking and silence have each its time. In order to bring them to it, many means and ways have been heretofore tried which have done well for a time, but when they became accustomed to them some change became necessary to bring them into quiet. My rule and way, which I hitherto have used to bring them to silence, is this: First when their lesson is given to them, according to the use and accustom here as well as in England, they learn it aloud. In order to keep them together in learning I go about the school here and

there until I think they have had time enough to learn their lesson. Then I make a stroke with the rod on the bench or table. It is at once still. Then the first one begins to repeat. Then one who has been selected must stand as a watcher upon a bench or other raised place so that he can look over them all. He must call out the first and last names, and after he has called them out write them up, of all who chatter, or learn loud, or do anything else which is forbidden. But since it has been found when they are used one after the other for watchers, some point out according to their likes or dislikes, those who have been found untrue are removed, and in the future are not put any more in this place, even if they announce and promise in the future to make a true report. In like manner if any one is put upon the punishment bench for lying he is not chosen for watching, although he has conducted himself well for a considerable time and nothing similar has been seen. When then the school is provided with a true watcher it is still, so that one can go on with the recitation and resume something instructive with them. If it remain so, after the recitation is finished any delinquency is let go and forgotten, but if, as sometimes happens and is perceived, they pay little attention, those whom the watcher points out must walk out and sit in a row on the punishment bench. Then the choice is given to these whether they would rather one after the other have the yoke upon their necks or receive a blow upon their hands. They very seldom choose the yoke and generally stretch out their hands for the rod. This is at his request the information how I can bring them from talking to silence, but it is entirely foreign to my wish herewith to prescribe a rule for another, according to which he should regulate himself. Oh no, each one must in this matter regulate

and conduct his householding as he thinks it best to answer before God and man.

But should my hitherto explained school exercise which I have here written at request, and not for my own inclination, be taken for irregular because it in many things is contrary to the usual method in Germany and other places, I give this much in explanation. In this Province, among the free inhabitants of Pennsylvania, it is different in many things which concern a school. Him to whom a control of schools is given in Germany, by the high authorities, and who is fixed fast upon his school seat, the common people cannot easily remove. Therefore there is not so much danger to him from them, if he has been too hard upon the youth. Still I readily confess, if I were established in that high position, it would be in fact upon the condition that if power were given by God or the high authorities to use severity, it would only be given for improvement and not for injury. Experience in keeping school shows that a child, which is timid, if it is punished severely either with words or with the rod, is thereby more injured than benefitted. If such a child is to be improved it must be by other means. In the same way a child that is dumb is more injured by blows than improved. A child which at home is treated with blows and is accustomed to them will not at school be made right by blows, but still worse. If such children are to be made better it must be in some other way. Obstinate children, who have no hesitation in doing wrong, must be punished sharply with the rod, and at the same time addressed with earnest exhortation from the Word of God, to see whether the heart can be reached. But the diffident and dumb in learning must be advanced by other means, so that as much as possible it may be done willingly and they may be inspired with a love of

learning. When the children have reached this point it is no longer so hard with them or the schoolmaster. When all who stand with me in this calling consider rightly how dear such young souls are in the eyes of God, and that we must give an account of our housekeeping, although they may have the power to punish, they will much rather work with me to bring the young into such a state that they will do willingly out of love what before they had to be driven to with the rod. Then the words *Thou shalt and must*, and the words *I follow with pleasure* will have a different tone. At the sound of the last the schoolmaster will use no rods and they will be more pleasant to hear and easier to answer. It is said, Ps. cx, 3, "Thy people shall be willing in the day of Thy power, in the beauties of holiness." What is done willingly, in bodily and spiritual work, needs no force and driving. It is further said, Ps. xxxii, 8, 9, "I will instruct thee and teach thee in the way which thou shalt go; I will guide thee with mine eye. Be ye not as the horse or as the mule which have no understanding, whose mouth must be held in with bit and bridle." From this it can be seen that those who will be instructed and guided by the eye have no need of bit and bridle. This difference can be seen in unreasoning beasts. One wagoner does not use half as hard shouts, scourges and blows as another, and yet drives as hard or even harder over mountain and valley, and when the work is done the willing horses and the wagoner have had it the easier. The horses have felt less blows and it has not been necessary for the wagoner to drive by punishment. They have done willingly what others must have done through severity.¹

¹ All of this is the more admirable because in such strong contrast with the ordinary methods of that period, both among English

What further the friend desires me to inform him.

*How I treat the children with love that they both love
and fear me.*

I answer that concerning this point I have nothing to claim for myself in the slightest. I consider it an entirely undeserved mercy of God, if there is anything herein fruitful accomplished between myself and the young, whether in learning or the exercises of piety. In the first place I have to thank the dear Lord heartily that after I

and Germans. About the same time the father of Nathaniel Greene, who was a Quaker preacher, felt that duty required him to flog his son with a horsewhip.

“Students” he said “like horses on the road,
Must be well lashed before they take the load;
They may be willing for a time to run,
But you must whip them, ere the work be done.”

CRABBE'S SCHOOLMASTER.

Cooper's History of the Rod, pp. 429-457, says “Shrewsbury school, about the beginning of the present century, was presided over by a great flogger in the person of Dr. Butler.” “Dr. Parr * * had a firm belief in the utility of the birch. At his school in Norwich, there was usually a flogging levee before the classes were dismissed. His rod maker was a man who had been sentenced to be hanged.”

“Flogging went on briskly at Rugby in Dr. James' time, about 1780, and there was in addition plenty of caning on hand.” Charles Lamb says “I have been called out of my bed and waked for the purpose in the coldest winter nights, and this not once but night after night, in my shirt, to receive the discipline of a leathern thong.” In Scotland we are told, “The dull boys were birched for their own demerits and the bright lads suffered for the deficiencies of their fellows.

The same authority, Cooper, says that in England at the close of the last century, “I have seen marriageable girls flogged for breaches of discipline, before all their school fellows, the necessary portions of their dress being removed.”

have been dedicated by Him to this calling, he has also given me the mercy that I have an especial love for the young. Were it not for this love it would be an unbearable burden, but love bears and is not weary. If a natural mother had no love for her children, the raising of children, what a mother must do through all the circumstances of childhood, would be an unbearable burden, but the love which she feels for her children makes the burden light. When the apostle Paul wishes to rightly express his love to the community at Thessaly, he uses these words, 1 Thess. ii, 1st to the end of the 13th verse. In the 7th and 8th verses he compares this love to that of a mother when he says: "But we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children :

So being affectionately desirous of you we were willing to have imparted unto you, not the Gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us."

My worthy friend, the words of the apostle express such a love that he was willing to impart not only the gospel but his own life. Well would it have been if all the preachers in the so-called Christianity, from the apostles' time down to the present, had remained in such a state of heartfelt love. In these words of the apostle all have had an excellent example. He calls upon us all and says :

"Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye love us for an ensample." Phil. iii, 17. But how it stood in the apostles' time, and how it at present stands in the so-called Christianity, those can see best to whom the eyes of the spirit are opened.

I will let it go and explain my opinion to the friend at his request. I doubt not the friend has good views for the help of the young. Suppose now it was a natural

mother who entertained such views as to the training she had adopted in love for her children, and she should be inclined to put in writing how she trained them, so that after her death the scales might be balanced the same way; but the children after her death should receive another mother, who should lightly say to them; "Your former mother has trained you according to her views, but I will train and govern you according to my views." Then what the former mother has done out of the fullness of love, for the good of her children, could help but little. Still the mother has done her duty as the apostle did his, with the words, "Brethren, be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an ensample." Those, now, who according to the contents of the said 17th verse, will not follow, but rather do the opposite, as the 18th and 19th verses show, the apostle said, with weeping, follow their own course. Still the apostle did his duty and cleared his soul.

I have explained to the friend, at his request, as has been said, how I treat the children with love, that they both love and fear me, and that I claim no honor for myself in it.

Love is a gift of God, and according as a man desires it and strives for it, from his heart, he can, through God's mercy, be a participator in it, and according as he proves and uses it, can it be lessened or increased. Still this much information may be given—through what furthering or hindering attributes a man can have part or loss in love. The footsteps of God, when we look after the right love, point out that His love is common and given to all His creatures. He lets the sun rise over the evil and the good, and lets the rain fall on the just and the unjust. So far now as a man will be a participator in the love of God, and increase and grow therein, must he follow these

footsteps. They will lead and conduct him in love, from love to love, through consideration of the creatures and their preservation.

The great work of love in the redemption of the human race is also general. If it were generally received by us children of men and believed, and we should follow the footsteps of Christ in love, we would, through the love of Christ, be fast grounded, so that we, with all the holy, could grasp the breadth and length, the depth and height, of such everlasting love, and would also recognize and understand that it would be better to have the love of Christ than all knowledge. All Christians are called upon to follow the footsteps of Christ, and to follow them in the love of which he has left us an example, 1 Peter, ii, 21; John xiii, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and other places more. If, on the other hand, we recognize it all, but follow the footsteps of the world in the lusts of the eye and the flesh, and lead a proud life, we can hope for little growth in the love of God, let him be who he will, and entitled as he will, even if he have before the world the most Christian title. Since, if any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. 1 John ii, 15.

Diese Weltliebe ist nicht rein,
 Sie fuehrt auch nicht in's Allgemein,
 Sie fuehret nur in's Mein und Dein.
 So lang das Mein und Dein geehrt,
 So lang bleibt diese Lieb bewaehrt,
 Kommt's Eigenlieb und Ehr zu nah,
 So ist gleich Krieg und Aufruhr da.

The natural sparks of love which, after the fall, God has not permitted to be entirely quenched, but has allowed to appear and be seen in reasoning and unreasoning creatures according to their natures and attributes, will also, through improper worldly love in many respects be weakened and

overcome. I will only cite the natural love among natural men. They are impelled through these sparks of love in their hearts to unite with each other in marriage. As long as these natural sparks of love between two married people have the upper hand, this love will not be lessened, but increased, so that the longer they are in such union the closer they are bound together, live together, beget children, and draw nearer to each other, since this is implanted in them in this natural love even among heathens and similar nations. Without this the human race could not be increased in a lawful way. There is also a natural love implanted in unreasoning creatures, which leads them to take care of their young. Christians have not only the natural impulse to take care of their children, but they also obey God's will in training and instruction, according to God's earnest command, in the Old and New Testament. And where such training of children is conducted by parents and schoolmasters through heart-felt love, according to the Christian's duty to further the honor of God, and the common good of the young, it will not remain without blessing. Love, training and instruction in the Lord form together a tripple cord, which is not easily torn. If parents and schoolmasters show an upright and fatherly love to the children, it is to be hoped that it will produce an upright, filial love on the part of the children. When such a love on the part of the children comes to the front it is to be hoped that if this seed is not choked off, but continues to increase, it will produce a blessed harvest in the end. But if freedom overpowers this love, and lights and kindles a wild fire, there must, as has been said, be brought together, love, training and instruction in the Lord, and they must be used for a continual scourge or rod of love, in the hope that thereout love, fear and obedience will arise, but all through God's

merciful blessing, help and support, since he must be besought to give aid in the planting and watering.

An Gottes Gnad und mildem Segen,
Ist alles ganz und gar gelegen ;
Und ohne seine Hilf' und Gunst,
Ist aller Menschen Thun umsonst.

The murderer of souls all the time seeks to combat the true upright love with his false Delilah, the worldly love, which with its burden of lust is dead to the good, so that he may crush out the natural sparks of love which were remaining after the fall. Already by many have they been crushed out, whereupon all ungodly ways followed, through which the wrath of God has been and will be heaped up upon the day of wrath, as has been seen in the early world, and also in Sodom and Gomorrah, and Dathan and Abiram, as also in the destruction of Jerusalem and other places more. What works of darkness have for a long time been done, the Holy Scriptures show in many places. I will only cite them shortly. Rom. i, to the end ; 2 Peter ii, verses 4, 5 and 6 ; Jude i, 7. And what similar works in our times are done daily, daily experience teaches us. If the state and duty of a Christian are placed in the right balance in the marriage relations, it results that love must, in all things, give the outcome, and where this is wanting there will be also much wanting as to training and good order, and instruction in the Lord, in the care of children by parents and schoolmasters. It has its authority in Holy Scripture that the husband is the head of the wife, but it is also well upon the part of the husband to consider what the apostle Paul makes known to married Christians when he says, 1 Cor. xi, verse 3 :

“ But I would have you know that the head of every

man is Christ, and the head of the woman is the man." It is indeed not to be doubted if the man follows his head in the teaching and life of Christ, and the woman the man, the children will follow their parents and schoolmasters and be obedient. In this way upright love produces a sure outcome through Christian duty, and still has nothing more been done in the whole than what ought to be done, and happiness is and still remains an undeserved gift of mercy. Still all Christian duties are steps upon which we must place our feet, and tread from step to step. If we wish to be participators the Lord Jesus has left behind for us many teachings and warnings. Although no man can deny God's mercy to another since the one as well as the other cannot live without God's mercy, there is still found in the teaching of Christ an express difference between the foolish man and foolish maid, and the wise man and wise maid, between the true and untrue knights. Between these two is found unequal work and also unequal reward of mercy and condemnation. It is far better that a man here in the time of mercy go upon the way in which God has promised and offered his mercy, than that man should come to sin against God's mercy and become hardened in sin so that by this the mercy will be the greater. See Rom. vi, verses 1, 2. It is, as has been said, the duty of a Christian to bring it about, as I confess and believe, that Christ is the head of His community and also the head of each man. It follows from this that it is a man's bounden duty that what his head lord and master teaches him he also should teach his wife, to whom he is given for a head. If then both Christian married people seek from their hearts the happiness and welfare of their children, they will teach their children the commands of God which he has left behind for us in writing. 1 Mos. xviii, 19; 5 Mos. vi, verses 6, 7; Ps. lxxviii, verses 1,

2. 3, 4; Eph. vi, 4; Coloss. iii, 21 and other places more.

Concerning the duty of parents to their children, even this may be furthered by a schoolmaster to whom the young are handed over and entrusted. And although we are placed so much at the head over these youths, Christ is also our head and according to his command we must govern and conduct our householding with the young. The Lord Jesus when he came to this world to seek and to make happy what was lost, called the children, especially out of love, to himself, blessed them, embraced them and promised them the kingdom of heaven, as can be seen Mark ix, verses 36, 37. Therefore it cannot turn out well with ourselves if we act tyrannically with them, although they must be subjected to training and instruction in the Lord. We should weigh further earnestly and with thought what instruction the Lord Jesus gave to his Disciples, which was left behind in writing as instruction for us all who call ourselves Christians, which can be read in the Gospel of St. Matthew, xviii, from the 1st to the 6th verse. "At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying. Who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? And Jesus called a little child to him and set him in the midst of them. And said, Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven. Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven. And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name, receiveth me. But, whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea." From these words of the Lord Jesus we all have enough to learn. If we wish

to come into the kingdom of heaven and to be eternally happy, we must not picture to ourselves that the way there is to show enmity to children, or to reprove and punish them, because they have not in words and gestures given us enough honor or made for us enough compliments. Oh, no. This is not the way to heaven. But if we turn away from our own ambition according to the instruction of Christ, and become as humble as children, it not only aids us to the kingdom of God, but it brings about a child-like union which can be much more useful than all the holding up of ourselves, since, he who raises himself here will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be raised up.

There are, beside, very many other duties to be performed, which are useful and beneficial in implanting love, through which the honor of God may be increased, and the common good be furthered. There are also many things to be added, which implant just the opposite, through which the honor of God is lessened, and one's own depraved honor increased, to the harm and injury of the common good.

But I will turn away from this point and proceed to the explanation of others.

Now follow some other school exercises to which I am impelled, not for myself, but for the honor of the one God and His word, in the performance of my duty, and in order to bring the young entrusted to me into instruction and practice.

In the first place you may be informed during the time I have kept school here in this country, I have received, in the school, children of different religious opinions and practice, so that I have not been able to

instruct them in one form of the Catechism. This I have not been compelled to do, but when they were sufficiently advanced in reading, writing and similar school exercises, the parents at home have themselves taught the children the Catechism. But the freedom has been given to me, in singing, to sing hymns and psalms. So I have then sung with them both hymns and psalms, since of both kinds, viz.: of spiritual hymns and psalms, the Holy Ghost is the master builder.

Together with this exercise, I have labored to bring it about that the New Testament might be well known to them by searching and looking through the chapters, and it has been very successfully accomplished, so that when I use a quotation for their instruction and information, they themselves, without being shown, can read this quotation. When this door has been opened for them I have endeavored to bring them further, so that they might collect richly the little flowers in this noble garden of paradise, the Holy Scriptures, not only because of their beauty, but also because of their lovely odor, and I have shown to them so much as I, according to my little ability, have been able, what an odor of life to life they have in themselves, if we so use them as they are offered to us, according to their strength and value. Also, what an odor of death to death the opposite has in itself, and that they may see and have a knowledge of both facts from the Holy Scriptures; since, just as the truth has life in itself, and there is an odor of life to life when we follow the truth, so, on the other hand, falsehood has death in itself, and is an odor of death to death, and leads to death when we follow falsehood. The part and reward of the liar is the fiery pool, which is the other death. Rev. xxi, 8. But the truth makes him who follows it free therefrom. See hereupon in the Gospel of St. John, ch. viii,

verses 31, 32, 33, 34, 35. Just as these acts are contrary to each other, so that the one has life in itself, and leads to life, and the other has death in itself, so also is it of love and its acts which is in like manner an odor of life to life, for him who follows. But hatred, envy and hostility have an odor of death to death in themselves, and lead him who follows to death and destruction, since they are the opposite and contrary to love. This is also the case with belief and unbelief, with mercy and inclemency, with righteousness and unrighteousness, with chastity and impurity, with humility and pride. Upon the whole all godly acts have life in themselves, and bear an odor of everlasting life with them. He who will labor and let himself be governed by their strength and operation comes through them to be born again, out of death into life. On the other hand, all ungodly ways, together with their acts, give out an odor of death, a deathly odor of death to death, and damnation to him who follows them in death.

When all this is explained to the children, they are required to search for the quotations concerning this or that fact as it is desired of them. He then who has the first quotation, concerning such fact so put before them, walks out and holds up his hand, and as they find the quotations concerning this fact, they walk to the front one after the other and put themselves in a row, the one behind the other, the boys together and the girls together. This continues until they have found all the quotations. Then the first reads his quotation. But if it is found that any one in the row also has the same quotation which has been read, he walks out of the row and seeks for another, and then goes again to the bottom of the row. In this way therefore it happens that the beautiful honey-flowers are all sought out. It is also found from this exercise that

the more quotations there are found, concerning such fact requested of them, the more the truth comes plainly before them, so that one quotation not only fixes others but is itself explained and made clear. But after the reading of the quotations has been finished, some questions are put to them which they themselves answer. Then they again point out these quotations and recapitulate them. Then usually many remarks are suggested and clear explanations given of these quotations, partly for their instruction, partly for their faith and strengthening of their belief, and partly as to punishment and for a warning. When they have been well exercised in seeking they are presently brought to the proof, and reminded that the outer seeking ought not to be rejected, but still that they should prove themselves in another way. They are then told to all sit still and pay attention to their thoughts, and dismiss all idle thoughts, but the first quotation which comes into their minds they must search for and read. In the course of this exercise I have often been compelled to wonder how God has prepared for himself praise, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, in order to overpower the enemy in his pursuits.

It is God's earnest command that we should impress upon children the commands which he has given us, and should bring them up in the way and instruction of the Lord, and there are found in the Holy Scriptures many beautiful and valuable witnesses of the one God and his godly works; how God has shown himself in his omnipotence and through the creation of all things; and has created and made all things through the word of his strength and through the spirit of his mouth, through his unsearchable omnipotence and wisdom. The Holy Scriptures give further witness how, through the envy of the devil, death and temporal and everlasting destruction came into the world, and how the human race, through the com-

ing of Satan, fell into sin and transgression and that through this transgression sin came into the world, and through sin, death, and that death has become the lot of all men because they have sinned. The Holy Scriptures instruct us further that God in his great mercy has given the promise to the fallen human race, that the seed of the woman should bruise the head of the serpent, through which they again should be redeemed from the curse and damnation, through an everlasting redemption. Of all this there are found in the Holy Scriptures many consoling promises, which were written and made to our fathers, from time to time, through Moses and the prophets, partly through figures and pictures, partly through visions and prophecies, of which in the Holy Scripture of the Old Testament very many witnesses are at hand. Further, how through Christ as the promised seed of the woman, in the fullness of time, by the working of the Holy Ghost, this, according to human understanding, unfathomable, godly, secret work of the redemption, through the birth, teaching and life, suffering, death, resurrection, and entrance into heaven of Christ, was performed and completed. Of all this the Holy Scripture of the New Testament gives us complete information. There is also found therein express instruction how we can participate in such redemption, and how a Christian must follow his calling to which he has been called, through the exercise of piety in Christian virtue, and must place his feet and steps on the daily increase and growth in teaching and life, after the example of Him who has created and redeemed him. I repeat that of all this the teaching of Christ and His apostles, in the New Testament informs and instructs us.

Now if it should be put down in writing with particularity concerning each exercise, according to the above outline, how it is made useful for the teaching and

instruction of the youth, that they search for the quotation of this or that fact, as they are requested, and afterward how each reads his quotation, and questions are put to them, and each question is answered with a quotation, since one quotation partly strengthens, partly clears and explains another; to give in writing information of all this, as I have been requested to do, would require a great deal of space. But since the Holy Scriptures hold and contain in themselves all, it is all there, to be searched for and to be found, and since in Christ Jesus all treasures of wisdom and knowledge lie hidden, of which the Holy Scriptures give us information, I know well that if I and other men seek therein with hope, and we seek from our whole hearts, we shall also find what we need Jer. xxix, 13; Matt. vii, 7. The world seeks earnestly and eagerly after honor and goods, after gold, silver, precious stones, and similar treasures, which by the world are held in great estimation and value, but which still are perishable, and with the imperishable treasures which God offers to us in His word, are not to be compared. The discovery will be like the search. If a man seeks the world in the lusts of the eye and of the flesh, and a proud life, he will so find it. He will also take part with the world, and in the end will have part and reward for it with the world. But he who seeks the everlasting life, and follows truly the footsteps of Christ will also find and not seek in vain. His search will not be useless and not remain unrewarded. John xii, 26; ch. xiv, 3; ch. xvii, 24. In order to avoid prolixity, as has been said, there are many useful and valuable exercises and instructions in piety, which I cannot particularly describe, of belief, love, hope and patience. In fact all the exercises of virtue, which in the Holy Scriptures point the way to piety, and have been left behind and marked out as useful for instruction for

us, should at certain times be placed before the youth, but to give specific information here of all would take too long.

The true saving belief must contain all which serves for life and a godly walk, and nothing is deemed more worthy, by and in Jesus Christ, than the belief which, through love, shows itself active. He to whom the true belief in the Lord Jesus is given by the Lord Jesus himself for a shield, is a weapon-bearer of Christ, not only to overcome the world, as is to be seen, 1 John v, verses 5, 6, but also to put out all the fiery arrows of evil, as we may read, Eph. vi, 16. Therefore, for my encouragement and strengthening would I here do something in the way of belief, so much as I, according to the measure of my little gift, through the Lord's mercy may do. Without His mercy and pleasure all our doing is in vain, but while this is my purpose I find myself impelled to do it simply and alone to the praise of God, and to the honor of His holy name. We have to thank no one but the dear God that He, in this dark world, has left hitherto His holy word stand, as a light upon a candlestick, which directs our feet to the way of peace. We can also say with David, Psalms cxix, 105, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path." But may God, Who is a light, in Whom there is no darkness, send us His light and His truth, that they may lead and conduct us through this dark valley and shadow of death to His holy mount and to His dwelling, that we also, in truth, may say with David, Psalms xxxvi, In Thy light see we the light. Oh! that we not only may look upon this light with the eyes of belief, but also walk in this light, and through it may finally conquer and overcome the power of darkness. From my heart I wish and pray for help and strength of belief from the Most High. Amen.

A HUNDRED NECESSARY RULES OF CONDUCT FOR CHILDREN.¹

I. RULES FOR THE BEHAVIOR OF A CHILD IN THE HOUSE OF ITS PARENTS.

A. At and after getting up in the mornings.

1. Dear child, accustom yourself to awaken at the right time in the morning without being called, and as soon as you are awake get out of bed without delay.

2. On leaving the bed fix the cover in a nice, orderly way.

3. Let your first thoughts be directed to God, according to the example of David, who says, Psalms cxxxix, 18, "When I am awake I am still with Thee," and Psalms lxiii, 7, "When I am awake I speak of Thee."

4. Offer to those who first meet you, and your parents, brothers and sisters, a good-morning, not from habit simply, but from true love.

5. Learn to dress yourself quickly but neatly.

6. Instead of idle talk with your brothers and sisters or others, seek also, while dressing, to have good thoughts. Remember the clothing of righteousness which was earned for you through Jesus, and form the resolution not to soil it on this day by intentional sin.

7. When you wash your face and hands do not scatter the water about in the room.

8. To wash out the mouth every morning with water, and to rub off the teeth with the finger, tends to preserve the teeth.

¹ These Rules of Conduct were published about 1764, in Saur's Geistliches Magazien.

9. When you comb your hair do not go out into the middle of the room, but to one side in a corner.

10. Offer up the morning prayer, not coldly from custom, but from a heart-felt thankfulness to God, Who has protected you during the night, and call upon Him feelingly to bless your doings through the day. Forget not the singing and the reading in the Bible.

11. Do not eat your morning bread upon the road or in school, but ask your parents to give it to you at home.

12. Then get your books together and come to school at the right time.

B. In the evenings at bed-time.

13. After the evening meal do not sit down in a corner to sleep, but perform your evening devotions with singing, prayer and reading, before going to bed.

14. Undress yourself in a private place, or if you must do it in the presence of others, be retiring and modest.

15. Look over your clothes to see whether they are torn, so that they may be mended in time.

16. Do not throw your clothes about in the room, but lay them together in a certain place, so that in the morning early you can easily find them again.

17. Lie down straight in the bed modestly, and cover yourself up well.

18. Before going to sleep consider how you have spent the day, thank God for His blessings, pray to Him for the forgiveness of your sins, and commend yourself to His merciful protection.

19. Should you wake in the night, think of God and His omnipresence, and entertain no idle thoughts.

C. At meal-time.

20. Before going to the table where there are strangers, comb and wash yourself very carefully.

21. During the grace do not let your hands hang toward the earth, or keep moving them about, but let them, with your eyes, be directed to God.

22. During the prayer do not lean or stare about, but be devout and reverent before the majesty of God.

23. After the prayer, wait until the others who are older have taken their places, and then sit down at the table quietly and modestly.

24. At the table sit very straight and still, do not wobble with your stool, and do not lay your arms on the table. Put your knife and fork upon the right and your bread on the left side.

25. Avoid everything which has the appearance of eager and ravenous hunger, such as to look at the victuals anxiously, to be the first in the dish, to tear off the bread all at once in noisy bites, to eat quickly and eagerly, to take another piece of bread before the last is swallowed down, to take too large bites, to take the spoon too full, to stuff the mouth too full, &c.

26. Stay at your place in the dish, be satisfied with what is given to you, and do not seek to have of everything.

27. Do not look upon another's plate to see whether he has received something more than you, but eat what you have with thankfulness.

28. Do not eat more meat and butter than bread, do not bite the bread off with the teeth, cut regular pieces with the knife, but do not cut them off before the mouth.

29. Take hold of your knife and spoon in an orderly

way and be careful that you do not soil your clothes or the table cloth.

30. Do not lick off your greasy fingers, wipe them on a cloth, but as much as possible use a fork instead of your fingers.

31. Chew your food with closed lips and make no noise by scraping on the plate.

32. Do not wipe the plate off either with the finger or the tongue, and do not thrust your tongue about out of your mouth. Do not lean your elbows on the table when you carry the spoon to the mouth.

33. Do not take salt out of the salt-box with your fingers, but with the point of your knife.

34. The bones, or what remains over, do not throw under the table, do not put them on the table cloth, but let them lie on the edge of the plate.

35. Picking the teeth with the knife or fork does not look well and is injurious to the gums.

36. As much as possible abstain from blowing your nose at the table, but if necessity compels, turn your face away or hold your hand or napkin before it; also when you sneeze or cough.

37. Learn not to be delicate and over-nice or to imagine that you cannot eat this or that thing. Many must learn to eat among strangers what they could not at home.

38. To look or smell at the dish holding the provisions too closely is not well. Should you find a hair or something of the kind in the food, put it quietly and unnoticed to one side so that others be not moved to disgust.

39. As often as you receive anything on your plate, give thanks with an inclination of the head.

40. Do not gnaw the bones off with your teeth or make a noise in breaking out the marrow.

41. It is not well to put back on the dish what you have once had on your plate.

42. If you want something across the table be careful not to let you sleeve hang in the dish or to throw a glass over.

43. At table do not speak before you are asked. but if you have noticed anything good at church or school, or a suitable thought occurs to you relating to the subject of discourse, you may properly bring it forward, but listen attentively to the good things said by others.

44. When you drink you must have no food in your mouth, and must incline forward courteously.

45. It has a very bad look to take such strong draughts while drinking that one has to blow or breathe heavily ; while drinking to let the eyes wander around upon others ; to commence drinking at table before parents or more important persons have drunk ; to raise the glass to the mouth at the same time with one of more importance ; to drink while others are speaking to us ; and to raise the glass many times after one another.

46. Before and after drinking, the mouth ought to be wiped off, not with the hand but with a handkerchief or napkin.

47. At the table be ready to help others if there is something to be brought into the room or other thing to be done that you can do.

48. When you have had enough, get up quietly, take your stool with you, wish a pleasant meal-time, and go to one side and wait what will be commanded you. Still should one in this respect follow what is customary.

49. Do not stick the remaining bread in your pocket but let it lie on the table.

50. After leaving the table, before you do anything else,

give thanks to your Creator who has fed and satisfied you.

II. RULES FOR THE BEHAVIOR OF A CHILD IN SCHOOL.

51. Dear child, when you come into school, incline reverently, sit down quietly in your place, and think of the presence of God.

52. During prayers think that you are speaking with God, and when the word of God is being read, think that God is speaking with you. Be also devout and reverential.

53. When you pray aloud, speak slowly and deliberately; and when you sing, do not try to drown the voices of others, or to have the first word.

54. Be at all times obedient to your teacher, and do not let him remind you many times of the same thing.

55. Should you be punished for bad behavior, do not, either by words or gestures, show yourself impatient or obstinate, but receive it for your improvement.

56. Abstain in school from useless talking, by which you make the work of the schoolmaster harder, vex your fellow pupils, and prevent yourself and others from paying attention.

57. Listen to all that is said to you, sit very straight and look at your teacher.

58. When you recite your lesson, turn up your book without noise, read loudly, carefully and slowly, so that every word and syllable may be understood.

59. Give more attention to yourself than to others, unless you are placed as a monitor over them.

60. If you are not questioned, be still; and do not help others when they say their lessons, but let them speak and answer for themselves.

61. To your fellow-scholars show yourself kind and peaceable, do not quarrel with them, do not kick them, do not soil their clothes with your shoes or with ink, give them no nick-names, and behave yourself in every respect toward them as you would that they should behave toward you.

62. Abstain from all coarse, indecent habits or gestures in school, such as to stretch with the hands or the whole body from laziness; to eat fruit or other things in school; to lay your hand or arm upon your neighbor's shoulder, or under your head, or to lean your head forwards upon the table; to put your feet on the bench, or let them dangle or scrape; or to cross your legs over one another, or stretch them apart, or to spread them too wide in sitting or standing; to scratch your head; to play or pick with the fingers; to twist and turn the head forwards, backwards and sideways; to sit and sleep; to creep under the table or bench; to turn your back to your teacher; to change your clothes in school, and to show yourself restless in school.

63. Keep your books, inside and outside, very clean and neat, do not write or paint in them, do not tear them, and lose none of them.

64. When you write, do not soil your hands and face with ink, do not scatter it over the table or bench, or over your clothes or those of others.

65. When school is out, make no great noise; in going down stairs, do not jump over two or three steps at a time, by which you may be hurt, and go quietly home.

III. HOW A CHILD SHOULD BEHAVE ON THE STREET.

66. Dear child, although, after school, you are out of sight of your teacher, God is present in all places and you

therefore have cause upon the street to be circumspect before Him and his Holy Angels.

67. Do not run wildly upon the street, do not shout, but go quietly and decently.

68. Show yourself modest, and do not openly, before other people, what ought to be done in a private place.

69. To eat upon the street is unbecoming.

70. Do not stare aloft with your eyes, do not run against people, do not tread purposely where the mud is thickest, or in the puddles.

71. When you see a horse or wagon coming, step to one side, and take care that you do not get hurt, and never hang behind upon a wagon.

72. In winter do not go upon the ice or throw snow-balls at others, or ride upon sleds with disorderly boys.

73. In summer do not bathe in the water or go too near it. Take no pleasure in mischievous or indecent games.

74. Do not stand in the way where people quarrel or fight, or do other evil things; associate not with evil companions who lead you astray; do not run about at the annual fair; do not stand before mountebanks or look upon the wanton dance, since there you learn nothing but evil.

75. Do not take hold of other children so as to occupy the street, or lay your arm upon the shoulders of others.

76. If any known or respectable person meets you, make way for him, bow courteously, do not wait until he is already near or opposite to you, but show to him this respect while you are still some steps from him.

IV. RULES FOR THE BEHAVIOR OF A CHILD IN MEETING OR CHURCH.

77. Dear child, in meeting or church think upon the holy presence of God, and that you will be judged according to the word you hear upon this day.

78. Bring your Bible and hymn book with you, and sing and pray very devoutly, since out of the mouths of young children will God be praised.

79. During the sermon be attentive to all that is said, mark what is represented by the text, and how the discourse is divided; which also you can write on your slate. Refer to other beautiful passages in your Bible, but without noise or much turning of the leaves, and mark them by laying in long narrow bits of paper, of which you must always have some lying in your Bible.

80. Do not talk in church, and if others want to talk with you do not answer. During the sermon, if you are overcome with sleep, stand up a little while and try to keep it off.

81. When the name of Jesus is mentioned or used in prayer uncover or incline your head, and show yourself devout.

82. Do not stare about the church at other people, and keep your eyes under good discipline and control.

83. All indecent habits which, under Rule No. 62, you ought to avoid in school, much more ought you to avoid in church.

84. If you, with others, should go in couples into, or out of, the church you should never, from mischief, shove, tease or bespatter, but go forth decently and quietly.

V. RULES FOR THE BEHAVIOR OF A CHILD UNDER
VARIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES.

85. Dear child, live in peace and unity with every one, and be entirely courteous from humility and true love of your neighbor.

86. Accustom yourself to be orderly in everything, lay your books and other things in a certain place and do not let them lie scattered about in a disorderly way.

87. When your parents send you on an errand, mark well the purpose for which you are sent, so that you make no mistake. When you have performed your task come quickly home again and give an answer.

88. Be never idle, but either go to assist your parents, or repeat your lessons, and learn by heart what was given you. But take care that you do not read in indecent or trifling books, or pervert the time, for which you must give an account to God, with cards or dice.

89. If you get any money, give it to some one to keep for you, so that you do not lose it, or spend it for dainties. From what you have, willingly give alms.

90. If anything is presented to you, take it with the right hand and give thanks courteously.

91. Should you happen to be where some one has left money or other things lying on the table, do not go too near or remain alone in the room.

92. Never listen at the door, Sirach 21, 24. Do not run in quickly, but knock modestly, wait until you are called, incline as you walk in, and do not slam the door.

93. Do not distort your face, in the presence of people, with frowns or sour looks; be not sulky if you are asked any thing, let the question be finished without your inter-

rupting, and do not answer with nodding or shaking the head, but with distinct and modest words.

94. Make your reverence at all times deeply and lowly with raised face. Do not thrust your feet too far out behind. Do not turn your back to people, but your face.

95. Whether a stranger or good friend comes to the house, be courteous to him, bid him welcome, offer him a chair and wait upon him.

96. In sneezing, blowing the nose, spitting, and yawning be careful to use all possible decency. Turn your face to one side, hold the hand before it, put the uncleanness of the nose in a handkerchief and do not look at it long, let the spittal fall upon the earth and tread upon it with your foot. Do not accustom yourself to continual hawking, grubbing at the nose, violent panting, and other disagreeable and indecent ways.

97. Never go about nasty and dirty. Cut your nails at the right time and keep your clothes, shoes and stockings, neat and clean.

98. In laughing, be moderate and modest. Do not laugh at everything, and especially at the evil or misfortune of other people.

99. If you have promised anything try to hold to it, and keep yourself from all lies and untruths.

100. Let what you see of good and decent in other Christian people serve as an example for yourself. "If there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things." Phillipians iv, 8.

HYMN WITH TRANSLATION.¹

Ach Kinder wollt ihr lieben, So liebt was Liebens werth, Wollt ihr ja Freude üben, So liebt was Freude werth ; Liebt Gott, das höchste Gut, Mit Geist, Hertz, Seel und Muth, So wird euch solche Liebe Erquicken Herz und Muthl.	O children, would you cherish A worthy lasting love ? The good that does not perish Is only found above. Seek God, the highest goal, With spirit and with soul, Then you will find a rapture The heart cannot control.
Liebt ihr die Eitelkeiten, Liebt ihr des Fleisches-lust, So saugt ihr kurze Freuden, Aus falscher Liebes Brust, Worauf in Ewigkeit, Folgt Jammer Quaal und Leid, Wo nicht in Zeit der Gnaden, Die Seel durch Buss befreyt.	Is indolence a pleasure ? Does worldliness allure ? Then know that short the measure, For life is never sure, And through eternity The soul will ever be, The time for pardon wasted, In woful misery.
Wir finden klar geschrieben Von einem reichen Mann, Der thät solch Liebe uben, Wie Lucas zeigt an, Lebt er die kurze zeit In Fleisches-lust und Freund, Und liess sein Herze weyden In lauter Eitelkeit.	Saint Luke has plainly written About a man of pride— With riches was he smitten And worldliness beside— He lived a little while, Luxurious in style, And fixed his heart on pleasures That only do beguile.
Er hat in diesem Leben Mit Purpur sich gekleidt, Doch er muss Abschied geben, Sein Freud währt kurze Zeit.	In purple was he clothéd, The whiles he lived on earth, Soon vanities were loathéd And pride of little worth.

¹ This hymn first appeared about 1773, in Vol. II, No. 15, of Saur's Geistliches Magazien, and has been reproduced in the Unpartheyisches Gesang Buch, published in Lancaster in 1804, and other Hymn Books of the Mennonites. In translating, the effort has been made to preserve the thought, versification, metre and rhyme—a somewhat difficult task.

So bald nach seinem Todt,	Death put an end to gain—
Befand er sich in Noth ;	He found himself in pain—
Niemand wolt ihn erretten	And from the direst sorrow
Aus solcher Pein und Leid.	He ne'er was free again.

Drauf rief er um Erbarmen,	Then piteous was his wailing
Ach Vater Abraham !	To father Abraham ;
Komm doch und hilf mir Armen	“ O come and help me failing
Aus dieser grossen Flamm ;	In this tormenting flame—
Ich bitte dich darum,	If I could only sip—
Ach sende Lazarum,	If Lazarus would drip
Mit einem Tröpflein Wasser	A little drop of water
Zu kühlen meine Zung.	Upon my parching lip.

Kein Trost ward ihm gegeben	No hope to him was given,
Als der : Gedenke Sohn !	No answer from the Lord
Dass du in deinem Leben,	To say that he while living
Dein Guts erwählt zum Lohn ;	Chose good for his reward.
Drum liebe Kinderlein,	And so, beloved child,
Lassts euch ein Warnung seyn,	Take this for warning mild,
Verlasst das eitle Leben,	Abandon idle living,
Dass ihr entgeht der Pein.	To good be reconciled.

Nun Kinder die Parabel	It is a truthful story
Gibt Christus selbst zur Lehr,	As Christ himself does teach,
Drum haltets nicht vor Fabel,	Not simply allegory,
Noch vor ein neue Mähr ;	Or other idle speech,
Es wird also ergeh'n,	And also can we say
Wann das Gericht gescheh'n,	That on the judgment day
Der eine wird sich freuen,	The one will be rejoicing,
Der andre traurig stehn.	The other mourning stay.

Die Pfort spricht Christus klär lich,	Christ tells us very plainly
Ist weit, der Weg ist breit,	The gate is open wide
Worauf so viel gefährlich	And many enter vainly
Wandeln in dieser Zeit,	In worldliness and pride ;
Nach der Verdammniss zu,	The way is very broad,
In Quaal, Pein und Unruh,	It is an easy road,
Worin sie sich selbst thörlich	Which leadeth to destruction
Stürzen durch Fleisches Freud.	And sorrow's dread abode.

Man liesset mit Erstaunen
 An andern Orten mehr,
 Dass Christus mit Posaunen,
 Mit Seinem Engels Heer,
 Wird kommen zum Gericht
 Wie Gottes wort ausspricht,
 Da alles wird vergehen
 Mit Krachen, was man sieht.

We read with greatest wonder
 In many places more,
 That Christ with trumpet's thunder
 While angels round him soar,
 Will come upon that day,
 The Holy Scriptures say,
 When everything material
 Will crash and pass away.

Alsdann müssen erscheinen
 Vor seinem Angesicht,
 All Menschen gross und kleinen
 Und kommen vor Gericht,
 Und hör'n die Rechnung an,
 Was jeder hat gethan
 In seinem ganzen Leben,
 Ach Kinder denkt daran!

And then must all assemble
 To meet his searching glance,
 Both strong and weak will tremble
 To see that countenance,
 The reckoning to hear,
 What each in his career
 Has done of good or evil—
 Oh, Children, think and fear.

Die Bücher der Gewissen
 Werden dort aufgethan,
 Worauf man hier beflissen,
 Wird es dort zeigen an,
 Das Buch des Lebens dann,
 Wird auch da aufgethan,
 Wer darin wird gefunden,
 Der ist recht glücklich dran.

Our secret inclinations
 Will then be open thrown,
 Our strongest aspirations
 Will in the light be shown,
 And he who then with heed
 The Book of Life can read,
 And find his name there written,
 Is fortunate indeed.

Das Loos ist dem gefallen
 Zu Christi rechter Hand,
 Mit andern Frommen allen,
 Wird er als Schaaf erkannt;
 Bey ihm geht an die Freud
 In aller Ewigkeit:
 Kein Zungkan da aussprechen
 Die Freud und Herrlichkeit.

He who is so appointed
 Aside at Christ's right-hand,
 Along with the anointed,
 Among the sheep will stand,
 To him great joy will be
 For all eternity,
 No tongue can give description
 Of his felicity.

Ach da wird lieblich Klingen,
 Der Engel Music-chor,
 Mit Jauchzen und mit Singen,
 Wird gehen durch die Thor,

While bells are softly ringing,
 The angel music choir
 With chanting and with singing,
 Will enter through the door

In Zion's Stadt hinein,
Was Christi Schäfflein seyn,
Wo ewig Freud und Wonne
Auf ihrem Haupt wird seyn.

To Zion's golden town,
On mortals looking down,
And every lamb of Jesus
Shall then receive his crown.

Herr Jesu! treuer Hirte
Zähl uns zu deiner Herd,
Ach zieh unsre Begierde
Dir nach, von dieser Erd,
Der Satan und die Welt,
Haben ihr Netz gestellt,
Uns von dir abzuführen,
Durch Wollust, Ehr und Geld.

Oh truest shepherd Jesus!
Count us among Thine own,
Come quickly and release us,
Amid enticements thrown,
For here does Satan old
His wicked nets unfold
And ever seek to win us
With honors and with gold.

So lang wir hier noch leben
So sind wir in Gefahr,
Ach Herr du wolst uns geben
Zu Hulf der Engel Schaar.
Dass er uns Beystand leist
Ach send uns deinen Geist!
Damit wir dir recht folgen,
Was uns dein Wort anweisst.

As long as we are living
Is danger ever here,
Unless assistance giving
Thy helping hand be near.
Thy holy spirit send,
That he support may lend
So that we faithful follow
Thy word unto the end.

Wann unser Herz will wanken
Vom schmalen Lebens-pfad,
So gib uns in Gedanken,
Dass solche Missethat
Uns in den Feuer-pfuhl,
Vor deinem Richtter-stuhl,
Vor ewig könnte stürzen,
Drum halt uns auf dem Pfad.

Whene'er our hearts are sinking
Within the narrow way,
Assist us then in thinking
That any wish to stray
May, from thy judgment stool
Into the fiery pool,
Us hurl below forever,
Where waters never cool.

Wann uns die Welt mit Prangen,
Mit Hoffart, Fleisches-lust,
In ihre Netz will fangen,
So druck in unsre Brust,
Was dort in Ewigkeit,
Vor Jammer, Quaal und Leid,
Auf solche kurze Freuden,
Wird ewig seyn bereit.

Whenever earthly rapture,
Or arrogance or lust,
Shall with allurements capture,
Oh! help us to distrust—
Enable us to see
What endless misery
For transitory pleasures
Will ever ready be.

Pflanz du in unsre Herzen	Oh let us be o'erflowing
Die wahre Demuth ein,	With true humility ;
Zünd an die Glaubens Kerzen	The lamp of faith be glowing
Dass aller falsche Schein	That all of us may see
Bey uns werde vermeid,	False glimmerings to shun :
Und der Welt Lust und Freud,	The world be overdone ;
Mit Demuth überwunden,	The victory o'er fleshly things
Durch Glaubens Sieg im Streit.	By lowliness be won.

Gib dass uns deine Liebe	Oh ! send us from above,
O, Seelen-Brantigam !	Thou bridegroom of the soul !
Ach Liebes Ursprung giebe,	Thou source of purest love !
Dass deine Liebes Flamm	A living burning coal
Das Herz in uns entzünd,	To kindle in the heart
Wodurch wir alle Sünd,	The fear of Satan's art
Ja alles möchten hassen,	That all things may be hateful
Was nicht mit dir verbind.	Which would from thee us part.

Ach Vater all die Tugend ;	The virtuous, oh Father !
Die dir gefällig sind,	Acceptable to thee,
Gib uns und auch der Jugend,	And all the children gather
Die noch unmündig sind,	Who still unready be
Damit allhie auf Erd	That, spread on every side,
Denn Reich stets werd vermehrt	Thy kingdom may be wide,
Und dass nach deinem Willen	And that Thy will be followed,
Dein Nam geheiligt werd.	Thy name be glorified.

Und weil auf dieser Erden	And since the way to Jordan,
Der schmale Himmels Weg	The long and narrow road,
Voll Trübsal und Beschwerden,	Is full of toil and burden,
Ein Creutz und Leidens Steg ;	The Cross a weary load,
So gib O Herr Gedult,	Oh give us patience, Lord,
Und schenk uns deine Huld,	Thy precious help afford,
Erlöss uns von dem Bössen,	Withhold not from our failings
Vergib uns unsre Schuld.	Thy sweet forgiving word.

Wo wir auf diesem Wege	If we the way pursuing
Auf Seit getreten seyn,	Should ever turn aside
Und durch des Fleisches Wege	Unto our own undoing,
Gewilligt in die Sünd,	Induced by worldly pride,

Wie wir müssen gestehn,	As oft indeed has been,
Dass es gar oft gescheh'n,	And for the grievous sin
Wodurch wir dich betrübet,	Might punishment severest
Und deine Straf verdient.	Deservedly begin.

Ach Gott und Vater schone!	Oh, God, and glorious Father,
Vergib die Missethat,	Our failures do not heed,
Durch Christum deinem Sohne,	But for thy Son's sake rather
Und gib uns die Genad,	Be merciful indeed,
Dass uns kein Creutz und Noth,	So that when sorrows toss
Ja wär es auch der Tod,	No earthly trial or loss,
Von deiner Liebe scheide	Not even death, itself, can
Auf diesem Leidens Pfad.	Divide us from the cross.

Amen, Lob, Preiss, dort oben,	Then praise to God above
Sey Gott im höchsten Thron,	Upon his highest throne,
Den sollen wir all loben,	To him we offer love,
Und Christo seinem Sohn,	To Christ his blessed Son,
Sammt dem Heiligen Geist,	And to the Holy Ghost
Der unser Tröster heisst,	In whom we place our trust,
Der bring uns all zusammen,	They bring at last together
Er sey allein gepreisst.	The pious and the just.

*DER BLUTIGE SCHAU-PLATZ ODER
MARTYRER SPIEGEL,*

EPHRATA, PA., 1748.

A NOTEWORTHY BOOK.

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DER BLUTIGE SCHAU-PLATZ ODER MARTYRER SPIEGEL.

“Among all the things which men have or strive for through their whole lives,” said Alphonse the Wise, King of Arragon, “there is nothing better than old wood to burn, old wine to drink, old friends for company, and old books to read. All the rest are only bagatelles.” The wise King was something of a bookworm, and mentioned last by way of climax the treasures that lay nearest to his heart. Doubtless, he was thinking all the while how the wood turns to ashes, the fumes of the wine disappear with the hour, that sooner or later “marriage and death, and division” carry off our friends, and that the pleasure derived from old books alone is pure and permanent. What can exceed the delight of a connoisseur familiar with authors, imprints, paper and bindings, and educated to an appreciation of the difference between leaves cut and uncut, upon discovering a perfect copy of an extremely rare book? For him the calm satisfaction of the literateur and the gratified avarice of the miser are blended into a glowing passion. In the present age of the world we measure the value of pretty much everything by the amount of money it will bring. In Europe a copy of the first edition of the Decameron has been sold for £2260 sterling, and one of the Gutenberg Bible on vellum, for £3400. In this country we have not yet reached to that height of enthusiasm or depth of purse, but in the late sale of the library of Mr. George Brinley, a copy of the first book printed in New York, by William Bradford,

brought \$1600; and unquestionably as years roll on, and the number of persons who have the means and the leisure to devote themselves to literary pursuits increases, while the early imprints through absorption by public libraries and in other ways become more inaccessible, the market value of these volumes will immeasurably enhance. Up to the present time the noblest specimen of American colonial bibliography has remained utterly unknown to the most learned of our bibliophiles. There is no reference to it in the appendix to Thomas on Printing, published by the American Antiquarian Society, whose purpose was to give all the pre-revolutionary publications of America. So far as can be learned no copy of it has ever appeared at a book-sale or been in the hands of an American bookseller.¹ Though printed within a comparatively short distance of Philadelphia, until within the last year the librarian of the Philadelphia Library had never heard of its existence; and Sabin, whose knowledge of Americana is unsurpassed, was equally in the dark. It is to call the attention of those who love our literature to this very remarkable work, and to give its points and history so that it may no longer lurk in obscurity, that this article is written.

Men, communities, and nations have their origin, development, and fruition. So have books. In Holland, in the year 1562 there appeared a duodecimo of about two hundred and fifty leaves in the Dutch language called *Het offer des Heeren*. This was the germ.² It contained

¹ Since this was written a copy was secured by a publishing house in Philadelphia, and was sold for \$120.

² Still earlier were fugitive broadsides and pamphlets, printed secretly by the friends of the martyrs. Naturally nearly all of these have disappeared, but it is well known that they existed and were widely circulated. A few of them are preserved in the library of

biographical sketches of a number of the early martyrs of the Doopsgezinde or Mennonites, a sect which was the antetype of the Quakers, and these sketches were accompanied by hymns describing in rhyme not only their piety and sufferings but even the manner and dates of their deaths. To publish such a book was then punishable by fire, and the title-page therefore gives no indication as to where it was printed or who was the printer. Meeting together in secret places and in the middle of the night, the linen weavers of Antwerp and the hardy peasants of Friesland cherished their religious zeal and their veneration for Menno Simons, by singing and reading about their martyrs. Next to the Bible this book was most in demand among them, and later editions were printed in the years 1567, 1570, 1576, 1578, 1580, 1589, 1595, and 1599, but many copies were, along with their owners, burned by the executioners, and the book is now very scarce. It was followed by a large quarto of eight hundred and sixty-three pages with an engraved title-page, written by Hans de Ries and Jacques Outerman, and printed at Hoorn, in 1617, by Zacharias Cornelisz, called "Historie der warachtighe Getuygen Jesu Christi;" and this again by a handsome black-letter folio of ten hundred and fifty-six pages, printed at Haerlem by Hans Passchiers von Wesbusch in 1631, entitled "Martelaers Spiegel der werelose Christenen." The subject was capable of still more thorough treatment, and in 1660 Tieleman Jans Van Braght, a Mennonite theologian at Dordrecht, who was born in 1625 and died in 1664, published "Het

the Mennonite College at Amsterdam. I have one giving details of the burning of Frantz and Nielaus Thiessen, in Brabant in 1556, which came from the library of Count Zinzendorf. It is at least possible that the Tysons who settled in Germantown were of the same family.

Bloedigh Toneel der Doops Gesinde en Wereloose Christenen," a folio of thirteen hundred and twenty-nine pages. It was reproduced in 1685 in two magnificent folio volumes, handsomely illustrated with a frontispiece, and a hundred and four copper-plates engraved by the celebrated Jan Luyken.

This book in its immense proportions is thus seen to have been a gradual culmination of the research and literary labors of many authors. In his first edition Van Braught gives a list of 356 books he had consulted. It is the great historical work of the Mennonites, and the most durable monument of that sect. It traces the history of those Christians who from the time of the Apostles were opposed to the baptism of infants and to warfare, including the Lyonists, Petrobusians, and Waldenses; details the persecutions of the Mennonites by the Spaniards in the Netherlands and the Calvinists in Switzerland, together with the individual sufferings of many hundreds who were burned, drowned, beheaded, or otherwise maltreated; and contains the confessions of faith adopted by the different communities. The relations between the Quakers, who arose much later, and the Mennonites were close and intimate; their views upon most points of belief and church government were identical, and where they met they welded together naturally and without a flaw. Penn, along with others of the early Quakers, went to Holland and Germany, to preach to, and make converts among the Mennonites, and he invited them pressingly to settle in his province. In 1683, and within the next few years, many families from the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands went to Germantown in Pennsylvania, branching from there out to Skippack; and in 1709, began the extensive emigration from Switzerland and the Palatinate to Lancaster County, where are still to be found the largest

communities of the sect in America, and where the people still turn to the pages of Van Brought to read the lives of their forefathers.

Many copies of the book were brought to America, but they were in Dutch. No German translation existed, and much the larger proportion of those here who were interested in it could read only that language. It was not long before a desire for a German edition was manifested, and the declaration of a war between England and France in 1744, which in the nature of things must involve sooner or later their colonies in America, made the Mennonites fearful that their principles of non-resistance would be again put to the test, and anxious that all of the members, especially the young, should be braced for the struggle by reading of the steadfastness of their forefathers amid sufferings abroad. Their unsalaried preachers were, however, like the members of the flock, farmers who earned their bread by tilling the soil, and were ill fitted both by circumstances and education for so great a literary labor. Where could a trustworthy translator be found? Where was the printer, in the forests of Pennsylvania, who could undertake the expense of a publication of such magnitude? Naturally, they had recourse to the older and wealthier churches in Europe, and on the 19th of October, 1745, Jacob Godschalk, of Germantown, Dielman Kolb, of Salford, Michael Ziegler, Yilles Kassel, and Martin Kolb, of Skippack, and Heinrich Funck, of Indian Creek, the author of two religious works published in Pennsylvania, wrote, under instruction from the various communities, a letter to Amsterdam on the subject. They say: "Since according to appearances the flames of war are mounting higher, and it cannot be known whether the cross and persecution may not come upon the de-

fenceless Christians,¹ it becomes us to strengthen ourselves for such circumstances with patience and endurance, and to make every preparation for steadfast constancy in our faith. It was, therefore, unanimously considered good in this community, if it could be done, to have the *Bloedig Toneel* of Dielman Jans Van Braght translated into the German language, especially since in our communities in this country there has been a great increase of young men who have grown up. In this book posterity can see the traces of those faithful witnesses who have walked in the way of truth and given up their lives for it. Notwithstanding we have greatly desired to have this work commenced for many years, it has hitherto remained unaccomplished. The establishment of a new German printing office has renewed the hope, but the bad paper used here for printing has caused us to think further about it. Besides, up to this time, there has not appeared, either among ourselves or others, any one who understood the language well enough to translate it accurately. We have not felt that we could with safety entrust it to those who have been mentioned and promised to do it, and while it concerns us that this translation should be made, it concerns us just as much that the truth should remain uninjured by such translation. We have at last concluded to commit our design to the brethren in Holland, and our *Diener* and *Vorsteher* will unanimously be governed by their advice. We earnestly ask you then to receive our request in love, and to send over to us as soon as it can be done an estimate and specification. We want to know what it will cost to translate it and to print and bind a thousand copies, whether they could be sent here without great charges and expense, what they would come to with

¹ Wehrlosen Christenen, a name they often gave themselves.

or without copper-plates, whether you think it best that they should be sent over in parcels or all at once if it is feasible, and what in your opinion is the best way in which it can be done. We appeal to your love, since all here have a heartfelt desire that the book may be translated into the German, and we ask in the matter your love and counsel about undertaking it, whether in these dangerous times of war it can be accomplished, and what it will cost to translate it and print and bind a thousand copies. We hope you will receive our request in love, and as soon as possible let us know your counsel and opinion."¹

The Dutch are proverbially slow, and in this instance they maintained their reputation, since they did not reply until February 10th, 1748, nearly three years later. They then threw cold water on the whole enterprise. They thought it utterly impracticable both because of the trouble of finding a translator and because of the immense expense that would be incurred. They further suggested a way out of the difficulty which would have been worthy of Diedrich Knickerbocker. It was to get some of the brethren who understood the Dutch language to translate the chief histories in which the confessions of the martyrs are given and have them copied by the young people in manuscript.² By so doing would be secured the "double advantage that through the copying they would give more thought to it and receive a stronger impression."

Without waiting for this valuable advice the Americans had in the mean time found a way to accomplish

¹ Dr. J. G. De Hoop Scheffer very kindly sent me this letter, which has never before been printed, from the Archives at Amsterdam.

² The greater part of the literature of the Schwenckfelders was reproduced and disseminated in this way in Pennsylvania.

their purpose. At Ephrata, in Lancaster County, had been established some years before, and still exists, a community of mystical Dunkers, who practised celibacy, and held their lands and goods in common. About 1745, they secured a hand printing press, now in possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, on which they printed over fifty books, which are among the scarcest and most sought after of American imprints. In the Brinley library, perhaps the most complete collection of Americana which has ever been sold, there was but a single book from the Ephrata press. Some of the Ephrata hymns have been rendered into English verse by Whit-tier. The chronicle of the Cloister says: "Shortly before the time that the mill was burned down the Mennonites in Pennsylvania united together to have their great martyr book, which was in the Dutch language, translated and printed in German. For this work there was nobody in the whole country considered better fitted than the brotherhood in Ephrata, since they had a new printing office and paper mill, and moreover could place hands enough upon the work. The agreement was very advantageous for the said Mennonites, since it was determined upon both sides that the brethren should translate and print the book, but the Mennonites should afterward be at liberty to purchase or not. But scarcely was this agreement known before it began to be everywhere feared lest the good brethren might heap up a Mammon for themselves. Yes, even letters of warning were written by friends in Germany because of it. But the good God had other views therein of which the brethren themselves were unconscious until they had so far progressed with it that they could no longer withdraw. The *Vorsteher* who was the abettor of this work never let it come to a stand-still or rest, and took every opportunity to keep all those

under his direction in constant action, so that no one might again be satisfied in this life and be forgetful of the trust from above, for which purpose this martyr book served admirably, as will be further mentioned in this place."

"After the building of the mill was completed, the printing of the martyr book was taken in hand, for which important work fifteen brethren were selected, of whom nine had their task in the printing office, viz., a corrector who was also translator, four compositors, and four pressmen. The others worked in the paper mill. Three years were spent upon this book, but the work was not continuous because often the supply of paper was deficient. And, since in the mean time there was very little other business on hand, the brethren got deeply into debt, but through the great demand for the book this was soon liquidated. It was printed in large folio, using sixteen quires of paper, and making an edition of thirteen hundred copies. In a council held with the Mennonites, the price for a single copy was fixed at twenty shillings, from which it can be seen that the reasons for printing it were very different from a hope for profit. That this martyr book was a cause of many trials to the recluses, and added not a little to their spiritual martyrdom, is still in fresh remembrance. The *Vorsteher* who had put the work in motion had other reasons for it than gain. The spiritual welfare of those who were entrusted to him lay deep in his heart, and he neglected no opportunity to provide for it. The three years that this book was on the press were an admirable preparation for spiritual martyrdom, although their worldly affairs were in the mean time unfortunate and permitted to fall into neglect. If this is considered, and the small price and how far those who worked on it were removed from all self-interest, it can-

not fail to appear how valuable must have been to them the descriptions therein contained of the lives of the holy martyrs."

In this rather remarkable way have been fortunately preserved the particulars concerning the publication of the Ephrata martyr book. The *Vorsteher* referred to in the chronicle was Conrad Beissel, the founder of the Cloister, who among the brethren was known as *Vater Friedsam*. The greater part of the literary work upon it was done by the learned prior, Peter Miller, who later, at the request of Congress, according to Watson the annalist, translated the Declaration of Independence into seven different European languages. The publication of the first part was completed in 1748, and the second in 1749. The title-page in full is as follows: "Der blutige Schau-Platz oder Martyrer Spiegel der Tauffs-Gesinten oder wehrlosen Christen, die um des Zeugnuß Jesu ihres Seligmachers willen gelitten haben, und seynd getödtet worden, von Christi Zeit an bis auf das Jahr 1660. Vormalß aus unterschiedlichen glaubwuerdigen Chronicken, Nachrichten und Zeugnuessen gesamlet und in Hollaendischer Sprach herausgegeben von T. J. V. Braght. Nun aber sorgfältigst ins Hochteutsche uebersetzt und zum erstenmal ans Licht gebracht. Ephrata in Pensylvanien, Drucks und Verlags der Bruederschafft Anno MDCCXLVIII." It is a massive folio of fifteen hundred and twelve pages, printed upon strong thick paper, in large type, in order, as is said in the preface, "that it may suit the eyes of all." The binding is solid and ponderous, consisting of boards covered with leather, with mountings of brass on the corners, and two brass clasps. The back is further protected by strips of leather studded with brass nails. Some of the copies when they were issued were illustrated with a frontispiece engraved upon copper,

but they were comparatively few, and the book is complete without this plate. The creed of the Dunkers differs from that of the Mennonites mainly in the fact that the former believe in the necessity of immersion, while the latter administer Baptism by sprinkling, and over this question the two sects have contended with each other quite earnestly. The plate referred to represented John the Baptist immersing Christ in the river Jordan, and consequently the Mennonites refused to have it bound in the copies which they purchased, and, on the other hand, in those secured by the Dunkers it was inserted. There was another plate prepared for the book, but for some unknown reason it was not used, and there is but a single known print from it.¹ These plates appear to have been engraved by M. Eben, at Frankfort in Germany. In some instances it was bound in two volumes. The title-page to the second part says that it was "out of the Dutch into the German translated and with some new information increased." Among the additions made at Ephrata were twelve stanzas upon page 939, concerning the martyrdom of Hans Haslibacher; taken from the *Ausbundt* or hymn-book of the Swiss Mennonites. Some of the families in Pennsylvania and other parts of the United States, the sufferings of whose ancestors are mentioned in it, are those bearing the names of Kuster, Hendricks, Yocum, Bean, Rhoads, Gotwals, Jacobs, Johnson, Royer, Zimmerman, Shoemaker, Keyser, Landis, Meylin, Brubaker, Kulp, Weaver, Snyder, Wanger, Grubb, Bowman, Bachman, Zug, Aker, Garber, Miller, Kassel, and Wagner. In Lancaster County there are to-day many of the Wentz family. The story of the burning of Maeyken Wens, at Antwerp, in 1573, is more than ordinarily

¹ In the Cassel collection.

pathetic. "Thereupon on the next day," says the account, "which was the sixth of October, this pious and God-fearing heroine of Jesus Christ, as also her other fellow believers, who in like manner had been condemned, were with their tongues screwed fast, like innocent sheep brought forward, and after each was tied to a stake in the market place, were robbed of life and body by a dreadful and horrible fire, and in a short time were burned to ashes . . . The oldest son of this aforementioned martyr, called Adrian Wens, about fifteen years old, upon the day on which his dear mother was sacrificed, could not stay away from the place of execution, so he took his youngest brother, called Hans Matthias Wens, about three years old, on his arm, and stood on a bench not far from the burning-stake to witness his mother's death. But when she was brought to the stake he fainted, fell down, and lay unconscious until his mother and the others were burned. Afterward when the people had gone away and he came to himself, he went to the place where his mother was burnt, and hunted in the ashes until he found the screw with which her tongue had been screwed fast, and he kept it for a memento. There are now, 1659, still many descendants of this pious martyr living well known to us, who, after her name are called Maeyken Wens."

The before-mentioned Heinrich Funk and Dielman Kolb were appointed a committee by the Mennonites to make the arrangements with the community at Ephrata, and to supervise the translation. Their certificate is appended, saying: "It was desired by very many in Pennsylvania that there should be a German translation and edition of the martyr book of the Defenceless Christians or *Tauffs-gesinneten*, before printed in the Dutch language, and the Brotherhood in Ephrata, at Conestoga, offered and promised not only that they would translate the book,

but would take care that it should be of a neat print and a good paper and at their own cost, if we would promise to buy the copies and have none printed or brought here from any other place. Thereupon the elders and ministers of those communities of the *Tauf's-gesinneten*, which are called Mennonites, (to which communities the said book is best adapted), went to Ephrata and made there with their said friends an agreement that they, the said *Tauf's-gesinneten*, would buy the said books at a reasonable price, and would not give orders elsewhere, provided they should receive assurance of good work, paper and translation, but if the print should not turn out well they should be released. Heurich Funk and Dielman Kolb had such a great love for this book that they both with common consent gave their time and labor to it, and, as the leaves came from the press and were sent to them in their order, went over them one at a time, comparing them with the Dutch, and in this work have not omitted a single verse. They have not found in the whole book one line which does not give the same grounds of belief and sense as is contained in the Dutch. They have indeed found a number of words about which they have hesitated and doubted, and which might have been improved both in the Dutch and German, but it is not to be wondered at that in so large a book a word here and there is not used in the best sense; but nobody ought to complain for this reason, for we are all human and often err. Concerning the Errata placed before the Register, it has been found that many that were in the Dutch edition have been corrected, though not all, and some have been found in the German, although, as has been said, they are not numerous. We have, therefore, at the request of the rest of our fellow ministers, very willingly read through this great book from the beginning to the end, and compared it with the Dutch, and we have

according to our slight ability and gift of understanding found nothing that would be disadvantageous to this book, or in which the teachings of the holy martyrs have not been properly translated, but we believe that the translator has done his best, with the exception of the typographical errors, of which in our opinion there are few for such a great book. But should some one go through it as we have done, and find some mistakes which we have overlooked or not understood, it would be well for him to call attention to them, because two or three witnesses are better than one. We further believe that the best thing about this book will be that the Lord through his Holy Spirit will so kindle the hearts of men with an eager desire for it, that they will not regard a little money but buy it, and take plenty of time, read in it earnestly with thought, so that they may see and learn in what way they should be grounded in belief in Christ, and how they should arrange their lives and walk, in order to follow the defenceless Lamb and to be heirs of the everlasting Kingdom with Christ and his Apostles. In this book are contained many beautiful teachings out of both the Old and New Testament, accompanied with many examples of true followers, from which it is apparent *that we must through much tribulation enter into the Kingdom of God.* Acts xiv, 22. We see in it many true predecessors who have followed the Lamb, of whom Paul says, Hebrews xiii, 7 : *Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God : whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.* Although the road is small and narrow, nevertheless it leads to everlasting joy."

When Israel Acrelius, the author of the History of New Sweden, visited Ephrata in 1754, he was shown the martyr book, which, he says, of all the works published

there, had given the most trouble and least return. " We went down again to Müller's room, and there he showed me the *History of the Persecution of the Anabaptists*, a large and thick folio volume, which he himself had translated from the Holland into the German language, and had afterwards had it printed there in Ephrata, saying it was the largest book that had been printed in Pennsylvania, as also that he had labored for three years upon the translation, and was at the same time so burthened with work that he did not sleep more than four hours during the night. He believed that the Anabaptists had not suffered any persecutions in Sweden. I however gave him to understand that King Gustavus Adolphus had in his time had great difficulty in curing their infectious reformatory sickness, which would otherwise have gone very far, although he did this without persecution. The edition of Müller's book was one thousand two hundred copies, of which seven hundred have been circulated and five hundred are still on hand. He said that they could be sold within ten years. I think he meant twenty. The price is twenty-two shillings. I asked him how they could be sold at so low a price. Why not? said he: *for we do not propose to get rich.*" There is still another event in the history of this publication recorded in the chronicles of the cloister. "This book had finally in the revolutionary war a singular fate. There being great need of all war material and also paper, and it having been discovered that in Ephrata was a large quantity of printed paper, an arrest was soon laid upon it. Many objections were raised, and among others it was alleged that since the English army was so near, this circumstance might have a bad effect. They were determined, however, to give up nothing, and that all must be taken by force. So two wagons and six soldiers came and carried off the martyr books.

This caused great offence through the land, and many thought that the war would not end well for the country, since they had maltreated the testimonies of the holy martyrs. However they finally again came to honor, since some judicious persons bought what there was left of them."

It is manifest that the publication of this book was regarded as an event of great magnitude and importance, or the record of it, gathered as it is from such widely separated sources, would not have been so complete, and it is also plain that only religious zeal could have made the production of such a literary leviathan possible at that time. It was reprinted at Pirmasens in the Palatinate in 1780. A note in this edition says: "After this martyr book was received in Europe, it was found good by the united brotherhood of the Mennonites to issue this German martyr book after the copy from Ephrata again in German print, that it might be brought before the united brotherhood in Europe." They secured the old copperplates of the Dutch edition of 1685, which had since been used on a work entitled *Théâtre des Martyrs*, published about 1700, without text, date, or imprint, and with them illustrated the publication. It thus appears that the uncomplimentary implication contained in the old query of "who reads an American book?" applies only to our English literature. The republication at that early date of a work so immense certainly marks an epoch in the literary history of America.

The war of 1812 called forth another American edition, which was published by Joseph Ehrenfried at Lancaster, Pa., in 1814, by subscription at ten dollars per copy. It is a folio of 976 pages, fifteen inches tall, and magnificently bound. There is a preface, authorized by many of the *Diener and Vorsteher* of the Mennonites in

the name of the whole community, which gives some information concerning this and other publications.¹ The Pirmaseus edition seems to have been unknown to them. Shem Zook, an Amish Mennonite, had a quarto edition published in Philadelphia in 1849, and John F. Funk, of Elkhart, Indiana, issued another in 1870. An imperfect English translation by I. D. Rupp appeared in 1837, and in 1853 a translation by the Hanserd Knollys Society of London was in course of preparation, and was afterward published.

Copies of the Ephrata edition are, as has been said, exceedingly scarce. A copy has been known to bring thirty-two dollars among farmers at a country sale, and one which had found its way into the hands of Frederik Muller & Co., in Amsterdam, was held at 180 florins. There is one in the library of the German Society in Philadelphia, one in that of the Mennonite College at Amsterdam, and another in that of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but to the great libraries elsewhere it is as yet unknown. Having regard to the motives which led to its publication, the magnitude of the undertaking, the labor and time expended in printing it leaf by leaf upon a hand-press, its colossal size, excellent typography, the quality of its paper made at Ephrata, its historical and genealogical value, and its great rarity, it easily stands at the head of our colonial books. Among the literary achievements of the Germans of Pennsylvania it surpasses, though eight years later, the great quarto Bible of Saur, the first in America, printed at Germantown in 1743, which for nearly half a century had no English rival.

¹ I have the editions of 1660, 1685, 1748, 1780, and 1814. They cannot be found together anywhere else.

*MENNONITE EMIGRATION TO
PENNSYLVANIA.*

From Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. II., p. 117.

MENNONITE EMIGRATION TO PENNSYLVANIA.

BY DR. J. G. DE HOOP SCHEFFER, OF AMSTERDAM.¹

THE extensive tract of land, bounded on the east by the Delaware, on the north by the present New York, on the west by the Allegheny mountains, and on the south by Maryland, has such an agreeable climate, such an unusually fertile soil, and its watercourses are so well adapted for trade, that it is not surprising that there, as early as 1638—five and twenty years after our forefathers built the first house in New Amsterdam (New York)—a European colony was established. The first settlers were Swedes, but some Hollanders soon joined them. Surrounded on all sides by savage natives, continually threatened and often harassed, they contented themselves with the cultivation of but a small portion of the land. After, however, King Charles II. had, in settlement of a debt, given the whole province to William Penn, there came a great change. There, before long, at his invitation and through his assistance, his oppressed fellow-believers followers like himself of George Fox, found a place of refuge. They settled on the Delaware, and, united by the common sufferings endured for their convictions, they founded a city, to which they gave the sugges-

¹The article here translated from the Dutch, and annotated, appeared in the "Doopsgezinde Bijdragen" for 1869, under the title of "Vriendschapsbetrekkingen tusschen de Doopsgezinden hier te lande en die in Pennsylvanie."

tive name of the city of Brotherly Love (Philadelphia). The province itself received the name of Pennsylvania from the man who brought its settlers over from a land of persecution to his own estate, and has borne it to the present time, though its boundaries have been extended on the north to Lake Erie, and on the west beyond the Allegheny mountains to the present Ohio.

In accordance with the fundamental law established April 25th, 1682, complete freedom of conscience was assured to all religious communities, and William Penn and his associates saw a stream of those who had been persecuted and oppressed for their belief pour into the colony, among whom were many Mennonites from Switzerland and the Palatinate.

In Switzerland for nearly half a century religious intolerance had been most bitter. Many who had remained there were then persuaded to abandon their beloved native country and betake themselves to the distant land of freedom, and others, who had earlier emigrated to Alsace and the Palatinate, and there endured the dreadful horrors of the war in 1690, joined them, hoping in a province described to them as a paradise to find the needed comforts of life. The travelling expenses of these exhausted wanderers on their way through our fatherland were furnished with a liberal hand from the "funds for foreign needs" which our forefathers had collected to aid the Swiss, Palatines, and Litthauers. These emigrants settled for the most part at Philadelphia, and to the northward along the Delaware.

One of the oldest communities, if not the oldest of all, was that at Schiebach or Germantown. The elder of their two preachers, Wilhelm Rittinghausen, died in 1708. and in his place two new preachers were chosen. The same year eleven young people were added to the church

through baptism, and two new deacons accepted its obligations. Moreover, the emigration of other brethren from the Palatinate, with Peter Kolb at their head, who were enabled to make the journey by the aid of the Netherlands, gave a favorable prospect of considerable growth. Financially, however, the circumstances of the community left much to be desired. In a letter written to Amsterdam, dated September 3d, 1708, from which these particulars are derived, and which was signed by Jacob Gaetschalck, Harmen Karsdorp, Martin Kolb, Isack Van Sinteren, and Conradt Jansen, they presented "a loving and friendly request" for "some catechisms for the children and little testaments for the young." Beside, psalm books and Bibles were so scarce that the whole membership had but one copy, and even the meeting-house needed a Bible.¹ They urged their request by saying "that the community is still weak, and it would cost much money to get them printed, while the members who came here from Germany have spent everything and must begin anew, and all work, in order to pay for the conveniences of life of which they stand in need." What the printing would cost can

¹ It is certainly worthy of attention that the first request these people send back to their brethren in Europe was for Bibles and Testaments. Jacob Gaetschalck was a preacher at Skippack. Martin Kolb, a grandson of Peter Schuhmacher who died at Germantown in 1707, was born in the village of Wolfsheim, in the Palatinate, in 1680, and came with his brothers, Johannes and Jacob, to Pennsylvania in the spring of 1707. He married May 19th, 1709, Magdalena, daughter of Isaac Van Sintern, who also united in this letter. Isaac Van Sintern was born September 4th, 1662, and was a great-grandson of Jan de Voss, a burgomaster at Handschooten, in Flanders, about 1550. He married in Amsterdam, Cornelia Claassen, of Hamburg, and came to Pennsylvania with four daughters after 1687. He died August 23d, 1737, and is buried at Skippack.

to some extent be seen from the demands of a bookseller in New York, who beside only printed in English, for the publication of the Confession of Faith in that language. He asked so much for it that the community could not by any possibility raise the money, for which reason the whole plan had to be abandoned.¹ The proposition was first considered because of conversations with some people there whose antecedents were entirely unknown, but “who called themselves Mennonites,” descendants perhaps of the Dutch or English colonists who in the first years of the settlement established themselves on the territory of Pennsylvania. That the young community was composed of other people besides Palatines has been shown by the letter just mentioned, bearing the Netherlandish signature of Karsdorp, a name much honored among our forefathers, and which has become discredited through late occurrences at Dordrecht.

It is no wonder that a half year later the “committee on foreign needs” cherished few hopes concerning the colony. They felt, however, for nine or ten families who had come to Rotterdam—according to information from there, under date of April 8th, 1709—from the neighborhood of Worms and Frankenthal, in order to emigrate, and whom they earnestly sought to dissuade from making the journey. They were, said the letter from Rotterdam, “altogether very poor men, who intended to seek a better place of abode in Pennsylvania. Much has been expended upon them hitherto freely, and these people bring with them scarcely anything that is necessary in the way of raiment and provisions, much less the money that must be spent for fare from here to England, and from there on the great journey, before they can settle in that foreign

¹ See note upon page 41.

land." Naturally the Rotterdammers asked that money be furnished for the journey and support of the emigrants. But the committee, who considered the matter "useless and entirely unadvisable," refused to dispose in this way of the funds entrusted to them. It was the first refusal of the kind, and little did the committee think that for twenty-four years they must keep repeating it before such requests should entirely cease. It would in fact have been otherwise if they had begun with the rule which they finally adopted in 1732, or if the determination they expressed in letter after letter had been followed by like action, and they had not let themselves be persuaded away from it continually—sometimes from perplexity, but oftener from pity. The Palatines understood the situation well. If they could only reach Holland without troubling themselves about the letters, if they were only urgent and persevering, the committee would end by helping them on their way to Pennsylvania. The emigrants of April, 1709, accomplished their object, though as it appears through the assistance of others. At all events, I think, they are the ones referred to by Jacob Telner, a Netherlander Mennonite dwelling at London, who wrote, August 6th, to Amsterdam and Haarlem: "Eight families went to Pennsylvania; the English Friends, who are called Quakers, helped them liberally."¹ His letter speaks of others who also wanted to follow

¹ "But not only did the leaders of the early Society of Friends take great interest in the Mennonites, but the Yearly Meeting of 1709 contributed fifty pounds (a very large sum at that time) for the Mennonites of the Palatinate who had fled from the persecution of the Calvinists in Switzerland. This required the agreement of the representatives of above 400 churches, and shows in a strong light the sympathy which existed among the early Friends for the Mennonites."—*Barclay's Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, 251.

their example, and urges more forcibly than ever the people at Rotterdam to give assistance. "The truth is," he writes, "that many thousands of persons, old and young, and men and women, have arrived here in the hope and expectation of going to Pennsylvania, but the poor men are misled in their venture. If they could transport themselves by their own means, they might go where they pleased, but because of inability they cannot do it, and must go where they are ordered. Now, as there are among all this multitude six families of our brethren and fellow-believers, I mean German Mennonites, who ought to go to Pennsylvania, the brethren in Holland should extend to them the hand of love and charity, for they are both poor and needy. I trust and believe, however, that they are honest and God-fearing. It would be a great comfort and consolation to the poor sheep, if the rich brothers and sisters from their superfluities would satisfy their wants, and let some crumbs fall from their tables to these poor Lazaruses. Dear brethren, I feel a tender compassion for the poor sheep, for they are of our flesh, as says the Prophet Isaiah, lxviii. 7 and 8."

It was not long before pity for our fellow-believers was excited still more forcibly. Fiercer than ever became the persecution of the Mennonites in Switzerland. The prisons at Bern were filled with the unfortunates, and the inhuman treatment to which they were subjected caused many to pine away and die. The rest feared from day to day that the minority in the council which demanded their trial would soon become a majority. Through the intercession, however, of the States General, whose aid the Netherland Mennonites sought, not without success, some results were effected. The Council of Bern finally determined to send the prisoners, well watched and guarded, in order to transport them from there in an English

ship to Pennsylvania. On the 18th of March, 1710, the exiles departed from Bern; on the 28th, with their vessel, they reached Manheim, and on the 6th of April Nimeguen; and when they touched Netherland soil, their sufferings came to an end at last; they were free, and their useless guards could return to Switzerland. Laurens Hendriks, the preacher of our community at Nimeguen, wrote in his letter of April 9th: "It happened that very harsh decrees were issued by the rulers at Bern to search for our friends in all corners of the land, and put them in the prisons at Bern, by which means within the last two years about sixty persons were thrown into dungeons, where some of them underwent much misery in the great cold last winter, while their feet were fast in the iron shackles. The Council at Bern were still very much at variance as to what punishment should be inflicted on them, and so they have the longer lain in prison; for some would have them put to death, but others could not consent to such cruelty, so finally they determined in the Council to send them as prisoners to Pennsylvania. Therefore they put them on a vessel, well watched by a guard of soldiers, to send them on the Rhine to Holland; but on coming to Manheim, a city of the Palatinate, they put out all the old, the sick, and the women, but with twenty-three men floated further down the Rhine, and on the 6th of April came here to Nimeguen. When they heard that their fellow-believers lived here, one of them came to me, guarded by two soldiers. The soldiers then went away and left the man with me. After I, with the other preachers, had talked with him, we went together to the ship, and there found our other brethren. We then spoke to the officers of the guard, and arranged with them that these men should receive some refreshment, since they had been on the water for twenty days in

great misery, and we brought them into the city. Then we said to our imprisoned brethren: *The soldiers shall not get you out of here again easily, for if they use force, we will complain to our magistrates.* This, however, did not happen. They went about in freedom, and we remained with them and witnessed all the manifestations of love and friendship with the greatest joy. We spent the time together delightfully, and after they were entirely refreshed, they the next day departed, though they moved with difficulty, because stiffened from their long imprisonment. I went with them for an hour and a half beyond the city, and there we, with weeping eyes and swelling hearts, embraced each other, and with a kiss of peace separated. They returned to the Palatinate to seek their wives and children, who are scattered everywhere in Switzerland, in Alsace, and in the Palatinate, and they know not where they are to be found.¹ They were very patient and cheerful under oppression, though all their worldly goods were taken away. Among them were a preacher and two deacons. They were naturally very rugged people, who could endure hardships; they wore long and unshaven beards, disordered clothing, great shoes, which were heavily hammered with iron and large nails; they were very zealous to serve God with prayer and reading and in other ways, and very innocent in all their doings as lambs and doves. They asked me in what way the community was governed. I explained it to them, and it pleased them very much. But we could hardly talk with them, because, as they lived in the mountains

¹ This simple picture is fully as pathetic as that other, which it forcibly suggests, beginning:—

“Heu! misero conjunx, fatone erepta, Creusa
 Substitit, erravit ne via, seu lassa residit,
 Incertum; nec post oculis est reddita nostris.”

of Switzerland, far from cities and towns, and had little intercourse with other men, their speech is rude and uncouth, and they have difficulty in understanding any one who does not speak just their way. Two of them have gone to Deventer, to see whether they can get a livelihood in this country."

Most of them went to the Palatinate to seek their kinsmen and friends, and before long a deputation from them came back here. On the first of May we find three of their preachers, Hans Burchi or Burghalter,¹ Melchoir Zaller, and Benedict Brechtbühl,² with Hans Rub and Peter Donens, in Amsterdam, where they gave a further account of their affairs with the Bern magistracy, and apparently consulted with the committee as to whether they should establish themselves near the Palatinate brethren or on the lands in the neighborhood of Campen and Groningen, which was to be gradually purchased by the committee on behalf of the fugitives. The majority preferred a residence in the Palatinate, but they soon found great difficulty in accomplishing it. The Palatinate community was generally poor, so that the brethren, with the best disposition, could be of little service in insuring the means of gaining a livelihood; there was a scarcity of lands and farm-houses, and there was much to be desired in the way of religious liberty, since they were subject entirely to the humors of the Elector, or, worse still, his officers. For nearly seven years, often supported by the Netherland brethren, they waited and persevered, always hoping for better times. Then, their numbers

¹ Hans Burghalter came to America, and was a preacher at Conestoga, Lancaster County, in 1727.

² According to Rupp, Bernhard B. Brechtbühl translated the *Wandelnde Seele* into the German from the Dutch.

being continually increased by new fugitives and exiles from Switzerland, they finally determined upon other measures, and, at a meeting of their elders at Manheim, in February, 1717, decided to call upon the Netherlanders for help in carrying out the great plan of removing to Pennsylvania, which they had long contemplated, and which had then come to maturity. Strange as it may appear at first glance, the very land to which the Swiss tyrants had once wanted to banish them had then become the greatest attraction. Still there was reason enough for it; reason, perhaps, in the information which their brethren sent from there to the Palatinate, but before all, in the pressing invitation or instruction of the English King, George I., through his agent (Muntmeester) Ochse, at the court. "Since it has been observed," so reads the beginning of this remarkable paper, "that the Christians, called Baptists or Mennonites, have been denied freedom of conscience in various places in Germany and Switzerland, and endure much opposition from their enemies, so that with difficulty they support themselves, scattered here and there, and have been hindered in the exercise of their religion," the king offers to them for a habitation the country west of the Allegheny mountains, then considered a part of Pennsylvania, but not yet belonging to it. Each family should have fifty acres of land in fee simple, and for the first ten years the use, without charge, of as much more as they should want, subject only to the stipulation that after this time the yearly rent for a hundred acres should be two shillings, *i. e.*, about a *quilder*, less six *kreutzers*. "There is land enough for a hundred thousand families. They shall have permission to live there, not as foreigners, but on their engagement, without oath, to be true and obedient to the king, be bound as lawful subjects, and possess their

land with the same right as if they had been born such, and, without interference, exercise their religion in meetings, just as do the Reformed and Lutherans." After calling attention to the fact that in eastern Pennsylvania the land was too dear (£20 to £100 sterling for a hundred acres), the climate in Carolina was too hot, New York and Virginia were already too full for them to settle there with good chances of success, an attractive description of the country followed in these words: "This land is in a good and temperate climate, not too hot or too cold; it lies between the 39th and 43d parallels of north latitude, and extends westward about two hundred German miles. It is separated from Virginia and Pennsylvania by high mountains; the air is very pure, since it lies high; it is very well watered, having streams, brooks and springs, and the soil has the reputation of being better than any that can be found in Pennsylvania and Virginia. Walnut, chestnut, oak, and mulberry trees grow naturally in great profusion, as well as many fruit-bearing trees, and the wild white and purple grapes in the woods are larger and better than in any other place in America. The soil is favorable for wheat, barley, rye, Indian corn, hemp, flax, and also silk, besides producing many other useful things much more abundantly than in Germany. A field can be easily planted for from ten to twenty successive years without manure. It is also very suitable for such fruits as apples, pears, cherries, prunes, quinces, and especially peaches, which grow unusually well and bear fruit in three years from the planting of the stone. All garden crops do very well, and vineyards can be made, since the wild grapes are good, and would be still better if they were dressed and pruned. Many horses, cattle, and sheep can be raised and kept, since an excellent grass grows exuberantly. Numbers of hogs

can be fattened on the wild fruits in the bushes. This land is also full of cattle (*rundvee*), called buffaloes and elks, none of which are seen in Pennsylvania, Virginia, or Carolina. Twenty or thirty of these buffaloes are found together. There are also many bears, which hurt nobody. They feed upon leaves and wild fruits, on which they get very fat, and their flesh is excellent. Deer exist in great numbers, beside Indian cocks and hens (turkeys?), which weigh from twenty to thirty pounds each, wild pigeons more than in any other place in the world, partridges, pheasants, wild swans, geese, all kinds of ducks, and many other small fowls and animals; so that if the settlers can only supply themselves for the first year with bread, some cows for milk and butter, and vegetables, such as potatoes, peas, beans, etc., they can find flesh enough to eat from the many wild animals and birds, and can live better than the richest nobleman. The only difficulty is that they will be about thirty miles from the sea; but this, by good management, can be made of little consequence."

Apparently this description sounded like enchantment in the ears of the poor Swiss and Palatines who had never known anything but the thin soil of their native country, and who frequently met with a refusal if they sought to secure a farm of one or two acres. And how was that land of promise to be reached? Easily enough. They had only before the 1st of March to present themselves to one or another well-known merchant at Frankfort, pay £3 sterling or twenty-seven guilders each (children under ten years of age at half rates), that is, £2 for transportation, and £1 for seventy pounds of biscuit, a measure and a half of peas, a measure of oatmeal, and the necessary beer, and immediately they would be sent in ships to Rotterdam, thence to be carried over to Virginia. First, how-

ever, in Holland, one-half of the fare must be paid and additional provisions, etc., secured, viz.: twenty-four pounds of dried beef, fifteen pounds of cheese, and eight and a quarter pounds of butter. Indeed, they were advised to provide themselves still more liberally with edibles, and with garden seeds and agricultural implements, linen, shirts, beds, table goods, powder and lead, furniture, earthenware, stoves, and especially money to buy "seeds, salt, horses, swine, and fowls," to be taken along with them. All of these things would indeed cost a large sum, but what did that signify in comparison with the luxury which was promised them? Should not the Netherland brethren quickly and gladly furnish this last assistance? So thought the Palatine brethren. It is not to be wondered at, however, that the "committee on foreign needs" judged differently. They knew how much exaggeration there was in the picture painted by the English agent. They thought they were not authorized to consent to a request for assistance in the payment of travelling expenses, since the money was intrusted to them to be expended alone for the *persecuted*, and the brethren in the Palatinate were then tolerated; they feared the emigrants would call for more money; and in a word they opposed the plan most positively, and explained that if it was persisted in no help need be expected. Their objection however accomplished nothing. In reply to their views, the committee received information, March 20th, that more than a hundred persons had started, and three weeks later they heard from Rotterdam that those already coming numbered three hundred, among whom were four very needy families who required 600 f. for their passage, and that thirty others were getting ready to leave Neuwied. Though the committee had declared positively in their letters that they would

have nothing to do with the whole affair, they nevertheless immediately passed a secret resolution, that, "as far as concerns our committee, the friends are to be helped as much as possible;" and apparently they took care that there should be furnished from private means what as officials they could not give out of the fund. Among the preachers who were at the head of these colonists, we find principally Hans Burghalter and Benedict Brechtbuhl.

The desire for emigration seemed to be entirely appeased in the Palatinate until 1726, when it broke out again with renewed force. The chief causes were higher burdens imposed upon them by the Elector, the fear of the outburst of war, and perhaps also pressing letters of invitation written by the friends settled in Pennsylvania. Moreover, the committee were guilty of a great imprudence. Though they so repeatedly assured the emigrants that they could not and would not help them, and promised liberal assistance to the needy Palatines who abandoned the journey, still, through pity for a certain Hubert Brouwer of Neuwied, they gave him and his family 300f. passage-money. Either this became known in the Palatinate, or the stream could no longer be stayed. Though some of their elders, together with the committee, tried to dissuade them, and painted horrible pictures of the possibility that, in the war between England and Spain, they might "by Spanish ships be taken to the West Indies where men are sold as slaves," the Palatines believed not a word of it. On the 12th of April, 1727, there were one hundred and fifty ready to depart, and on the 16th of May, the committee were compelled to write to the Palatinate that they "ought to be informed of the coming of those already on the way, so that they can best provide for them;" and they further inquired "how many would arrive without means, so that the Society might

consider whether it would be possible for them to arrange for the many and great expenses of the passage."

Some did not need help, and could supply from their own means what was required ; but on the 20th the committee learned that forty-five more needy ones had started from the Palatinate. These with eight others cost the Society 3271*l.* 15*s.* . Before the end of July twenty-one more came to Rotterdam, and so it continued. No wonder that the committee, concerned about such an outpouring, requested the community in Pennsylvania "to announce emphatically to all the people from the pulpit that they must no more advise their needy friends and acquaintances to come out of the Palatinate, and should encourage them with the promise that, if they only remained across the sea, they would be liberally provided for in everything." If, however, they added, the Pennsylvanians wanted to pay for the passage of the poor Palatines, it would then of course be their own affair. This the Pennsylvanians were not ready nor in a condition to do. The committee also sent forbidding letter after letter to the Palatinate, but every year they had to be repeated, and sometimes, as, for instance, May 6th, 1733, they drew frightful pictures : " We learn from New York that a ship from Rotterdam going to Pennsylvania with one hundred and fifty Palatines wandered twenty-four weeks at sea. When they finally arrived at port nearly all the people were dead. The rest, through the want of *vivres*, were forced to subsist upon rats and vermin, and are all sick and weak. The danger of such an occurrence is always so great that the most heedless do not run the risk except through extreme want." Nevertheless the stream of emigrants did not cease. When finally over three thousand of different sects came to Rotterdam, the committee, June 15th, 1732, adopted the strong reso-

lution, that under no pretence would they furnish means to needy Palatines, except to pay their fares back to their fatherland. By rigidly maintaining this rule, and thus ending where they undoubtedly should have commenced, the committee put a complete stop to emigration. On the 17th of March they reported that they had already accomplished their object, and from that time they were not again troubled with requests for passage-money to North America.¹ In the meanwhile their adherence to this resolution caused some coolness between the communities in the Netherlands and in Pennsylvania. Still their intercourse was not entirely terminated. A special circumstance gave an impulse which turned the Pennsylvanians again toward our brotherhood in 1742. Their colony had increased wonderfully; they enjoyed prosperity, rest, and what the remembrance of foreign sufferings made more precious than all, complete religious freedom; but they talked with some solicitude about their ability to maintain one of their points of belief—absolute non-participation in war, even defensive. They had at first been so few in numbers that they were unnoticed by the government, but now it was otherwise. Could they, when a general arming of the people was ordered to repel a hostile invasion of the neighboring French colonists or an incursion of the Indians, refuse to go, and have their con-

¹ This is of course correct as far as the committee at Amsterdam is concerned, but neither emigration nor Mennonite aid ended at this time. The Schwenckfelders, some of whom came over only the next year, speak in warm and grateful terms of the aid rendered them by the Mennonites. Their MS. journal, now in the possession of Abraham H. Cassel, says "Mr. Henry Van der Smissen gave us on the ship 16 loaves of bread, 2 Dutch cheeses, 2 tubs of butter, 4 casks of beer, two roasts of meat, much flour and biscuit, and 2 bottles of French brandy, and otherwise took good care of us "

scientious scruples respected? They were in doubt about it, and little indications seemed to warrant their uncertainty. The local magistracy and the deputed authorities looked favorably upon their request for complete freedom from military service, but explained that they were without the power to grant the privilege which they thought existed in the King of England alone. In consequence of this explanation the Pennsylvania Mennonites resolved to write, as they did under date of May 8th, 1742, to Amsterdam and Haarlem, and ask that the communities there would bring their powerful influence to bear upon the English Court in their behalf, as had been done previously through the intervention of the States-General when alleviation was obtained in the case of the Swiss and Litthauer brethren. This letter seems to have miscarried. It cannot be found in the archives of the Amsterdam community, and their minutes contain no reference to it, so that its contents would have remained entirely unknown if the Pennsylvanians had not written again October 19th, 1745, complaining of the silence upon this side, and repeating in a few words what was said in it. Though it is probable that the letter of 1742 was not received, it may be that our forefathers laid it aside unanswered, thinking it unadvisable to make the intervention requested before the North American brethren had substantial difficulty about the military service, and it must be remarked that in the reply, written from here to the second letter, there is not a word said upon this subject, and allusions only are made to things which, in comparison, the Pennsylvanians surely thought were of much less importance.

In the second part of their letter of October, 1745, which is in German, the Pennsylvanians write, "as the flames of war appear to mount higher, no man can tell whether

the cross and persecution of the defenceless Christians will not soon come, and it is therefore of importance to prepare ourselves for such circumstances with patience and resignation, and to use all available means that can encourage steadfastness and strengthen faith. Our whole community have manifested an unanimous desire for a German translation of the Bloody Theatre of Tieleman Jans Van Braght, especially since in this community there is a very great number of newcomers, for whom we consider it to be of the greatest importance that they should become acquainted with the trustworthy witnesses who have walked in the way of truth, and sacrificed their lives for it." They further say that for years they had hoped to undertake the work, and the recent establishment of a German printing office had revived the wish, but "the bad paper always used here for printing" discouraged them. The greatest difficulty, however, was to find a suitable translator, upon whose skill they could entirely rely, without the fear that occasionally the meaning would be perverted. Up to that time no one had appeared among them to whom they could give the work with perfect confidence, and they therefore requested the brethren in Holland to look around for such a translator, have a thousand copies printed, and send them bound, with or without clasps and locks, or in loose sheets, to Pennsylvania, not, however, until they had sent over a complete account of the cost. The letter is dated at Schiebach, and bears the signatures of Jacob Godschalck, Martin Kolb, Michael Ziegler,¹ Heinrich

¹ Michael Ziegler, as early as 1722, lived near the present Skippackville, in Montgomery County, and was, for at least thirty years, one of the elders of the Skippack Church. He died at an advanced age about 1763, and left £9 to the poor of that congregation.

Funk,² Gillis Kassel,³ and Dielman Kolb. Not until the 10th of February, 1748, did the "Committee on Foreign

² Henry Funk, always one of the most able and enterprising of the Mennonite preachers, and long a bishop, settled on the Indian Creek, in Franconia Township, now Montgomery County, in 1719. He was ever faithful and zealous in his work, and did much to advance the interests of his church. He wrote a book upon baptism, entitled "Ein Spiegel der Taufe," published by Saur in 1744, which has passed through at least five editions. A more ambitious effort was the "Erklärung einiger haupt-puncten des Gesetzes," published after his death by Arnbruster, in 1763. This book was reprinted at Biel, Switzerland, in 1844, and at Lancaster, Pa., in 1862, and is much esteemed. He and Dielman Kolb supervised the translation of Van Bragt's Martyr's Mirror from the Dutch to the German, and certified to its correctness. Beside these labors, which were all without pecuniary compensation, he was a miller, and acquired a considerable estate. He died about 1760.

³ Yillis Kassel came to Pennsylvania in the year 1727, and was a preacher at Skippack, and one of the representative men of the church. His father or grandfather, Yillis Kassel, was also a Mennonite preacher at Kriesheim in 1665, and wrote a Confession of Faith and a number of MS. poems, which are now in the possession of his descendant, the noted antiquary, Abraham H. Cassel. They describe very vividly the horrible condition of the Rhine country at that time, and the sufferings of the people of his faith. The composition was frequently interrupted by such entries as these: "And now we must flee to Worms," "In Kriesheim, to which we have again come home." From one of them I extract:—

"Denn es ist bekannt und offenbar,
Was Jammer, Elend, und Gefahr
Gewesen ist umher im Land
Mit Rauben, Plündern, Mord, und Brand.
Manch Mensch gebracht in Angst und Noth
Geschändeliert auch bis zum Tod.
Zerschlagen verhauen manch schoenes Haus,
Vielen Leuten die Kleider gezogen aus;
Getreid, und Vieh hinweggeführt,
Viel Jammer und Klag hat man gehört."

A copy of the first German edition of Menno Simon's Foundation

Needs," in whose hands the letter was placed, find time to send an answer. Its tenor was entirely unfavorable. They thought the translation "wholly and entirely impracticable, as well because it would be difficult to find a translator as because of the immense expense which would be incurred, and which they could very easily avoid." As "this book could certainly be found in the community, and there were some of the brethren who understood the Dutch language," it was suggested "to get them to translate into the German some of the chief histories wherein mention is made of the confessions of the martyrs, and which would serve for the purpose, and have them copied by the young people." By so doing they would secure "the double advantage that through the copying they would give more thought to it, and receive a stronger impression."

The North American brethren, at least, got the benefit of the information contained in this well-meant counsel sent two and a half years late. In the mean time they had themselves zealously taken hold of the work, and before the reception of the letter from Holland accomplished their purpose. That same year, 1748, the complete translation of the Martyr's Mirror of Tieleman Jans Van Braght saw the light at Ephrata. It was afterwards printed, with the pictures from the original added, at Pirmasens in the Bavarian Palatinate, in 1780, and this second edition is still frequently found among our fellow members in Germany, Switzerland, and the mountains of the Vosges.

Though the completion of this very costly undertaking gives a favorable idea of the energy and financial strength

(1575), which belonged to the younger Yillis, and is, so far as known, the only copy in America, is now in my library.

of the North American community, they had to struggle with adversity, and were compelled, ten years later, to call for the charity of their Netherland brethren. Nineteen families of them had settled in Virginia, "but because of the cruel and barbarous Indians, who had already killed and carried away as prisoners so many of our people," they fled back to Pennsylvania. All of one family were murdered, and the rest had lost all their possessions. Even in Pennsylvania two hundred families, through recent incursions of the savages in May and June, lost everything, and their dead numbered fifty. In this dreadful deprivation they asked for help, and they sent two of their number, Johannes Schneyder and Martin Funck, to Holland, giving them a letter dated September 7th, 1758, signed by Michael Kaufman, Jacob Borner, Samuel Bohm, and Daniel Stauffer. The two envoys, who had themselves sorely suffered from the devastations of the war, acquitted themselves well of their mission on the 18th of the following December, when they secured an interview with the committee at Amsterdam. They made the impression of being "plain and honest people," gave all the explanations that were wanted, and received an answer to the letter they brought, in which was inclosed a bill of exchange upon Philadelphia for £50 sterling, equal to £78 11s. 5d. Pennsylvania currency, or 550f. The newly chosen secretary of the committee, J. S. Centen, adds: "We then paid their expenses here, and supplied them with victuals and travelling money, and they departed December 17th, 1758, in the Hague packet boat."

After this event all intercourse between the North American Mennonites and those in the Netherlands ceased, except that the publisher of the well-known "Name List of the Mennonite Preachers" endeavored,

until the end of the last century, to obtain the necessary information from North America for his purpose; but it is apparent, upon looking at the remarkable names of places, that very much is wanting. They wrote to him, however, that he might mention as distinct communities Schiebach,¹ Germantown, Mateschen, Indian Kreek, Blen,² Soltford,³ Rakkill,⁴ Schwanin, Deeproom,⁵ Berkosen,⁶ Anfrieds, Grotenswamp,⁷ Sackheim,⁸ Lower Milford, with two meeting houses, Hosensak, Lehay,⁹ Term, Schuylkill, and forty in the neighborhood of Kanestogis.¹⁰ In 1786 the community in Virginia is also specially mentioned. For some years this statement remained unchanged. The list of 1793 says that the number of the Mennonite communities of North America, distinct from the Baptists, was two hundred, and some estimate them at over three hundred, of which twenty-three were in the Pennsylvania districts of Lancaster and Kanestogis. This communication was kept unchanged in the Name List of 1810, but in the next, that of 1815, it was at last omitted, because, according to the compiler, Dr. A. N. Van Gelder, "for many years, at least since 1801, we have been entirely without knowledge or information."

In 1856, R. Baird, in his well-known work, "Religious in America," says that Pennsylvania is still the principal home of the Mennonites in the United States, and that they have four hundred communities, with two hundred or two hundred and fifty preachers and thirty thousand members, who are, for the most part in easy circumstances. Perhaps these figures are correct, so far as concerns Pennsylvania; but according to the "Confer-

¹ Skippack.² Plain.³ Salford.⁴ Rockhill.⁶ Deep Run.⁶ Perkasio.⁷ Great Swamp. ⁸ Saucon.⁹ Lehigh.¹⁰ Conestoga.

ence Minutes of the entire Mennonite Community in North America, held at West Point, Lee County, Iowa, the 28th and 29th of May, 1860," the number of the Mennonites in all the States of the Union amounted to 128,000. After having for many years almost entirely neglected mutual relations, and separated into many small societies, they finally came to the conclusion that a firm covenant of brotherhood is one means to collect the scattered, to unite the divided, and to strengthen the weak. The delegates of the communities come together annually, as they did the present year from May 31st to June 3d, at Wadsworth, Ohio. On the 20th of May, 1861, they repeated in their own way what our fathers did fifty years earlier; they founded a seminary for the service of the church, with which, since that time, Dr. Van der Smissen, formerly minister at Frederickstadt, has been connected as professor and director. May it be to them as great a blessing as ours has been to us.

*ABRAHAM AND DIRCK
OP DEN GRAEFF.*

From Penn Monthly, September 1873.

ABRAHAM AND DIRCK OP DEN GRAEFF.¹

“ Talking of old home scenes, op den Graeff
Teased the low backlog with his shodden staff,
Till the red embers broke into a laugh
And dance of flame, as if they fain would cheer
The rugged face, half tender, half austere,
Touched with the pathos of a homesick tear !”

WHITTIER.

THE history of Pennsylvania is as yet unwritten. When the typical American of to-day, momentarily wearied with the chase after wealth, an establishment, horses, a footman, and all those things which represent his conception of prosperity and practical happiness, stops to inquire, if ever he does, concerning the men who founded his country, who they were and whence they came, and what were the causes which have influenced the development of its civilization, his thoughts invariably turn toward Massachusetts. Plymouth rock looms up before him vast and imposing, but the Delaware flows by unheeded. He is familiar with the story of the Mayflower, and her burden of strange folk destined to a barren shore is impressed vividly upon his imagination, but of the Welcome which sailed over the same sea, bearing a purer people to a better land, he has never heard a whisper. Why the chroniclers, who have so energetically and successfully tilled the one field, should neglect the other, it

¹ Many of the facts contained in this article have been obtained from Seidensticker's "Pastorius und die Grundung von Germantown."

is difficult to understand. Surely there is enough of romance to please the fancy, and much food for rugged thought, in the career of that son of a fighting old English admiral, who forsook the paths which seemingly led direct to fame and fortune, and, assuming the quaint ways and plain garb of a despised sect, preached its peaceful faith. Caleb Pusey, going out unarmed into the forest to meet a threatened attack of the savages, is a more heroic figure than blustering Miles Standish, girt with the sword he fought with in Flanders. Lloyd, Logan, and Pastorius, trained in the schools of Europe, and versed in all the learning of their day, were men whose peers are rarely found among colonists. The Quaker, the Mennonite and the Moravian, mindful of how their fathers were harried from place to place with the prison behind and the stake threatening before, bringing across the ocean with them their Bibles and often nothing else, with hearts warm enough and a creed broad enough to embrace the religious wayfarer and wanderer, as well as the negro and Indian, contrast favorably with the narrow and intolerant Puritan whose hand fell heavily upon all of different race, habits or belief from his own. Unfortunately, however, the German has been hard to assimilate, the Quaker repressed tendencies which seemed to him to partake of the vanities of the world, and the descendants of both have been slow to grope with the lamp of the historian amid the lives of their forefathers. Much which ought to have been preserved has therefore been irretrievably lost; but there still remain in neglected and out of the way places rich harvests to be garnered by the future investigator, when a higher culture and the growth of a more correct taste have taught him their value. After all the materials have been gathered and winnowed so that the true measure of the in-

fluence which has been exerted by the Quaker may be ascertained, he will thenceforth occupy the conspicuous position in the annals of the country to which he is entitled, but which he has as yet scarcely begun to attain.

Of recent years, since the long-continued struggle with slavery in the United States ended in its overthrow during the rebellion, the protest against that institution sent by four German Friends of Germantown to the quarterly meeting in 1688, which was the first glimmering of the dawn of the contest, has grown to be famous. The men who prepared and signed this remarkable document slumbered in almost undisturbed obscurity until the scholarly Seidensticker published his sketches, and Whittier using the material thus collected, gave the name of Pastorius to the world in his beautiful poem. It is a little sad that Pastorius, whose life in America was spent here and who belonged to a mental and moral type entirely our own, should become celebrated as the Pennsylvania *Pilgrim*, as if he could only obtain appreciation by the suggestion of a comparison with the men who landed at Plymouth; but no poet arose along the Schuylkill to tell the tale, and we must recognize with gratitude, if with regret, how fittingly others have commemorated the worth of one whom we neglected.

It is the purpose of this article to gather into one sheaf such scattered and fragmentary facts concerning the lives of two others of those four signers as have survived the lapse of nearly two hundred years. In the council of the Mennonite Church which set forth the eighteen articles of their confession of faith at the city of Dordrecht, April 21st, 1632, one of the two delegates from Krevelt or Crefeld was Hermann op den Graeff. Of the antece-

dents of this Hermann, nothing is known.¹ A tradition, current among some of the descendants, asserts that the family were French-Germans, but the name itself would seem to indicate a Dutch origin. A recent able writer upon the subject has suggested the query as to how far the founders of the Quakers were familiar with the doctrines of the German Anabaptists, and intimates the opinion that the former sect was an outgrowth of the latter.² At all events, the plainness of dress and of speech, the opposition to warfare, lawsuits, and the taking of oaths, and others points of resemblance, rendered a transition from the one belief to the other comparatively easy, so that George Fox, Robert Barclay, and William Penn, found little difficulty in the establishment of Friends' meetings along the Rhine. The testimony of the yearly meeting at Amsterdam, 5 mo., 1693, says of Stephen Crisp, a noted preacher, that "In the year 1667 he visited the small company of Friends then living at a place called Kreyshheim in the Palatinate," and "Another time he made a journey into the County of Meurs to the town of Crevel, where a meeting was set up." *A priori* we would expect the first German emigrants to Pennsylvania to come from these towns, as was the case; and if we should make the farther inference that they were

¹ When this article was written I had no knowledge of the Scheuten genealogy. That valuable MS. says that Hermann op den Graeff was born November 26th, 1585, at Aldekerk a village near the borders of Holland. He moved to Crefeld, and there married a Mennonite girl, Grietjen Pletjes daughter of Driessen, August 16th, 1605. He died December 27th, 1642, and she died January 7th, 1643. They had eighteen children, among whom was Isaac who was born February 28th 1616, and died January 17th, 1679. He had four children Hermann, Abraham, Dirck and Margaret all of whom emigrated to Germantown.

² Authoress of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

among the attendants at these Quaker meetings, we would probably not be far from the truth. When Pastorius had concluded to cross the ocean, in order, as he says, "to lead a quiet and Christian life," he visited during April, 1683, a number of his friends, to endeavor to persuade them to accompany him. At Cologne he found an acquaintance named Dotzen, who was willing, but he could not obtain the consent of his wife. The reasons she gave for declining were, that at home she went from place to place in a carriage, but in America "must she perhaps look after the cattle and milk her cows." Madame Dotzen was evidently a clear-headed woman, who was too wise to exchange her present advantages and comforts for the uncertainties of a distant wilderness. From Urdingen he went to Crefeld on foot, and there talked with Thones Kunders and his wife, and with Dirck, Hermann, and Abraham up den Graeff, three brothers, who were grandsons of the Mennonite delegate. Did they have some dim and vague consciousness of the great work which they and their children under the guidance of Providence were to perform? Was it given to them to catch a glimpse of what that little colony, planted in an unknown land thousands of miles away, was in the course of a few generations to become, or was the hope of a religious peace alone sufficient to calm their doubts and allay their fears? Six weeks later they followed Pastorius. At Rotterdam, on the way, on the 11th of June, they bought jointly from Jacob Telner two thousand acres of land to be laid out in Pennsylvania. On the 6th of October, 1683, together with Lenart Arets, Thones Kunders, Reynier Tyson, Willem Streypers, Jan Lensen, Peter Keurlis, Jan Seimens, Johannes Bleikers, Abraham Tunes and Jan Lucken, their wives, children and servants, in all thirteen fami-

lies, they arrived in Philadelphia. On the 24th, in Germantown, they all drew lots for their respective locations, and immediately began to build the huts and dig the caves in which, with, as may be imagined, considerable inconvenience, they passed the following winter. Germantown was laid out into fifty-five lots of fifty acres each, running along upon both sides of the main street, and in 1689 Dirck op den Graeff owned the second lot on the west side going north, Hermann the third, and Abraham the fourth, with another half lot further to the northward. All three were weavers of linen. Richard Frame, in a description of Pennsylvania in verse, published in 1692, refers to Germantown :

“Where lives *High German* People and *Low Dutch*
Whose Trade in weaving Linnen Cloth is much,
There grows the Flax, as also you may know
That from the same they do divide the tow ;”

and Gabriel Thomas, in his account of the “Province and Country of Pennsylvania,” published in 1698, says they made “very fine German Linnen, such as no person of Quality need be ashamed to wear.” It may be fairly claimed for Abraham op den Graeff that he was the most skilled of these artisans, doing even more than his part to have the town merit its motto of “*Vinum Linum et Texturinum*” since on the 17th of 9th month, 1686, his petition was presented to the Provincial Council, “for ye Govr’s promise to him should make the first and finest pece of linnen cloath.”¹ Upon a bond given by him to John Gibb in 1702 for 38*l.* 5*s.*, afterward assigned to Joseph Shippen, and recorded in the Germantown book, are, among others, these items of credit: “Cloth 32 yds

¹ Colonial records. Vol. i, p. 193.

@ 3s, 6d." and "36½ Linning @ 4s," showing the prices at which these fabrics were valued.

On the 12th of 6th month, 1689, Penn issued to Dirck op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, Hermann op den Graeff, called "Towne President," and eight others, a charter for the incorporation of Germantown, and directed Dirck, Hermann, and Thones Kunders to be the first burgesses, and Abraham, with Jacob Isaacs Van Bebber, Johannes Kassel, Heifert Papen, Hermann Bon and Dirck Van Kolk to be the first committee-men. The bailiff and two eldest burgesses were made justices of the peace.¹ This charter, however, did not go into effect until 1691. Under it, afterward, Dirck was bailiff in the years 1693 and 1694, and Abraham a burgess in 1692. Abraham was also elected a member of the Assembly for the years 1689, 1690 and 1692, sharing with Pastorius, who held the same position in 1687, the honor of being the only Germantown settlers who became legislators.

Their strongest claim, however, to the remembrance of future generations, is based upon the protest hitherto referred to, signed by Gerhard Hendricks, Dirck op den Graeff, Francis Daniel Pastorius and Abraham op den Graeff. This historic document may be seen in the *Grundung von Germantown*—a work which should be made more accessible—Watson's *Annals*, Evan's *Friends in the XVII. Century*, and other books, but in all, except the first, the name of Abraham is found distorted by an original misprint, which is ever faithfully copied, and almost destroys its identity. Two hundred years have added few arguments and little strength to the objections which it urges.

"Now, though they are black, we cannot conceive

¹Pennsylvania Archives. Vol. i, p. 3.

there is more liberty to have them slaves than it is to have other white ones."

"Or have these poor negers not as much right to fight for their freedom as you have to keep them slaves?"

"Now, what is this better done than Turks do? Yea, rather is it worse for them which say they are Christians."

The opinions of the writers are expressed in a sturdy and vigorous language, which, under the circumstances, was certainly remarkable. "But, to bring men hither, or to rob or sell them against their will, *we stand against.*"

It is probable, from the learning and ability of Pastorius, that he was the author of this protest, though there is no positive evidence of the fact; but it is reasonably certain that Dirck op den Graeff bore it to the quarterly meeting at Richard Worrall's, and his is the only name mentioned in connection with its presentation to the yearly meeting, to which it was referred as a topic of too much importance to be considered elsewhere. Perhaps, also, it should be observed that among the signatures, his name precedes that of Pastorius, so that if any significance whatever attaches to this circumstance, it may not be forgotten.

A short time after this earnest expression of humanitarian sentiment had been laid away among neglected records, awaiting a more genial air and a stronger light in which to germinate, events of seemingly much more moment occurred to claim the attention of the Society of Friends. George Keith, whose memory is apostatized by them, and revered by Episcopalians, who had been one of the earliest and most effective of their preachers, began to differ with many of the leading members of the Society concerning questions of doctrine. In the nature of things, the defection of a man of such prominence was followed by that of many others. Dis-

sension was introduced into the meetings and division and discord into families. In a quiet and peaceable way the warfare was waged very bitterly and many harsh things were said softly. Dirck op den Graeff adhered to the cause of the Friends, but Abraham and Hermann were among the disaffected, and the three brothers seem to have become more deeply involved in the controversy than any of the other Germans. The numerous public discussions which were held only served to confirm each faction in the correctness of its own rendering of the Scriptures; the Friends who were sent to deal with George privately and to indicate to him whither he was tending made little progress; and the difficulty having become too great to be appeased, twenty-eight ministers presented a paper of condemnation against him at the monthly meeting at Frankford. Dirck op den Graeff, a magistrate in the right of his position as a burgess of Germantown, was present at the meeting and must in some way have shown an interest in the proceedings, since Keith called him publicly "an impudent Rascal." Most unfortunate words! Uttered in a moment of thoughtless wrath, and repeated in the numerous pamphlets and broadsides which the occasion called forth, they returned again and again to plague their author. Beaten out in the fervor of religious and polemic zeal, they were construed to impliedly attack the civil government in the person of one of its trusted officers. Ere long, in reply to the testimony against Keith, the celebrated William Bradford printed "An appeal from the twenty-eight Judges to the Spirit of Truth and true Judgment in all faithful Friends called *Quakers* that meet at this yearly meeting at Burlington, 7 mo., '92," signed by George Keith, George Hutcheson, Thomas Budd, John Hart, Richard Dungwoody and Abraham op den Graeff. The

Appeal is, in the main, an attempt to submit to the people the question which had been decided against Keith by the Ministers as to whether the inner light was not alone insufficient, but it closes with the following pointed and pertinent queries :

“9. Whether the said 28 persons had not done much better to have passed Judgment against some of their Brethren at Philadelphia (some of themselves being deeply guilty) for countenancing and allowing some called *Quakers*, and owning them in so doing, to hire men to fight (and giving them a *Commission* so to do, signed by three Justices of the Peace called *Quakers*, one whereof being a Preacher among them) as accordingly they did, and recovered a Sloop, and took some Privateers by force of arms ?

“10. Whether hiring men thus to fight, and also to provide the *Indians* with Powder and Lead to fight against other *Indians* is not a manifest Transgression of our principle against the use of the carnal Sword and other carnal Weapons ? Whether these called *Quakers* in their so doing have not greatly weakened the Testimony of Friends in England, Barbadoes, &c., who have suffered much for their refusing to contribute to uphold the Militia, or any Military force ? And whether is not their Practice here an evil Precedent, if any change of government happen in this place, to bring Sufferings on faithful Friends, that for Conscience sake refuse to contribute to the Militia ? And how can they justly refuse to do that under another's Government, which they have done or allowed to be done under their own ? But in these and other things we stand up Witnesses against them, with all faithful Friends everywhere.

“11. Whether it be according to the Gospel that Ministers should pass sentence of Death on Malefactors, as

some pretended Ministers here have done, preaching one day *Not to take an Eye for an Eye* (Matt. v. 38), and another day to contradict it by taking Life?

“12. Whether there is any Example or President for it in Scripture, or in all Christendom, that Ministers should engross the worldly Government, as they do here? which hath proved of a very evil tendency.”¹

There was enough of truth in the intimations contained in these queries to make them offensive and disagreeable. According to the account of it given by Caleb Pusey, an opponent of Keith, in his “Satan’s Harbinger Encountered,” when Babbitt had stolen the sloop and escaped down the river, the three magistrates issued a warrant in the nature of a hue and cry, and a party of men went out in a boat and captured the robbers. As they were about to depart, Samuel Carpenter, a leading and wealthy Friend, stood up on the wharf and promised them one hundred pounds in the event of success. Doubtless they used some force; but to call them militia, and the warrant a commission, was, to say the least for it, quite ingenious on the part of Keith. The Appeal had the effect of converting what had hitherto been purely a matter of Church into one of State. Bradford and John McComb was arrested and committed for printing it, but were afterward discharged. Keith and Budd were indicted before the grand jury, tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds each. These proceedings caused as much excitement as our placid forefathers were capable of feeling, and became the subject of universal comment. The justices, Arthur Cooke, Samuel Jennings, Samuel Richardson, Humphrey Murray, Anthony Morris, and Robert

¹ A mutilated copy of this Appeal is in the Friends’ library on Arch street above Third.

Ewer met in private session on the 25th of 6 mo, 1692, and issued the following proclamation of warning and explanation :

“ Whereas, the government of this Province, being by the late King of England’s peculiar favor, vested and since continued in Governor Penn, who thought fit to make his and our worthy friend, Thomas Lloyd, his Deputy Governor, by and under whom the Magistrates do act in the government, and whereas it hath been proved before us that George Keith, being a resident here, did, contrary to his duty, publicly revile the said Deputy Governor by calling him an impudent man, telling him he was not fit to be a Governor, and that his name would stink, with many other slighting and abusive expressions, both to him and the magistrates: (and he that useth such exorbitancy of speech towards our said Governor, may be supposed will easily dare to call the Members of Council and Magistrates impudent Rascals, as he hath lately called one in an open assembly, that was constituted by the Proprietary to be a Magistrate) and he also charged the Magistrates who are Magistrates here, with engrossing the magisterial power into their hands, that they might usurp authority over him : saying also, he hoped in God, he should shortly see their power taken from them : All which he acted in an indecent manner.

“ And further, the said George Keith, with several of his adherents, having some few days since, with unusual insolence, by a printed sheet called an Appeal, etc., traduced and vilely misrepresented the industry, care, readiness, and vigilance of some magistrates and others here, in their late proceedings against the privateers Babbitt and his crew, in order to bring them then to condign punishment, whereby to discourage such assemblies for the future ; and have thereby defamed and arraigned the

determination of the principal judicature against Murderers; and not only so, but also by wrong insinuations have laboured to possess the readers of their pamphlet, that it is inconsistent for those who are Ministers of the Gospel to act as Magistrates, which if granted, will render our said proprietary incapable of the powers given him by the King's letters patent, and so prostitute the validity of every act of government, more especially in the executive part thereof, to the courtesie and censure of all factious spirits, and malcontents under the same.

“ Now forasmuch as we, as well as others, have borne and still do patiently endure the said George Keith and his adherents in their many personal reflections against us and their gross revilings of our religious Society, yet we cannot (without the violation of our trust to the King and governor, as also to the inhabitants of this government) pass by or connive at, such part of the said pamphlet and speeches, that have a tendency to sedition and disturbance of the peace, as also to the subversion of the present government, or to the aspersing of the magistrates thereof. Therefore for the undeceiving of all people, we have thought fit by this public writing not only to signify that our procedure against the persons now in the Sheriff's custody, as well as what we intend against others concerned (in its proper place) respects only that part of the said printed sheet which appears to have the tendency aforesaid, and not any part relating to differences in religion, but also these are to caution such who are well affected to the security, peace and legal administration of justice in this place that they give no countenance to any revilers and contemners of authority, magistrates or magistracy, as also to warn all other persons that they forbear

the further publishing and spreading of the said pamphlets, as they will answer the contrary at their peril."¹

"What we intend against others concerned," would seem to imply that a bolt was being forged over the heads of Abraham op den Graeff and the remaining three signers of the insolent pamphlet; but it was never discharged. The yearly meeting at Burlington disowned Keith, and this action the yearly meeting at London confirmed. Dirck op den Graeff was one of those who signed the testimony against him and one of those giving a certificate to Samuel Jennings, who went to London to represent his opponents. Hermann op den Graeff, on the other hand, was among a minority of sixty-nine, who issued a paper at the yearly meeting at Burlington, favoring him. The results of this schism were extensive and grave. It placed a weapon in the hands of the enemies of Friends which they used in Europe, as well as here, without stint. Ecclesiastically it led to the foundation of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania. Politically it threatened to change the destinies of a Commonwealth, since it was one of the principal reasons assigned for depriving Penn[of the control of his province.

The incorporation of Germantown rendered necessary the opening of a court. In its records may be traced the little bickerings and contentions which mark the darker parts of the characters of these goodly people. Its proceedings conducted with their simple and primitive ideas of judicature, written in their quaint language, are both instructive and entertaining, since they show what manner of men these were, whose worst faults appear to have consisted in the neglect of fences and the occasional use of uncomplimentary adjectives. From among them is

¹ Smith's History in Hazard's Register, Vol. vi., p. 281.

extracted whatever, during the course of about thirteen years, relates to the op den Graeffs.

1696. "The 3d day of the 9th month, before the persons constituting this Court of Record, proclamation was made and the overseers of the fences did present as insufficient the fence of Hermann op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, Isaac Jacobs, Johannes Pottinger, Lenert Arets and Reinert Tyson."

"The 6th day of the 9th month, after proclamation, the overseers of the fences being appointed to appear before this Court, did present as yet insufficient the fence of Hermann op den Graeff, Abraham op den Graeff, Isaac Jacobs and Johannes Pottinger."

"James de la Plaine, Coroner, brought into this court the names of the jury which he summoned the 24th day of 4th month, 1701, viz.: Thomas Williams, foreman; Peter Keurlis, Hermann op den Graeff, Reiner Peters, Peter Shoemaker, Reiner Tyson, Peter Brown, John Umstat, Thomas Potts, Reiner Hermans, Dirk Johnson, Hermann Tunes. Their verdict was as followeth: We, the jury, find that through carelessness the cart and the lime killed the man; the wheel wounded his back and head, and it killed him."

1700-1. "The 7th day of the 9th month, Abraham op de Graeff and Peter Keurlis were sent for to answer the complaints made against their children by Daniel Falckner and Johannes Jawert, but the said Abraham op de Graeff being not well and Peter Keurlis gone to Philadelphia, this matter was left to the next session."

20th of 11th month, 1701. "The sheriff complains against Abraham op de Graeff's son Jacob, for having taken a horse out of his custody. The said Jacob answers that he brought the horse thither again. The Court fined him half a crown, besides what his father

is to pay' the sheriff according to the law of this corporation."

"The sheriff, Jonas Potts, gave Abraham op de Graeff the lie for saying that the said sheriff agreed with Matthew Peters to take for his fees 7s. 6d., which upon acknowledgment was forgiven and laid by."

December 28th, 1703. "Abraham op de Graeff did mightly abuse the Bailiff in open court, wherefore he was brought out of it to answer for the same at the next Court of Record."

21st of 1st month, 1703-4. "Abraham op de Graeff being formerly committed by James de la Plaine, Bailiff, for several offences mentioned in the mittimus, and the said Abraham having further, with many injurious words, abused the now Bailiff Arent Klincken in open Court of Record, held here at Germantown, the 28th day of December, 1703, was fined by this present Court the sum of two pounds and ten shillings, and he to remain in the Sheriff's custody until the said fine and fees be satisfied."

13th of 4th month, 1704. "The action of Mattheus Smith against Abraham op de Graeff was called and the following persons attested as jurymen, viz. : Paul Wolff, Tunes Kunders, William Strepers, Dirk Jansen, Jr., John Van de Wilderness, Dirk Jansen, Sr., Walter Simens, Henry Tubben, John Smith, Lenert Arets, Hermannus Kuster and Cornelius Dewees. The declaration of Matthew Smith being read, the answer of the defendant was that he proffered pay to the plaintiff, but that he would not accept of it, and brings for his evidences Edward Jerman and Joseph Coulson, who were both attested and said that Abraham op den Graeff came to the ordinary of Germantown, where Matthew Smith was and told to the said Smith that he should come along with him and receive his pay, and that he said Abraham had scales at

home ; but Smith did not go. The plaintiff asked the said German and Coulston whether they heard the defendant proffer any kind of payment ; they both said no. The jury's verdict was as followeth : The jury understand that Matthew Smith refused the payment which Abraham has offered, the said Matthew is guilty ; but Abraham must pay the sum which the arbitrators had agreed upon. Paul Wolff, foreman." .

October 3d, 1704. "The action of Abraham op den Graeff, against David Sherkes, for slandering him, the said Abraham, that no honest man would be in his company, was called, and the bond of the said David Sherkes and Dirck Keyser, Sr., for the defendant's appearing at this Court was read : the cause pleaded, and as witnesses were attested Dirck Keyser, Sr., Dirck Keyser, Jr., Arnold Van Vosen and Hermann Dors, whereupon the jury brought in their verdict thus : We of the jury find for the defendant. The plaintiff desired an appeal, but when he was told he must pay the charges of the Court and give bond to prosecute he went away and did neither."

Dirck died about May, 1697, leaving a widow Nileken or Nieltje, but probably no children. Hermann, about September 29th, 1701, removed to Kent county, in the "Territories," now the State of Delaware, and died before May 2d, 1704. In a deed made by Abraham in 1685 there is a reference to his "hausfrau Catharina," and May 16th, 1704, he and his wife *Zrintje* sold their brick house in Germantown. Soon afterward he removed to Perkiomen, and traces of the closing years of his life are very meagre. Of the two thousand acres purchased by the three brothers from Telner, eight hundred and twenty-eight were located in Germantown and sold, and the balance, after the deaths of Dirck and Hermann, vested in Abraham through the legal principle of survivorship.

He had them laid out in the Dutch Township fronting on the Perkiomen, where he was living April 6th, 1710, and where he died before March, 25th, 1731. On the 27th of August, 1709, he gave to his daughter Margaret and her husband Thomas Howe, a tailor of Germantown, three hundred acres of this land. In consideration of the gift Howe "doth hereby promise to inaintain the within named Abraham op den Graeff if he should want livelihood at any time during his life, and to attend upon him and be dutiful to him." It is to be hoped that this covenant was more faithfully kept than sometimes happens with such promises when men in their old age drop the reins into other hands. His children beside Margaret, were Isaac, Jacob, and Anne, wife of Hermann In de Hoffen. In their youth he sent Isaac and Jacob to school to Pastorius. It is probable that after the Keith difficulty he did not renew his association with the Friends, and that his remains lie with those of the In de Hoffens (Dehaven) in the Mennonite graveyard on the Skippack near Evansburg. His name has been converted into Updegraff, Updegrave and Updegrove, but those who bear it are not numerous.

The fine traits of character displayed by the German settlers of Pennsylvania in their fortitude under persecution abroad, and their persistent energy in overcoming the difficulties they encountered in a new land, among a strange people, speaking a different language, have met with little recognition. Their peculiarities have attracted more attention than their thrifty habits and correct morals. The events of their lives, though they might often teach a lesson well worthy of our remembrance, have been buried in oblivion. And a hard fate, more malicious in its mischievousness than the gnomes of their native mountains, has, in many instances, by awkward and

grotesque attempts at anglicization, which leave no traces of the original, obliterated their very names from the face of the earth.¹

¹For example: Bromberg has become Brownback, Bosshardt is now Buzzard, and Rieser, a giant, is changed into Razor.

ZIONITISCHER WEYRAUCHS HÜGEL
ODER MYRRHEN BERG.

GERMANTOWN, 1739

From the Bulletin of the Library Company of
Philadelphia, January, 1882.

ZIONITISCHER WEYRAUCHS HÜGEL.

THIS book contains a preface written at Ephrata, Pa., 14th of Fourth month, 1739, which with the title-page covers fourteen pages; seven hundred and ninety-two pages of hymns, and fourteen pages of index. It is dedicated "To all solitary Turtle-Doves cooing in the wilderness as a spiritual harp—playing in the many times of divine visitation." There are a number of facts in the bibliographical history of the Weyrauchs Hügel, any one of which would be enough to make it a remarkable publication. It was the first book printed in German type in America. It was the first *book* from the justly celebrated and prolific colonial press of Christopher Saur of Germantown. A letter from Germantown dated November 16th, 1738, and published in the "Geistliche Fama," a European periodical of the *Inspired*, says: "We have here a German book-publishing house established by Saur, and the Seventh-day Baptists have had a great hymn book printed of old and new hymns mixed." In rather a curious way it led to the establishment of the Ephrata press. The 37th verse of the 400th hymn runs as follows:—

Sehet, sehet, sehet, an!
Sehet, sehet, an den Mann!
Der von Gott erhoehet ist,
Der ist unser Herr und Christ.

Which translated literally is—

Look, look, look,
Look, look upon the man;
He is exalted by God;
He is our Lord and Christ.

The compositor asked Saur whether he thought that more than one Christ had appeared. Saur inquired of him why he suggested such an idea; when the man pointed out this verse and said it appeared to him that by it Conrad Beissel, the founder of the Ephrata Cloister, meant himself. Saur wrote to Beissel, and asked whether the suspicion had any foundation; whereupon Beissel replied to him that he was a fool. Such terse and uncomplimentary language did not please Saur, who soon after issued a pamphlet censuring Beissel, saying among other things that his name contained the number 666 of the beast of the Apocalypse, and that he had received something from all the planets —“from Mars his strength, from Venus his influence over women, and from Mercury his comedian tricks.” Beissel became quite angry, and one of the results of the widening breach was a new press at Ephrata. The Weyrauchs Hügel is the largest and most important collection of the hymns of the Ephrata Cloister. Many of them were written there by Beissel and others, but unfortunately it is not possible, except in a few instances, to determine the authorship of particular hymns. Christina Hoehn, “a pious and God-fearing woman,” who died an inmate of the Cloister at an advanced age, wrote those upon pages 465 and 466, beginning “Wenn mir das Creutz will machen Schmertzen,” and “Ich dringe ein in Jesu Liebe.”¹ Choral books, containing the music to

¹ The inmates whom I have been able to identify under their cloister names are:

Father Friedsam,	Conrad Beissel.
Sister Albina,	Margaret Hoecker:
“ Anastasia or Tabea,	—— Thomen.
“ Eunike,	Philip Hanselmans’ wife.
“ Marcella,	Maria Christiana Saur.

which these hymns were sung, were beautifully written and illuminated with full page decorations of flowers and birds by the brethren and sisters. One of them is now in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and another, with different designs, in a private library in Philadelphia. Ephrata is believed to be the last place in the world where the middle-age art of illuminating manuscripts was preserved and practiced.

A well-known New England collector who has since met with a sad fate, succeeded a few years ago in finding a copy of the Weyrauchs Hügel, for which he paid \$40. Unfortunately, it lacked a title-page. Its owner, hearing of a gentleman living in the interior of Montgomery County, Pa., who would be more likely than any one else to be able to supply the omission, made him a visit and offered him \$10 for the missing leaf. The gentleman referred to, with a tender sympathy for the plight of his antiquarian friend, went out to the Snow Hill Institution in Franklin County, and luckily found what was needed to complete the copy.

Brother Agabus,	Stephen Koch.
“ Agonius,	Michael Wohlfahrt.
“ Amos,	John Meylin.
“ Ezekiel,	Heinrich Sangmeister.
“ Elimelech,	——— Eckerlin.
“ Haggai,	——— Kroll,
“ Jabez,	Peter Miller,
“ Jephune,	——— Eckerlin.
“ Jotham,	——— Eckerlin.
“ Obadiah,	——— Funck.
“ Obed,	Ludwig Höcker.
“ Onesimus,	Israel Eckerlin.
“ Philemon,	Conrad Riesman.
“ Theodorus,	Thomas Hardie.
“ Zephaniah,	——— Nägely.

As the edition was small and the book was in common use for devotional purposes, it has become extremely scarce, nearly all of the few known copies being imperfect. For accounts of it see the *Deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, page 47, and Dr. Seidensticker's paper on "Die Deutsch-Amerikanischer Incunabula," in the same volume, page 475.

WILLIAM MOORE

OF

MOORE HALL.

From the History of Chester County, page 662.

WILLIAM MOORE OF MOORE HALL.

WILLIAM MOORE was a son of John Moore, collector of the port of Philadelphia, and was born in that city on the 6th day of May, 1699. In his early youth he was sent to England to be educated, and he graduated at the University of Oxford in 1719. His wife is said to have been a descendant of the Earl of Wemyss, and this tradition receives support from the fact that in his will he refers to the noble and honorable family from which she sprang. His father having become interested in the Pickering tract in Charlestown township, Chester Co. Pa., in 1729, gave him a lot of 240 acres on the Pickering creek, adjacent to the Schuylkill, on which he had been living for some years, and there he passed the remainder of his long and eventful life. On it he erected a frame house which was later superseded by a stone mansion overlooking the river. The latter is still standing and has ever since borne the name of Moore Hall. He also built a saw mill and the Bull tavern, a famous hostelry in the colonial days. He lived in considerable style, and had a number of slaves and other servants. In the Weekly Mercury for February 28th, 1737-8, he advertises for sale "a young man who understands writing and accounts, and lately kept school." He was an enthusiastic churchman, and at different times was a vestryman of St. James' Episcopal Church, on the Perkiomen, and of Radnor Church, in Delaware County. He was Colonel of one of the Chester County militia regiments during the time of the troubles with the Indians. As became a

gentleman of his standing, he early began to take a part in political affairs, and in 1733 was sent to the Assembly, being re-elected each succeeding fall until 1740. There is a letter to him in the Taylor MSS., which says:

“A few days agoe a noted minister of the gospel, beyond New Garden, and several of his congregation told me they were Informed by Isaac Wayne that thee declines Serving the County as a representative in Assembly the ensuing year and has Consented that he shall put thy name with his on a Tickett for Sheriff in order to Establish him in that post. This Information flies like the wind, and has given a vast number of those who were in thy interest a violent shock to hear that a Gent., on whom they so much relied should desert their service at a time when ye Publick affairs seem to challenge the Strictest attendance, for to help a p'son of so feeble a charracter as Wayne into an office which so little Concerns the true Interest of an English Subject as that of Sheriff.” This letter probably marks the beginning of an antagonism between Wayne, the father of the Revolutionary general, and Moore, which subsequently led to important results. It also lends some strength to the belief that during the time of his legislative service Moore belonged to the Quaker and anti-proprietary party. An anonymous piece of satire concerning him, purporting to be a confession published in 1757, says:

“I once made myself believe I could act the Patriot and accordingly made Interest to be chosen for a Representative, then I opposed loudly all Proprietary Innovations and was warm for the Liberty of my Country but getting nothing but the Honour of serving my Country I found that a Post of Profit might with my skill be more advantageous.”

In 1741 he was appointed by the Governor a justice of

the peace and judge of the County Court. For about forty years thereafter he was president judge of that court. Whatever may have been his previous political creed, it is certain that henceforth he was one of the most decided and influential friends of the proprietaries in the province. In the disputes between the Governor and the Assembly he took an active part, and on the 23^d of November 1755, he wrote to the Assembly that two thousand men were coming down to Philadelphia from Chester county to compel them to pass a militia law, a measure to which the Quaker majority were opposed. This was the first step in a struggle, of which he was the central figure, that shook the whole province, and finally required the intervention of the throne to decide.¹ During the two succeeding years a great many petitions were presented to the Assembly by citizens of Chester county charging him with tyranny, injustice, and even extortion, in the performance of the duties of his magisterial office, and asking for his removal. The names that were signed to these petitions are too numerous to be repeated here, but among them were those of some of the best people in the county. It is manifest to the impartial reader that while the haughty and aristocratic bearing of Moore doubtless gave offence, and may have at times led to arbitrary decisions, political rivalry had much to do with the complaints. In a broadside published in reply, Moore explains the circumstances of each case in detail, and says that the petitions were procured by Isaac Wayne, with whom he had had a quarrel, through spite and rancor, by "riding night and day among ignorant and weak Persons using many Persuasions and Promises." The Assembly, after a hearing

¹ For a detailed account of this contest see *Annals of Phoenixville*, p. 45.

of the petitioners, which was many times adjourned in order to give him an opportunity to be present, but which he declined to attend, on the ground that they had no authority to make the investigation, determined that he had been guilty of extortion, and many other fraudulent, wicked, and corrupt practices and asked for his removal from office. Soon afterwards, on the 19th of October, 1757, Moore wrote a paper, printed in Franklin's Gazette and some other newspapers, in which he fiercely reviewed the action of the Assembly, calling it "virulent and scandalous," and a "continued string of the severest calumny and most rancorous epithets conceived in all the terms of malice and party rage," and based upon petitions procured by a member and tool of the Assembly at a tavern when the signers were incapable of knowing what they did. Immediately after the meeting of the new Assembly, which was composed mainly of the same persons as the preceding, a warrant was issued to the sergeant at arms for the arrest of Moore. He was seized at his home at Moore Hall by two armed men one Friday evening, early in January, 1758, hurried away to Philadelphia and there confined in jail. A warrant was also issued for the arrest of Dr. William Smith, provost of the University of Pennsylvania who it was believed had been concerned in the preparation of the libelous address. They were both brought before the Assembly where they refused to make a defence, though Moore admitted that he had written the paper and refused to retract its statements. It was ordered that he should be confined until he should make a recantation, and that the address should be burned by the hangman. They were both given into the custody of the sheriff, with directions that they should not be discharged upon any writ of habeas corpus. They were, however, released in this way,

after the adjournment of the Assembly, in about three months. In August the Governor, after a series of quarrels with the Assembly about it, examined a number of witnesses, and went through the form of a trial, as a result of which he announced that Moore had purged himself of every one of the original charges, and that he had never known a more full and clear defence. Smith went to England to prosecute an appeal to the crown and on February 13th, 1760, there was signified formally to the Assembly "His Majesty's high displeasure" at their unwarrantable behavior in assuming power, that did not belong to them, and invading the royal prerogative and the liberties of the people. The time had not yet come when this authority could be resisted, and Moore and his friends came off victorious. As in most political contests, there was much unnecessary heat and some truth on both sides. There is plenty of contemporary evidence to show that Moore, admirable as was the part he played in those old days, and loath as I would be to take even one horse-tooth button set in brass from the dimity coat he wore,¹ was haughty in temper, and none too gentle in the exercise of power. "Unless they put me to the necessity of bringing ejections, and in that case they are to expect no favor," he wrote in 1769 to Benjamin Jacobs about some people who had made improvements on some of his

¹ "Run away from William Moore of Moore Hall, in Chester County, a likely young Negro Man, named Jack, speaks but indifferent English, and had on when he went away a new Ozenburg Shirt, a pair of striped homespun Breeches, a striped ticking Wastecoat, an old Dimity Coat of his master's, with buttons of Horse-teeth set in Brass and Cloth sleeves, a Felt Hat, almost new. Whoever secures the said Negro and will bring him to his Master or to John Moore, Esq., in Philadelphia, shall receive Twenty Shillings Reward and reasonable charges. WILLIAM MOORE."

Penna. Gazette, Aug. 10, 1730.

lands. "This is a season," he adds, "when most or all farmers have their barns or stock yards filled with the produce of their plantations."

John Ross, the celebrated Philadelphia lawyer, noted in his private docket, in November, 1765, that a case in which he represented some young Quakers, accused of a criminal charge, had been adjourned three times by Moore without cause, though seventeen witnesses were present; "the first instance of that kind of oppression that ever happened in this province," and that is was supposed to have occurred, "from his great love to Quakers." At the time of the outbreak of the Revolutionary war he was an old man of about seventy-six years, and much troubled with the gout. He was, however, keenly alive to the importance of the struggle, and his sympathies, like those of the greater number of men who had secured wealth, position and reputation under the old order of things, were entirely on the side of the crown. The rebels he regarded as a rude rabble. Jacob Smith, a sort of political eavesdropper, made an affidavit that he heard Moore say, at Moore Hall, on the 7th of May, 1775, that the people of Boston were a "vile set of rebels," and that "he was determined to commit every man to prison who would associate or muster." There was much excitement abroad, and it was the way of the new men who were coming into power to compel by force those who were suspected of Toryism to recant. On June 6th, the committee of Chester county, of which Anthony Wayne was chairman, visited Moore Hall for this purpose. Broken in strength and ill in health, the Judge was brought to bay, confronted with a power which Great Britain, in eight years of war, was unable to subdue. The spirit, however, with which two decades earlier he had defied the Assembly and suffered imprisonment was still undaunted,

and the paper he signed said, "I also further declare that I have of late encouraged and will continue to encourage learning the military art, apprehending the time is not far distant when there may be occasion for it." The latent sarcasm was entirely unnoticed and the committee unanimously resolved that a perfectly satisfactory answer had been given. On another occasion a party from the American army, among whom was Isaac Anderson, afterwards a member of Congress from that district, which was sent to deprive the Tories of arms, went to Moore Hall, and found its haughty occupant confined to his easy chair. Among other things they discovered a beautifully wrought sword, whose handle was inlaid with gold and silver, which had probably been an heirloom. They were about to carry it off, when the Judge asked permission to see it once more. It had scarcely been given to him before, with his foot on the floor, he snapped the blade from the handle. Then, clinching tightly the hilt, he threw to them the useless blade, and with a gesture of contempt, and eyes gleaming, cried, "There: Take that if you are anxious to fight; but you have no business to steal my plate." While the army was at Valley Forge, Col. Clement Biddle and others were quartered at Moore Hall and a committee of Congress met there in the early part of 1778. Moore died on the 30th of May, 1783. He and his old antagonists the Waynes, rest together in peace in the graveyard at Radnor. Moore lies directly in front of the door, and all the worshippers at that ancient and celebrated church, as they enter, pass over the remains of one who during his life was probably the most conspicuous and heroic figure in the county of Chester. Among his descendants are the Cadwaladers and Rawles

of Philadelphia, the Goldsboroughs and Duponts of Delaware, and some of the English and German nobility.¹

¹ A MS. volume of surveys in the library of the Historical Society of Penna., made in 1733 and 1734, contains the following doggerel. The authorship is unknown.

“ Old moor of moor Hall
 Did with nothing at all
 Dstroy a most Terrible Dragon
 which notable feat
 has Caused a whole State
 In songs for to bluster & brag on.

But now he's outdone
 By a stripling his son
 Who is made up of nothing but Wonder
 for moor of moor hall
 whos Deeds were not small
 to his son must in Justice Knock under.

The wonderous youth
 to tell you the trnth
 Does fight in a way thats not common
 ffor though he hates Steel
 as men hate the De'il
 Or a Debtor the sight of a Sumon,

Yet once on a Day
 there stood in his way
 a Creature as big as a Tyger
 he had two fierce Eyes
 off a very large size
 And seemed to have abundance of vigour.

this youth of moor Hall
 was not Daunted at all
 at a Creature that looked so frightfull
 He made not a word
 but out with his sword
 and at him both furious and spitefull.

the fight lasted long
 for the monster was strong
 well Known by the name of Poor Torry
 but maugre his Strength
 the youth was at length
 Victorious as I heard the Story.

But this is a feat
 Scarce worth to relate
 A meer silly thing and a trifle
 to what he has done
 with his round barrell'd gun
 and an excelent piece called a Riffle.

this Hero he saw
 Just after a thaw
 a flock of large Ducks on the water
 and also Espied
 A Deer tother side
 a Deer you scarce ere Saw a flatter.

he looked down his gun
 which quickly was done
 and loaded with Ball and Small Shot sir
 at the Ducks he let fly
 and caused some to die
 ffor twelve out of thirteen he got sir.

And what will you puzzel
 He mounted the muzzel
 Ere the Ball from the Barrel got clear, Sir
 And aimed so right
 That the Ball in its flight
 Passd quite thro the heart of the Deer, Sir.

SAMUEL RICHARDSON,

*A COUNCILOR, JUDGE AND LEGISLATOR OF
THE OLDEN TIME.*

From Lippincott's Magazine for April, 1874.

SAMUEL RICHARDSON.

A COUNCILOR, JUDGE AND LEGISLATOR OF THE OLDEN TIME.

ON the 3d of July, 1686, not quite four years after the arrival of Penn, a bricklayer from the island of Jamaica, named Samuel Richardson, bought five thousand eight hundred and eighty acres of land in Pennsylvania, and two large lots on the north side of High street (now Market) in the city of Philadelphia, for three hundred and forty pounds. He had probably been but a short time a resident of Jamaica, since the certificate he brought with him from the Friends' meeting at Spanish Town, to the effect "y^t he and his wife hath walked amongst us as becomes Truth," was only given "after consideration thereof and Enquiry made." Of his previous life we know nothing, unless it be the following incident narrated in Besse's *Sufferings of the Quakers*: In the year 1670 a squad of soldiers arrested George Whitehead, John Scott and Samuel Richardson at a meeting of Friends at the Peel in London, and after detaining them about three hours in a guard-room, took them before two justices, and charged Richardson with having laid violent hands upon one of their muskets. "This was utterly false, and denied by him, for he was standing, peaceably as he said, with his Hands in his Pockets." One of the justices asked him, "Will you promise to come no more at meeting?" *S. R.*: "I can promise no such thing." *Justice*: "Will you pay your 5s.?" *Richardson*: "I do not know that I owe thee 5s." A fine of that amount was nevertheless imposed.

The sturdy independence and passive combativeness manifested upon this occasion formed, as we shall hereafter see, one of the most prominent characteristics of the emigrant from Jamaica; and there are some other circumstances which support the conclusion that he was the person thus commemorated. Driven, as we may safely suppose, from England to the West Indies, and thence to Pennsylvania, by the persecution which followed his sect, he had now experienced the hardest buffetings of adverse fortune, and soon began to bask in the sunshine of a quiet but secure prosperity. Surrounded by men of his own creed, he thrived greatly, and rapidly passed into the successive stages of a merchant and a gentleman. In January, 1689-90, he bought from Penn another lot on High street for the purpose of erecting quays and wharves, and he now owned all the ground on the north side of that street between Second street and the Delaware River.

In January, 1688, William Bradford, the celebrated pioneer printer, issued proposals for the publication of a large "house Bible" by subscription. It was an undertaking of momentous magnitude. No similar attempt had yet been made in America; and in order that the cautious burghers of the new city should have no solicitude concerning the unusually large advances required, he gives notice that "Samuell Richardson and Samuell Carpenter of Philadelphia are appointed to take care and be assistant in the laying out of the Subscription Money, and to see that it be employed to the use intended." A single copy of this circular, found in the binding of an old book, has been preserved.

In 1688, Richardson was elected a member of the Provincial Council, a body which, with the governor or his deputy, then possessed the executive authority, and which, in its intercourse with the Assembly, was always exces-

sively dictatorial and often dispose to encroach. Quarrels between these two branches of the government were frequent and bitter, and doubtless indicated the gradual growth of two parties differing in views and interests, one of which favored the Proprietary and the other the people. Soon after taking his seat he became embroiled in a controversy that loses none of its interest from the quaint and plain language in which it is recorded, and which may have had its origin in the fact that he was then a justice of the peace and judge of the county court, a position he certainly held a few years later.¹ The Council had ordered a case depending in that court to be withdrawn, with the intention of hearing and determining it themselves, and Richardson endeavored in vain to have this action rescinded. At the meeting of the 25th of December, 1688, a debate arose concerning these proceedings, and the deputy governor, John Blackwell, called attention to some remarks previously made by Richardson which reflected upon the resolution of the Council, telling him that it was unbecoming and ought not to be permitted, and "Reproveing him as haveing taken too great liberty to Carry it vnbeseemingly and very provokeinly." He especially resented "ye said Samⁿ Richardson's fformer declareing at several times y^t he did not owne ye Gover^r to be Gover^r." Richardson replied with some warmth that "he would Stand by it and make it good—that W^m. Penn could not make a Gover^r;" and this opinion, despite the almost unanimous dissent of the members present, he maintained with determination, until at length the governor moved that he be ordered to withdraw. "I will not withdraw. I was not brought hither by thee, and I will not goe out by thy order. I was sent

¹ He was appointed a Justice 12th of 11th mo. 1688.

by ye people, and thou hast no power to put me out," was the defiant answer. The governor then said that he could not suffer Penn's authority to be so questioned and himself so contemned, and, being justified by the concurrence of all the Council except Arthur Cook, who "would be vnderstood to think and speak modestly," he succeeded in having his motion adopted. Thereupon Richardson "went fforth, declaring he Cared not whether ever he sat there more againe." After his departure it was resolved that his words and carriage had been "vnworthy and vnbecoming;" that he ought to acknowledge his offence, and promise more respect and heed for the future, before being again permitted to act with them; and that he be called inside and admonished; "but he was gon away."

A few weeks after this occurrence the governor informed the Council that he had made preparations to issue a writ for the election of members in the places of Richardson and John Eckley, and also presented a paper charging Thomas Lloyd—who had recently been chosen one of their number, and who, as keeper of the Great Seal, had refused to let it be used in some project then in contemplation—with various crimes, misdemeanors and offences. At this meeting Joseph Growden, a member who had been absent before, moved that Richardson be admitted to his seat, but was informed by the governor that he had been excluded because of his misbehavior. On the 3d of February, 1689, during the proceedings, Richardson entered the Council-room and sat down at the table. In reply to a question, he stated that he had come to discharge his duty as a member. This bold movement was extremely embarrassing to his opponents, and for a time they displayed hesitation and uncertainty. Argument and indignation were alike futile, since, unaccompanied by force, they were insufficient to effect his re-

moval; but the happy thought finally occurred to the governor to adjourn the Council until the afternoon, and station an officer at the door to prevent another intrusion. This plan was adopted and successfully carried into execution. Upon reassembling, Growden contended that the Council had no right to exclude a member who had been duly chosen by the people; and this led to an earnest and extended debate, in which, the secretary says, "many intemperate Speeches and passages happen'd, fitt to be had in oblivion." Ere a week had elapsed the governor presented a charge against Growden, but the fact that three others, though somewhat hesitatingly, raised their voices in favor of admitting all the members to their seats, seemed to indicate that his strength was waning.

The election under the new writ was held on the 8th of February, 1689, and the people of the county showed the drift of their sympathies by re-electing Richardson. The Assembly also interfered in the controversy, and sent a delegation to the governor to complain that they were abused through the exclusion of some of the members of Council. They were rather bluntly informed that the proceedings of the Council did not concern them. In the midst of the conversation upon this and kindred topics, Lloyd, Eckley and Richardson entered the chamber and said they had come to pay their respects to the governor and perform their duties. A resort to the tactics which had been found available on the previous occasion became necessary, and the meeting was declared adjourned; "upon which several of ye members of ye Council departed. But divers remaind, and a great deel of confused noyse and clamor was expressed at and without the doore of ye Gover^r's roome, where ye Councill had sate, w^{ch} occasioned persons (passing by in the streets) to stand still to heare; which ye Gover^r observing desired

ye sayd Tho. Lloyd would forbear such Lowd talking, telling him he must not suffer such doings, but would take a course to suppress it and shutt ye Doore." The crisis had now approached, and soon afterward Penn recalled Blackwell, authorized the Council to choose a president and act as his deputy themselves, and poured oil upon the troubled waters in this wise: "Salute me to ye people in Gen^l. Pray send for J. Simcock, A. Cook, John Eckley and Sam^l Carpenter, and Lett them dispose T. L., & Sa. Richardson to that Complying temper that may tend to that loveing & serious accord y^e become such a Govern^t."¹

After the departure of Blackwell the Council elected Lloyd their president. Richardson resumed his place for the remainder of his term, and in 1695 was returned for a further period of two years. During this time Colonel Fletcher made a demand upon the authorities of Pennsylvania for her quota of men to defend the more northern provinces against the Indians and the French, and Richardson was one of a committee of twelve, two from each county, appointed to reply to this requisition. They reported in favor of raising five hundred pounds, upon the understanding that it "should not be dipt in blood," but be used to "feed the hungrie & cloath the naked."

He was a judge of the county court and justice of the peace in 1688 and 1704, and for the greater part—probably the whole—of the intervening period. In the historic contest with George Keith, the leader of a schism which cause a wide breach among those early Friends in Pennsylvania, he bore a conspicuous part. A crew of river-pirates, headed by a man named Babbit, stole a sloop from a wharf in Philadelphia and committed a number of

¹ Joseph Growden, Samuel Carpenter and four others wrote to Penn, 9th of 2d mo., 1699, complaining of Geo. Blackwell that "He has excluded Sam. Rich'dson an able & honest man."

depredations on the Delaware. Three of the magistrates, all of whom were Quakers, issued a warrant for their arrest, and Peter Boss, with some others to assist, went out in a boat and effected their capture. Although, as the chronicler informs us, Boss and his party had "neither gun, sword or spear," it is fair to presume they did not succeed without the use of some force. This gave Keith an opportunity of which he was no by means loath to take advantage, and he soon afterward published a circular entitled an "Appeal," wherein he twitted his quondam associates with their inconsistency in acting as magistrates and encouraging fighting and warfare. Five of the justices, one of whom was Richardson, ordered the arrest of the printers, William Bradford and John McComb, and the authors, Keith and Thomas Budd, and the latter were tried, convicted and fined five pounds each.¹ These proceedings being bruited abroad and "making a great noise," the six justices, including the five above referred to and Anthony Morris, published a manifesto giving the reason for their action. Keith, they say, had publicly reviled Thomas Lloyd, the president of the Council, by calling him an impudent man and saying his name "would stink," and had dared to stigmatize the members

¹ "By a Warrant signed by Sam. Richardson & Rob. Ewer, Justices, the Sheriff and Constable entered the Shop of William Bradford & took all the above written Papers they could find call'd *An Appeal*, and carried the said W. Bradford before the said Justices, and also sent for John McComb, who (as they were informed) had disposed of two of said Papers and they not giving an Account where they had them were both committed to Prison. Also they sent Robert Ewer and the said officer to search the said W. Bradford's House again for more Papers &c. but found none, yet took away a Parcell of Letters, being bis utensils, which were worth about ten pounds." *Postscript to Second Edition of Appeal, 1692.*

of Council and the justices as impudent rascals. These things they had patiently endured, as well as his gross revilings of their religious society, but in his recent comments upon the arrest of Babbit he not only encouraged sedition and breach of the peace, but aimed a blow at the Proprietary government, since if Quakers could not act in judicial capacities the bench must remain vacant. Such conduct required their intervention, as well to check him as to discourage others. The Friends' yearly meeting, held at Burlington, on the 7th of July, 1692, disowned Keith, and their testimony against him Richardson and many others signed.

Robert Quarry, judge of the court of admiralty, received his appointment from the Crown. He seems to have been personally objectionable, and his authority, being beyond the control of the Proprietary, was not submitted to even at that early day without evidences of discontent and some opposition. An affair occurring in the year 1698 led to a conflict of jurisdiction between him and the provincial judges, in which he obtained an easy triumph; but his success appears only to have been satisfactory when it had culminated in their personal humiliation. John Adams imported a quantity of goods, which, for want of a certificate, were seized and given into the custody of the marshal of the admiralty court, and although he afterward complied with all the necessary legal forms, Quarry refused to redeliver them. The governor would not interfere, but Anthony Morris, one of the judges of the county court, issued a writ of replevin, in obedience to which the sheriff put Adams in possession of his property. Thereupon, Quarry wrote to England complaining of what he considered to be an infringement by the Proprietary government upon his jurisdiction. On the 27th of July, 1698, Morris, Richardson and James Fox pre-

sented to the governor and Council a written vindication of the action of the county court, saying it was their duty to grant the replevin upon the plaintiff giving bond, as he had done, and adding that they had good grounds for believing the sheriff to be as proper a person to secure the property "to be forthcoming in Specie, as by the replevin he is Comanded, as that they should remain in the hands of Robert Webb, who is no Proper officer, as wee Know of, to Keep the Same." More than a year afterward, Penn, who had recently arrived in the Province on his second visit, called the attention of the Council to the subject, and to the great resentment felt by the superior powers in England at the support said to be given in Pennsylvania to piracy and illegal trade. The next day Morris surrendered the bond and the inventory of the goods, and resigned his commission. To his statement that he had for many years served as a justice to his own great loss and detriment, and that in granting the writ he had done what he believed to be right, Penn replied that his signing the replevin was a "verie indeliberate, rash and unwarrantable act." His cup of humiliation had not yet, however, been drained. Quarry required his attendance again before the Council, and said the goods had been forcibly taken from the marshal, and "what came of y^m the S^d Anthonie best knew;" that he could not plead ignorance, "having been so long a Justice y^t hee became verie insolent;" and that the security having refused payment, and it being unreasonable to burden the king with the costs of a suit, he demanded that the "S^d Anthonie" should be compelled to refund their value. Morris could only reply "y^t it lookt very hard y^t any justice should suffer for an error in judgment; and further added that if it were to do again, he wold not do it."

David Lloyd, the attorney in the case, when arguing

had been shown the letters-patent from the king to the marshal, with the broad seal of the high court of admiralty attached. He said, "What is this? Do you think to scare us w' a great box and a little Babie? 'Tis true, fine pictures please children, but wee are not to be frightened at such a rate." For the use of these words he was expelled from his seat in the Council, and for permitting them to be uttered without rebuke the three judges, Morris, Richardson and Fox, were summoned to the presence of the governor and reprimanded. Edward Shippen, being absent in New England, escaped the latter punishment.

Richardson was elected a member of the Assembly for the years 1691, '92, '93, '94, '96, '97, '98, 1700, '01, '02, '03, '06, '07, '09. He probably found the leaders of that body more congenial associates than had been the members of the Council, and, from the fact that he was sent with very unusual frequency to confer with the different governors in regard to disputed legislation, it may be presumed that he was a fair representative of the views entertained by the majority. Though doubtless identified in opinion with David Lloyd, he does not appear to have been so obnoxious to the Proprietary party as many of his colleagues, since James Logan, writing to Penn in 1704, regrets his absence that year, and on another occasion says that the delegation from Philadelphia county, consisting of David Lloyd, Joseph Wilcox, Griffith Jones, Joshua Carpenter, Francis Rawle, John Roberts, Robert Jones and Samuel Richardson, were "all bad but the last."

On the 20th of October, 1703, a dispute arose concerning the power of the Assembly over its own adjournment—a question long and warmly debated before—which illustrates in a rather amusing way the futile attempts frequently made by the governors and their Council to ex-

ercise control. A messenger having demanded the attendance of the whole House of Representatives forthwith to consult about adjournment, they, being engaged in closing the business of the session, sent Joseph Growden, Isaac Norris, Joseph Wilcox, Nicholas Waln and Samuel Richardson to inform the Council that they had concluded to adjourn until the first day of the next Third month. The president of the council objected to the time, and denied their right to determine it, and an argument having ensued without convincing either party, the delegation withdrew. The Council then unanimously resolved to prorogue the Assembly immediately, and to two members of the latter body, who came a few hours afterward with the information of its adjournment to the day fixed, the president stated "that ye Council had Prorogued ye Assembly to ye said first day of ye said Third month, and desired ye said members to acquaint ye house of ye same." The order is solemnly recorded in the minutes as follows: "Accordingly ye Assembly is hereby prorogued." To prorogue them until the day to which they themselves had already adjourned was certainly an ingenious method of insuring their compliance.

On the 10th of December, 1706, the Assembly sent Richardson and Joshua Hoopes on a message to the governor, who, upon their return, reported that his secretary, James Logan, had affronted them, asking one of them "whether he was not ashamed to look, the said James Logan, in the face." The wrath of the Assembly kindled immediately. They directed Logan to be placed in custody, that he might answer at the bar of the House, and sent word to the governor that since he had promised them free access to his person, his own honor was involved; that they resented the abuse as a breach of privilege; and that they expected full satisfaction and the pre-

vention of similar indignities for the future. The governor sent for Logan, who explained that "all that past was a jocular expression or two to S. Richardson, *who used always to take a great freedom that way himself*, & that he believed he never resented it as an affront;" and Richardson, being summoned, declared that he was not at all offended.

For many years after his arrival in Pennsylvania, Richardson lived upon a plantation of five hundred acres near Germantown, and probably superintended the cultivation of such portions of it as were cleared. There he had horses, cattle and sheep. The Friends' records tell us that several grandchildren were born in his house, and from the account book of Francis Daniel Pastorius we learn that when they grew older they were sent to school at the moderate rate of fourpence per week. On the 19th of April, 1703, however, Ellinor, his wife, died, and some time afterward, probably in the early part of the year 1705, he removed to the city.¹ He married again, and lived in a house somewhere near the intersection of Third and Chestnut streets, which contained a front room and kitchen on the first floor, two chambers on the second floor, and a garret.

In the same year he was unanimously elected one of the aldermen of the city, and this position he held thereafter until his death. In December of that year he, Griffith Jones and John Jones, by order of the Town Council, bought a set of brass weights for the sum of

¹ The Abington monthly meeting records for 23d of 12th mo., 1701, say: "Samuel Richardson having desired that friends should keep a Meeting of Worship at his house, and this meeting having answered his request have ordered also that friends do meet at his house on ye s^d sixth day in every month, considering ye weakness of his wife."

twelve pounds twelve shillings; and the poverty of the new city may be inferred from the fact that they gave their individual notes, and took in exchange an obligation of the corporation, which, though often presented for settlement, was not finally disposed of until five years afterwards. In May, 1710, the Town Council determined to build a new market-house for the use of the butchers, and they raised the necessary funds by individual subscriptions of money and goods. Richardson was among the fourteen heaviest subscribers at five pounds each, and after its completion in August, 1713, was appointed one of the clerks of the market to collect the rents, etc., on a commission of ten per cent. The first moneys received were applied to the payment of an old indebtedness to Edward Shippen for funds used "in Treating our present Governor at his first arrival." The meeting of the Town Council on the 1st of October, 1717, was the last he attended.

He died June 10th, 1719, at an advanced age, and left a large estate. Like many others of the early Friends, he was a slaveholder, and among the rest of his property were the following negroes: viz., Angola, Jack, Jack's wife, and Diana. His wardrobe consisted of a new coat with plate buttons, cloth coat and breeches, loose cloth coat and druggert waistcoat, old cloak, old large coat and "Round robin," two fustian frocks and breeches, two flannel waistcoats, three pair of old stockings, two hats, linen shirts, leather waistcoat, and breeches, six neck-cloths, three handkerchiefs, one pair of new and two pair of old shoes.

He had four children. Joseph, the only son, married in 1696, Elizabeth, daughter of John Bevan,¹ and from

¹ John Bevan's wife was Barbara Aubrey, aunt of the William

about the year 1713 lived at Olethgo on the Perkiomen creek, in Providence township, Philadelphia (now Montgomery) county. This marriage was preceded by a carefully drawn settlement, in which the father of the groom entailed upon him the plantation of five hundred acres near Germantown, and the father of the bride gave her a marriage portion of two hundred pounds. Of the three daughters, Mary, the eldest, married William Hudson, one of the wealthiest of the pioneer merchants of Philadelphia, mayor of the city in 1725, and a relative of Henry Hudson, the navigator; Ann married Edward Lane of Providence township, Philadelphia county, and after his death Edmund Cartledge of Conestoga in Lancaster county; and Elizabeth married Abraham Bickley, also a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia. Among their descendants are many of the most noted families of the eastern counties of Pennsylvania.

Aubrey who married Letitia Penn, and a descendant of Sir Reginald Aubrey, one of the Norman conquerors of Wales.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH RICHARDSON.

From the Penn Monthly, February, 1876.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH RICHARDSON.

ON the main road leading from Phoenixville, in Chester county to Norristown, in Montgomery county Pennsylvania, about two miles from the Valley Forge and within a few yards of a hamlet called the Green Tree, may be seen an unpretending two-story stone dwelling of some note. It would not be likely to attract the attention of the traveler of to-day; but a hundred years ago, wayfarers who used the road stopped a moment to examine it, and perhaps envied the wealth of those who could afford to live in a mansion so spacious and imposing. Within sight the beautiful and romantic, though treacherous Perkiomen, flows into the Schuylkill, and the rich tract of land in the angle of the two streams, upon a part of which this house stands, bore in earliest times, the perhaps Indian name of Olethgo. Ten or fifteen years before the Revolutionary war it belonged to Joseph Richardson, a man whose remarkable career, clouded somewhat by the obscurity which has gathered around it during the lapse of time, still lingers in the traditions told by the grandames of the neighborhood to wondering children, and in such contemporaneous documents as chance or antiquarian tastes have preserved. The great-grandson of Samuel Richardson, one of the earliest colonists most influential in shaping the destiny of the province, and of John Bevan, a noted preacher of the Society of Friends, who had abandoned wealth and position in Wales, to accompany in the cause of truth his "esteemed friend

William Penn ;¹ the son of a prominent Quaker, and closely related to the Hudsons, Emlens, Morrises, Rawles, and others of the leading families of that sect in Philadelphia, there were few who could claim a more honorable or more virtuous ancestry. He inherited a remarkable physique from his father, of whom it is told that he could write his name upon the wall with a piece of chalk while a fifty-six pound weight hung upon his little finger, and bright blue eyes, looking forth from beneath brown locks, added adornment to a comely form. Six feet two inches in height and compactly made, he possessed immense muscular strength, and was capable of great endurance.² Tradition says that once an athlete, who dwelt in a distant part of the country to which his reputation for prowess and vigor had found its way, made a long journey in order to challenge him to a wrestle. Richardson examined the presumptuous stranger for a few moments and then inquired along which crack in the board floor he would be best pleased to lie. The selection had scarcely been made ere the discomfited wrestler was stretched like a child in the place he had chosen. Being the oldest son, he inherited the paternal estate ; and having married Mary Massey, the daughter of one of the Quaker families of the Chester valley, he commenced life under the most favorable auspices, and for many years all things appeared to be well with him. His tastes were those of a country gentleman of his time. Sopus, Scipio, Fearnought and other imported horses of pure blood were to be found in his stables.³ An Island in the Schuylkill containing 24 acres of land, a short distance above the present Perki-

¹ Collection of Memorials, page 79.

² Penna. Packet, Aug. 23d, 1773.

³ Penna. Gazette.

omen Junction, and marked upon the maps of that epoch as "Richardson's Island," afforded fine opportunities for catching the fish which then abounded in the river. The post-rider, in his weekly trip from Philadelphia to Ephrata and Swatara, brought the Pennsylvania Gazette, the newspaper of the day, to his home. His mien and carriage were those of a man conscious of more than ordinary power, though his manner had received tone and polish from occasional contact with life in the city, and from association with the intellectual people of the province. Physical and mental characteristics such as he possessed always impress the masses, and as might be anticipated he was popular. In 1755, after the defeat of Gen. Braddock at Fort DuQuesne, the French were so emboldened by their success as to threaten the capture of Philadelphia and the Indians extended their incursions to the neighborhood of Reading, where they killed and scalped many of the inhabitants. Rumors were rife that both Bethlehem and Reading had been burned to the ground, and the wild fear, now long forgotten, which only the torch and tomahawk could inspire, everywhere prevailed. In this time of trial and excitement women looked to Joseph Richardson as a protector. The young men of the vicinity gathered about him, and forming them into a company, he led them toward the frontier and the enemy. In 1757 he was elected commissioner of Philadelphia county. In 1765, together with Judge William Moore, of Moore Hall, Dr. William Smith, Provost of the University, Benjamin Franklin, the Rev. Thomas Barton, Israel Jacobs, his brother-in-law, who was afterwards a member of the second United States Congress, and others, he engaged in an extensive speculation in Nova Scotia.¹ They bought

¹ Jacob's MSS.

two hundred thousand acres of land there, and intending to found a colony, proceeded to lay out the town of Monckton on the Petitcodiac river and Frankfort on the St. Johns river. In the language of the agreement each adventurer should receive one of four town lots, sixty by two hundred and twenty-five feet in dimensions, one hundred and fifty acres in the outlying tract for himself and wife, and fifty acres additional for every Protestant person or child he took with him. The other three lots remained the property of the company; but, until that time in the future when they were to be sold at great profit, they could be used by the adventurers as gardens. Houses were to be erected, sixteen feet square and one-and-a-half-stories high. Two vessels filled with emigrants who accepted these terms and loaded with hoes, spades and implements of husbandry sailed from Philadelphia. When they arrived in Nova Scotia, however, the ungrateful settlers finding that lands were plentiful and occupants few, scattered whither they chose throughout the country and the scheme ended in a failure. It seems strange that while the forests were still standing along the Schuylkill it should ever have been attempted. The will of Franklin contains one devise to his son William, who had been a loyalist. It is for his interest in these lands; and he explains the gift by saying with caustic severity, that it was the only part of his estate remaining within the sovereignty of the King of Great Britain.¹

In 1771, Richardson made arrangements for a visit to England. For several years previously, the people of Pennsylvania and New Jersey had been much annoyed

¹ Franklin selected Anthony Wayne as the surveyor of these lands for the company. A printed copy of the agreement with the adventurers, accompanied by a rough draft of the site, the original French deeds for the tract and many of Richardson's MSS. are in my possession.

by the appearance of counterfeit bills, imitating so closely the currency of those provinces, as to make their detection extremely difficult. They were issued in considerable numbers, and with such dexterity, that for a long time the authorities, though earnest and on the alert, were completely baffled. Finally, in 1773, a clue to the source whence they came, it was believed, had been discovered, and it pointed toward two persons, one well known to the community, and the other comparatively obscure. Samuel Ford was with some difficulty captured, and having been convicted, ended his life upon the scaffold. On Wednesday the 18th of August, the sheriff of Philadelphia county, provided with a warrant from one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and attended by an armed posse of resolute men, hastened with great secrecy to arrest Joseph Richardson. Tradition tells that the officers of the law surrounded his house in the night, and awoke him from his slumbers. He recognized from his chamber window some of them as acquaintances, and inviting them courteously inside, entertained them in such manner as the unexpectedness of their visit permitted. Though surprised at the enormity of the charge, he expressed a perfect willingness to accompany them, and only requested delay long enough to enable him to arrange his clothing. While, however, he was displaying the blandness and suavity of a host toward welcome guests, his Quaker wife, true to her husband, and we dare not say false to her faith, quietly escaped from the house and saddled the fleetest of his fine horses. Suddenly he jumped from a rear window, and, with needless bravado, appearing a moment afterward mounted before the eyes of his astonished companions, he shouted, "Now, come along, gentlemen," and rode away into the darkness. Startled by this unexpected *coup*, they discharged their

weapons at random, and pursuit, though undertaken with vigor, was utterly vain. On the other hand, the officers made a report, the gist of which was that they beset his house in the daytime for many hours, and used every effort to take him; but that, with loaded pistols and other weapons, he bade them defiance, and kept them at bay until night, when he succeeding in eluding them, and escaped to his horse.¹ The differing accounts bear equal testimony to his adroitness and daring, and doubtless his outwitted and disappointed antagonists stood somewhat in awe of him. Governor Penn immediately issued a proclamation, offering a reward of £300 for his capture. Governor Franklin, of New Jersey, who met with some censure from the Legislature, offered £300 more, and the newspapers urged their readers, and all of his majesty's good subjects to make every exertion to secure "this very dangerous man." The plantation, the island, the servant, the horses and all of his property, were seized and sold, and henceforth he was an outcast and a wanderer. Soon afterward the war commenced, and in the folk lore which has come down to us from that era, Richardson appears as the hero of many a marvelous tory incident, and is described as a cherished companion of those noted Bucks county desperadoes, the Doanes, in their deeds of lawlessness and adventure. Once a man named Conway came upon him lurking in a dense wood, where stands the present village of Port Providence, which then belonged to David Thomas, the husband of Richardson's sister, and the grandfather of the author of Lippincott's biographical dictionary. He compelled Conway to bring him some food, and by threats of death if his whereabouts should be divulged, enforced secrecy. A farm

¹ Penna. Packet, Aug. 23d, 1773.

house of the neighborhood has a portion of the garret separated from the rest by a plastered partition, forming a false chamber without windows; and in this dark receptacle, called still by the country folk "the Richardson hole," it is said that he and the Doanes used to hide away their booty. Once he went to Bromback's tavern in Chester county, and laying a loaded pistol within reach, ate a meal while the cowed bystanders looked on without daring to interfere. At another time, being closely pursued by a body of horsemen, among whom, we are told, were several of the Vanderslices, he rode across the country to the Delaware, and nothing daunted, plunged into the river. His horse fatigued by a long course, struggled ineffectually against the waves, and so leaving the animal to its fate, he threw himself from its back, and swimming across to the Jersey shore again escaped. "But the fox must sleep some times, and the wild deer must rest," and February 24th, 1777, a vigilant individual wrote to inform the Committee of Safety that the "famous or infamous Ritchardson" had been seen in Philadelphia. Three days later, General Thompson, Major Butler, and some other officers, captured him between the city of York and the Susquehanna river, and conveyed him to Lancaster, and there had him securely confined in the jail. His good fortune however, did not yet desert him, and, strange to relate, either because of his innocence or shrewdness there seems to have been an entire lack of evidence against him. The mittimus in the first instance charged him with being a tory; but this accusation was abandoned, and that of forging and counterfeiting substituted. Having demanded and received from William Atlee, Chairman of the Committee of Lancaster county, a certificate to the effect that there was no proof of his being in league with the enemy, he wrote concern-

ing the other charge, a bold letter to Colonel Timothy Matlack, Secretary of the Council of Safety, saying that the reports against him had been circulated by ill-disposed persons, and that before the war he had gone without avail to Philadelphia county to be tried.¹ He intimated that his confinement would be of disadvantage to the Continental cause, since, if continued, his son, who held a commission in the service, would be compelled to resign; and he appealed to Matlack as an old friend to procure an early disposition of the case. Atlee, whom the Council authorized to act in the matter, refused to discharge him upon bail, holding that although no evidence of his guilt had been produced, the proclamation of the Governors made upon affidavits raised a very strong presumption of it. In June, Daniel Clymer renewed the application to the Council for him, and he was then liberated after a confinement of about four months. Three years later, on the 6th of March, 1780, he was again arrested upon a warrant from Joseph Reed, President of the Supreme Executive Council, issued by their direction, and thrown into jail in Philadelphia. The old accusation of counterfeiting was renewed, and in addition it was declared that he was disaffected to the cause of America, and his going at large was injurious to the interests of the good people of the State.² It must be admitted that his incarceration upon charges vague and seemingly impossible to prove, has much the appearance of persecution. He immediately presented a petition for a hearing. The Council submitted him to a searching examination, remanded him to jail, and at the expiration of two months ordered his release, "on condition of his leaving the State of Penn-

¹ Penna. Archives, vol. v, pages 239, 248 and 254.

² Colonial Records, vol. xi, pp. 216, 226; vol. xii, 270, 272, 273, 339.

sylvania, and going to some other part of America not in the possession of the enemy, not to return to this State without leave." If he obeyed these requirements, it was only for a short time, for he had returned to his old neighborhood in 1782, and there, before 1798, he probably died.¹ The latter part of his life seems to be involved in impenetrable obscurity, and doubtless his relatives and friends were loath to renew the recollections of a career which, though it opened with much brilliancy, was afterward tarnished by suspicion, if not stained with crime.

Was he guilty? A hundred years have rolled away, and who can answer now a question which was not determined then? While the intelligent wife of an English baronet can recognize the coarse features of an Australian butcher as those of her own educated and refined son; while thousands of people believe, and scores of them declare upon oath, that an unfortunate convict is the heir of one of the oldest Saxon families of the realm, who can solve the mysteries of the past? His long flight lends color to the accusations, and his subsequent readiness to meet his accusers has the appearance of innocence. If blameless, he was the unhappy victim of one of those webs of circumstance which are sometimes woven about even the purest of men, checking their usefulness and darkening their fame, and if guilty, strength of intellect and craft enabled him to conceal the traces so effectually that the keenest of his enemies were powerless to discover them. In reaching a decision, it should not be forgotten that whatever were the virtues of our revolutionary grandsires, lenity toward those suspected of loyalty was not one of them, and the repeated arrests and imprisonments of Richardson show what would have been

¹ Jacobs' MSS.

his fate, could the proof have been obtained. We commend the study of his life and character to the coming American novelist, who will fix upon the crests of our own Alleghanies some of the halo, which since the beginning of the century has radiated from the highlands of Scotland.

SAMUEL JOHN ATLEE,

*COLONEL OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MUSKETRY
BATTALION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.*

From the Pennsylvania Magazine, Vol. II, p. 74.

SAMUEL JOHN ATLEE.¹

THE family of Atlee reached distinction very early in the history of England. Contemporaneous with Richard Cœur de Lion was Sir Richard Atte Lee, who appears conspicuously in the ballads of Robin Hood, and who is represented in the "Lytell Geste" as saying—

"An hondreth wynter here before
Myne Aunsetters Knyghtes have be."

Antiquarians mention others of the name who lived later, and were of almost equal note. As to what was the connection between these ancient knights and the Pennsylvania hero, whose career I have undertaken to sketch, genealogists give us no certain information. His father, William Atlee, of Fordhook House, England, married against the wishes of his family Jane Alcock, a cousin of William Pitt, and being, perhaps for that reason, thrown upon his own resources, obtained, through the assistance of Pitt, a position as secretary to Lord Howe. He came with Howe to America, landing in Philadelphia, in July, 1734.²

Samuel John, the second child of the runaway couple,

¹ This paper was written at the request of the Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall, for the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the passage of the resolution respecting independence, and the original was deposited in Independence Hall, July 1st, 1876.

² For materials for this sketch I am much indebted to Samuel Yorke AtLee, of Washington, D. C., and to the article of John B. Linn, in the American Historical Record, vol. iii, p. 448.

was born in the year 1739, at Trenton, New Jersey, during the temporary residence of his parents at that place.¹ His father died in Philadelphia in 1744, and his mother, persuaded by the friendship and acting under the advice of Edward Shippen, removed with her five children to Lancaster, Pa., where the earlier years of his life were spent. From the Reverend McGraw, a man of note, who united the two congenial occupations of a Presbyterian divine and a pedagogue, he received as thorough an education as could well be obtained in those days, and afterwards commenced the study of law.

This pursuit, adopted in extreme youth, was abandoned at the breaking out of the French and Indian War, when an ardent temperament and a sense of duty induced him to enter another field, more brilliant and more active, in which he was destined to perform services of great benefit to the cause of his country, and well worthy the remembrance of posterity.

¹ "William Atlee and Thomas Hooton, of Trenton, having left off Trading in Partnership ever since December, 1739, and having affixed up Advertisements for every Person Indebted to them to come and settle the accounts, and to give Bonds or pay such Balances, But few having complied therewith, This is to give Notice (by Reason of the Distance of many such Debtors) that every such Person who shall neglect or refuse to pay the Ballance of their several Accounts, or clear off such Bonds or Penal Bills owing to the said Atlee and Hooton on or before the first Day of May next, 1741, may expect to be sued for the same, the said Atlee and Hooton having agreed after that Time to deliver their Books to a Lawyer, to recover for them, the said Debts then outstanding without Distinction of any Person whatsoever or further sending after them.

N.B. The said William Atlee (until he can clear all Affairs relating to Partnership with Thomas Hooton), proposes with John Dagworthy, jun., to continue Store in Trenton, to sell cheap. and buy and sell only for ready money."—*American Weekly Mercury*, February 26th, 1740--41.

He was commissioned an ensign in Col. William Clapham's Augusta regiment on the 23d of April, 1756, having then only completed his sixteenth year, and was promoted to a lieutenancy, December 7th, 1757.¹ The testimony of Major James Burd, at about that date, is that he was sprightly, spirited, possessed of culture, and attentive to his duties.

In the summer of 1757, he narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Indians. He and Sergeant Samuel Miles, long companions in arms, went together about half a mile from Fort Augusta to gather plums. The trees stood in a cleared space near a spring which has since borne the name of "The Bloody Spring." While they, heedless of danger, were busily engaged in plucking and eating the fruit, a party of the wily foe, under cover of the wood and brush, had succeeded in getting almost between them and the fort. As it chanced, however, just at that time a soldier of the Bullock Guard came to the spring to get some water, and the Indians, unable to resist the temptation or fearing discovery, fired at and killed him. His misfortune saved Miles and Atlee, who forsook their banquet of plums and hastened with all speed to the fort.²

Atlee participated in the Forbes' Campaign against the French and Indians, and was engaged in a battle near Fort Du Quesne, September 15th, 1758, and in another at Loyal Hanna, October 12th, 1758. He was commissioned a captain, May 13th, 1759, and was in the service altogether eleven years, during which time he was taken prisoner, once by the French, and another time by the Indians. From a letter written to Major Burd, June 6th,

¹ Penna. Archives, vol. iii, pp. 89, 336.

² Amer. Hist. Rec., vol. ii. p. 51.

1757, it would appear that he was then in command at Fort Halifax.

On the 19th of April, 1762, he married Sarah Richardson, the daughter of a reputable farmer in the neighborhood of Lancaster, and, at the close of his protracted term of military service, retired to a farm near that city in the expectation of passing the remainder of his life in the enjoyment of domestic happiness and tranquillity. He was not, however, long to remain undisturbed. But a few years had elapsed before the constantly increasing difficulties between Great Britain and her colonies had culminated in a resort to arms, and Atlee was one of a very small number in Lancaster county who possessed military experience. During the year 1775, he was constantly engaged in organizing and drilling troops. In the spring of 1776 the Assembly of Pennsylvania determined to raise a force of fifteen hundred men for the defence of the State, to consist of two battalions of riflemen and one of musketry.

The musketry battalion comprised eight companies, each having a captain, lieutenant, ensign, two sergeants, two corporals, a fifer, drummer, and fifty-two privates. The uniform of the men seems to have been blue coats faced with red, white jackets, and buckskin breeches. The two battalions of riflemen were consolidated into one regiment under the command of Samuel Miles, the old friend of Atlee, and John Cadwalader was chosen as the colonel of the musketry. Cadwalader, however, declined, because his request for the command of the other battalion had not been complied with, and on the 21st of March, Atlee was selected to fill the vacancy in preference to Col. Daniel Brodhead and Major Coates, who had made application for the position. Caleb Parry, a descendant of one of the Welsh families of the Chester Valley, was appointed

Lieutenant-Colonel, and James Potts, Major. The ranks of the other officers were fixed in the following order:—

Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.
Patrick Anderson,	Walter Finney,	James Lang,
Peter Z. Lloyd.	Matthias Weidman,	Wm. Henderson,
Francis Murray,	Morton Garret,	Alex. Huston, Jr.,
Abraham Marshall,	John Davis,	John Kirk,
Thomas Herbert,	Joseph McClellan	James Sutor,
Abraham Dehuff,	Robert Caldwell,	Henry Valentine,
John Nice,	Barnard Ward,	Michael App,
Joseph Howell, Jr.,	Peter Shaffner.	Joseph Davis. ¹

Atlee left his wife and her family of young children without any other attendant or assistant than John Hamilton, a man hired to do the work on his farm, who was in consequence excused from the performance of military duties, and hastened to his command.

Some empty houses at Chester and Marcus Hook were rented for barracks, and the work of recruiting and drilling commenced. Money, however, was scarce, equipments were scanty, and the services of the troops were in demand to assist the Continental Army almost immediately. Parry took four companies to Philadelphia on the 13th of June, and the remainder of the battalion soon followed.

Its strength was as follows:—

	July 1st.	August 1st.
Anderson's Company,	56	49
Lloyd's "	61	38
Murray's "	52	49
Marshall's "	44 (Now Jos. McClellan's)	50
Dehuff's "	64	59
Herbert's "	57	55
Nice's "	55	50
Howell's "	55	47
	444	397 ²

¹ Votes of Assembly, vol. vi, p. 702.

² Penna. Archives, vol. iv, p. 780; vol. v, p. 4.

On the 3d of July, Congress made a requisition upon the Council of Safety for as many of these battalions as could be spared, to be placed under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, and receive Continental pay and rations.

About half of Atlee's battalion were then without firelocks but the necessity for their presence was so great that they were ordered to march on the 5th, and they arrived at Amboy on the 21st. Though inadequately equipped, they, according to the testimony of an observer, "alarmed the enemy not a little." On the 2d of August, Atlee wrote, from Perth Amboy, that many of the men were without either shirts, breeches, or stockings, in their present state they could not be kept clean, and, if it had not been that they were in the face of the enemy, he would consider the maintenance of strict discipline a cruelty.

On the 11th of August he marched to New York, bearing a letter of introduction to Washington from Gen. Hugh Mercer, but with his troops "in a disgraceful situation with respect to clothing." They encamped with the rest of the army on Long Island.

Before light, on the fatal morning of the 27th of August, word came that a picket on the lower road leading to the Narrows, had been attacked, and with the first dawn, Stirling's brigade, consisting of the battalions of Smallwood, Haslett, Lutz, Kichline and Atlee, in all about twenty-three hundred men, were sent to repel the enemy. About half after seven o'clock they met the left wing of the British army, consisting of nine regiments of infantry, with artillery, advancing under command of Gen. Grant. Atlee was sent forward to check the enemy at a morass, and he sustained a severe artillery fire until the brigade formed upon a height. He then filed off to the left, and seeing a hill about three hundred yards

ahead, advantageously situated to prevent any flank movement, he marched toward it to take possession. When within fifty yards of the summit he was, however, received by a heavy fire from the enemy, who had anticipated him.

At first his detachment, consisting of his own battalion and two companies of Delaware troops, wavered, but they soon recovered and charged with so much resolution that the British were compelled to retire from the hill, with a loss of fourteen killed and seven wounded. The men, flushed with their advantage, were eager to pursue, but Atlee, perceiving a stone fence lined with wood about sixty yards to the front, and thinking it might prove to be an ambuscade, ordered a halt. His conjecture proved to be correct. A hot fire was poured into them from behind this fence, but was returned with so much vigor that the enemy retreated. In this engagement, lasting for fifteen minutes, the brave Parry, long lamented as the first Pennsylvanian of distinction to lose his life in the Revolutionary War, was struck on the forehead by a ball and instantly killed.

The British afterwards made two successive efforts in force to gain this eminence, but were both times repulsed with severe loss, including among their killed Lieut.-Col. Grant. After the failure of their last attempt, however, Atlee discovered that the American left and centre had been driven back, and that the enemy had swept around to his rear. He sent word of his successes to Stirling and asked for orders, but getting no reply he concluded to retire and join the brigade. Much to his astonishment, he found that it had withdrawn without his having been informed. He still had time to make good his retreat, but perceiving the rear of the Americans in the act of crossing a body of water, and a force of British grenadiers

advancing against them, with the instinct of a true soldier he led his fatigued troops to the attack, and, by a determined effort, succeeded in holding the enemy at bay long enough to enable his friends to escape, and to prevent all chance of his following their example.

After several other struggles, wearied and worn out with hopeless and continued fighting, and not having eaten or drunk for twenty-four hours, he, with the remnant of his force, about forty men, was compelled to surrender.¹ He might well claim, as he afterwards did, that to the exertions of his battalion the preservation of the American army on that disastrous day was largely due. On the 5th of September, Col. Daniel Brodhead wrote: "poor Atly I can hear nothing of. Col. Parry died like a hero." And the next day, Jos. Reed, in a letter to his wife, said: "I am glad Atlee is safe, because everybody allows he behaved well."² The battalion lost in commissioned officers: killed, Lieut.-Col. Parry and Lieut. Moore; prisoners, Col. Atlee, Captains Murray, Herbert, Nice and Howell, Lieut. Finney, and Ensigns Henderson, Huston, and Septimus Davis; and missing, Ensign App. There were prisoners and missing among the non-commissioned officers and privates:—

	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Privates.
Anderson's Company,	1	0	9
Murray's "	0	0	10
Herbert's "	0	0	8
Dehuff's "	0	0	6
Nice's "	0	0	9
Howell's "	0	0	7
McClellan's "	0	0	12
Late Lloyd's "	0	1	14
	1	1	75 ³

¹ Atlee's Journal, Penna. Archives, sec. series, vol. i, p. 511.

² Reed's Reed, vol. i, p. 231.

³ Penna. Gazette, Sept. 11th, 1776.

The shattered condition of the battalion is attested by a letter from Capt. Patrick Anderson, who took command, to Franklin, on the 22d of September, in which, after referring to the losses in the battle and subsequent discouragements, he says: that the number remaining for duty was only eighty-three, and that "want of necessaries Sowered the men's minds. Deficiencies in their Stipulated Rations hath Increased it." Atlee was held as a prisoner until October 1st, 1778, about twenty-six months, and was for a part of the time confined on a prison ship. He was one of a very few who possessed sufficient courage to continue wearing the rebel uniform after finding that it led to insult and abuse. He and Miles, still companions, made strenuous efforts to relieve the wants of those prisoners who, as winter approached, suffered from the lack of clothing and provisions. Housacker, a Major of Wayne's battalion, who had deserted to the enemy, came among them to endeavor to persuade them to pursue the same course, saying that Washington was compelled to pay enormous bounties to keep any force in the field, and that the war was virtually ended, but his efforts received no encouragement.¹ Shortly after Atlee's exchange, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, through their President Joseph Reed, recommended him to Washington for promotion to the grade of a Brigadier-General; saying, that "his merit and sufferings rendered him worthy their Regard & Attention," but without success, there being no vacancy. At this juncture, however, his old friends of Lancaster county, proud of his career, transferred him from the field to the council, electing him a member of Congress, November 20th, 1778.

¹ Graydon's Memoirs, pp. 205, 218.

He took his seat December 24th, and served in this capacity until October 28th, 1782, omitting one year. In Congress he was at once awarded a prominent position, and his name is associated with the principal measures coming before that body, especially with reference to the conduct of the war. He was one of two members appointed to attend the board of war, and one of five to visit the New Hampshire Grants. He was a member of the committees to which at various times were referred Washington's plan for a western expedition in 1779, the attack upon the fort at Paulus Hook, Brodhead's Expedition against the Mingo and Muncy Indians, the revolt in the Pennsylvania line in 1781, the court of inquiry as to Gen. Gates' conduct of the war in the South, "the late murderous and wanton execution of Col Haynes" in 1781, the victory at Eutaw Springs, the advancement of Knox and Moultrie to be Major-Generals, and the raising of troops. Just before the close of his last term he participated in a scene which, though the actors were our revolutionary forefathers and the subject the dry details of a mathematical calculation, nevertheless provokes a grave smile. \$1,200,000 had to be raised to pay the interest on the public debt, and the committee, having the subject in charge, made a report, apportioning the amount among the different States. Delegates from no less than eight of the thirteen were on their feet immediately trying to get their respective allotments reduced. Maryland wanted to transfer part of her burden to Connecticut, and Connecticut thought she was overloaded already; Rhode Island tried to give a part of her quota to New Jersey; Massachusetts and Pennsylvania a part of theirs to Virginia; New York, New Hampshire, and Georgia, more modest, only asked to have their respective proportions diminished, the last "because of the ravages

of the war." As however, each motion was supported by the delegates from the interested State alone and opposed by all the others, the report of the committee was finally adopted.¹

Atlee served as Lieutenant of Lancaster county, a position of much labor and responsibility, in 1780; and in 1783 was elected a member for that county of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. On the 23d of February, 1784, he, William Maclay, and Francis Johnston were appointed commissioners to treat with the Indians for the unpurchased lands within the limits of the State.

They met the chiefs of the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix, N. Y. (Rome), on the 24th of October, and these transactions, which secured to Pennsylvania the title to land now forming fourteen entire counties and portions of others, are worthy of a brief reproduction. Atlee, on behalf of the commissioners, said to the Indians, that the young men who were now numerous required more territory, and that they, according to the customs of their forefathers, had come to purchase, so that the settlements might be made in peace; that for this purpose they had brought a valuable and suitable cargo as a compensation, but that since the lands were remote a great consideration ought not to be expected. The Indians took a day to deliberate, and replied through a chief of the Senecas that it was not their wish to part with so much of their hunting-grounds, and they pointed out a line which they hoped would prove satisfactory.

This proposition the commissioners rejected, adding that the privilege of hunting might be retained, and that they had an assortment of goods of the first quality

valued at \$4000, which certainly ought to convince the Indians of the many advantages flowing from trade with their brothers of Pennsylvania. The chief then replied, that, since they wanted to keep the way smooth and even and to brighten the chains of friendship, they would agree, but as lands afforded a lasting and rising profit, and as Pennsylvanians were always generous, they hoped to receive something further the following year. An additional \$1000 was promised, and the deeds were signed. The commissioners went from there to Sunbury, and thence to Fort McIntosh, Pa. (Beaver), where they met the Wyandots and Delawares, who had a claim on the lands. These tribes confirmed the sale after vainly endeavoring to retain a small reservation.¹ By lying on the damp ground during this journey, Atlee contracted a cold from which he never recovered. He was elected a member of the Assembly in the years 1782, 1785, and 1786, and, while attending the session in Philadelphia in 1786, ruptured a blood vessel during a paroxysm of coughing, and died on the 25th of November.

“ So past the strong heroic soul away,
And when they buried him, the little port
Had seldom seen a costlier funeral.”

His remains, attended by two celebrated divines, and followed by the Supreme Executive Council, the Assembly which had adjourned for the purpose, the magistrates of the city, army officers, and a numerous concourse of citizens, were borne to Christ Church-yard and there interred. The newspapers of the time, recognizing his worth and services, published warm eulogies upon his character, and his death at the early age of forty-eight years was universally deplored. There is, however, a darker side to the picture. The public service of Atlee,

¹ Minutes of Assembly, 1784, p. 314.

requiring the abandonment of home and family, and attended by exposure and deprivation, was performed not only at the expense of his health and comfort, but of his private fortune. In 1780, 1782, and again in 1783, he suggested to the Assembly the propriety of some remuneration. A few days after his death, a petition from a number of citizen^s, accompanied with vouchers, was presented to the Assembly, setting forth his labors in the cabinet, and in the field, in the cause of the State, and of the United States, and asking that his family receive some adequate compensation. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the matter was permitted to slumber without action.

It is now too late to repay in any way these debts to the worthies of the American Revolution, but we can at least see to it that ourselves and our children preserve a lasting sense of gratitude for their services, and that in the hurry and bustle of our present growth and prosperity their courage and sacrifices, from which we derive the benefit, be not permitted to fall into forgetfulness.

Dr. Wm. P. Dewees, of the University of Pennsylvania, said of Atlee, that he was a very handsome man, of faultless manners. He had a fresh and ruddy complexion, brown hair and blue eyes, and his military bearing set off to advantage an erect and full figure.

His "personal respectability" impressed President Madison. That he could be moved to anger is proven by the fact that he inflicted personal and public chastisement upon a very celebrated man of the time who said something derogatory to the character of Washington. He left nine children, one of whom married the daughter of Anthony Wayne, and from this union the only living descendants of that great captain derive their origin.

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.¹

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD, twentieth President of the United States, was born in Orange township, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, November 19th, 1831, and died at Elberon, New Jersey, September 19th, 1881, from the effects of a wound by a pistol ball, fired by a worthless wretch in the city of Washington, July 2d, 1881.

Edward Garfield, the founder of the family in America, of sturdy Saxon stock, came from Chester, England, and settled in Watertown, Massachusetts, as early as 1630. He lived to be ninety-seven years old. The men of his race seem to have taken to themselves wives of equal physical vigor. The Philadelphia Weekly Mercury, of February 3d, 1729-30, notices the death of Mrs. Garfield of Watertown, at the age of ninety years. Thus remotely may be traced that exuberant vitality which enabled the future President to smile hopefully and live for nearly three months with a shattered vertebra.

In the local affairs of the New England burghs in which they lived, and through the colonial and Revolutionary wars, the Garfields bore an active if not a prominent part.

Solomon, the great-grandfather of the President, removed to Otsego county, New York, and his grandson, Abram, obeying that fateful call, which has ever been coming from the forests and prairies of the West to young

This memorial note, written at the request of the Council of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was read before it at its meeting held September 26th, 1881, and was ordered to be entered upon the minutes.

men of robust natures possessing the instinct of thrift, went, when eighteen years old, to Ohio. There he married Eliza Ballou, of Huguenot ancestry, and died when James, his boy of promise, was under two years of age. When the head of a household is taken away ere his work is done, and the wife is left alone to provide for a family of young children, the struggle is necessarily one of hardship and is attended with much of privation and trial. These were the circumstances that surrounded the childhood and youth of Mr. Garfield; but many of the events of this early period, which were mere episodes in his career, have been given undue prominence. The American public is prone to believe that the men, who have moulded its destinies, have come up from the depths. It learns with peculiar delight that its popular heroes, its orators and statesmen, have been "The Mill Boy of the Slashes," the inhabitant of a "Log Cabin," the "Rail Splitter," and the "Canal Boy of the Towpath." To meet the exigencies of political campaigns, the good antecedents of Lincoln and Garfield have been passed over lightly or forgotten, while the sombre hues have been painted darker and the pits dugged deeper. The lofty aspirations, the correct tastes, and the large capacity of Mr. Garfield, soon enabled him to overcome the obstacles that confronted him. He saved enough from his earnings to get the benefit of a course of schooling at the rural academy of his neighborhood. By teaching school, and by working as a carpenter and a harvest hand, he earned enough more, to maintain himself for two years at Williams College. It is worthy of remark that he was fitted to enter the junior class, that he was one of the editors of the college paper, and that, at graduation, he took the class honor in metaphysics. Up to this time, when he was twenty-five years of age, he had never cast

a vote, but the principles of the Republican party, then just coming into existence, met with his approval and appealed to his sympathies; and in 1856 he made his first political speech. He had several years earlier delivered a number of sermons, as a lay preacher, in the Church of the Disciples, with which he was connected. On his return from college, he was chosen professor of ancient languages in the Hiram Eclectic Institute, and later principal of that academy. During the next three or four years, he lectured to his classes, delivered public addresses upon scientific and literary subjects, spoke on the stump through the political campaigns, and on Sundays preached.

In 1859, he was elected to the State Senate. While there he read law, and was admitted to the bar in 1861. The war, however, turned him aside from a professional career.

He was appointed to the colonelcy of an Ohio regiment, and before 1863, through gallantry and skill at Sandy Valley, Pittsburg Landing and Chickamauga, he had reached the position of chief of staff to General Rosecrans and the rank of Major General. He was also a member of that celebrated court martial which tried and convicted Fitz John Porter.

While in the military service, he was elected to Congress. He took his seat in 1863, and for the next eighteen years was continued in this position, representing a larger majority of voters than any other member of the House. These eighteen years constitute a period in which was enacted the most important legislation in the history of the country. The military measures of the war, the reconstruction of the seceded States, the raising and collection of immense revenues, the financial policy to be pursued, the resumption of specie payments and

the disputed succession to the presidency, were among the problems successfully solved. Certainly, statesmen no where were ever called upon to grapple with questions of greater moment. It is enough to indicate the strength of Mr. Garfield that he was one of the military committee during the war, chairman of the committee on appropriations afterwards, a member of the electoral commission in 1876, and became the recognized leader of his party in the House. The Ohio Legislature, in 1880, elected him to the United States Senate, for the term beginning November 4th, 1881.

No party convention ever had it in its power to affect more seriously the institutions of the country than that which assembled in Chicago, in 1880, to nominate a candidate for the presidency. A few months earlier, the selection of ex-President Grant had seemed inevitable. For two years, a banker in Philadelphia,¹ with a taste for higher politics, had been urging the nomination of Mr. Garfield in the columns of the Penn Monthly and making combinations looking to that result. On the first ballot Mr. Garfield had but one vote, that of a friend of the Philadelphia banker. On the thirty-sixth ballot he was nominated. After a close struggle he was elected, and so it happened that he was a member of the House, a member elect of the Senate, and President elect of the United States at the same time; a distinction which never fell to man before. The policy of his administration had barely been defined, its strength had just been successfully tested, when an assassin crept up behind him and gave him a fatal wound.

Though his rule was brief, there are two things which will make it historic. His elevation marked the dissipa-

¹ Mr. Wharton Barker.

tion of that power dangerous to the republic, which was concentrated during the war, and in sympathy with him the men of the North and the men of the South were for the first time thoroughly reunited. Mr. Garfield was a man of great physical power. He was tall, with broad shoulders, a deep chest and a large head, while a continuous flow of animal spirits indicated his perfect health. Intellectually, his most striking characteristic was his immense breadth. It is given to but a very small number of men to succeed in any pursuit. Many are called, but few are chosen. The sea of life lines its shores with the shells of failures and things dead. Mr. Garfield was a scholar learned in the languages of the past, a preacher of the Gospel, a soldier in command on the battle field, a student of literature, finance and politics, an orator and a statesman; and in all of these diverse paths he reached distinction. He wrote a graceful poem, discussed geological problems with the professors, examined into the local history of his neighborhood, and with the same ease he met the masters of debate in Congress upon abstract questions of state. Nature, which has provided the most powerful of animals with an organ of such strength that it can uproot trees, and of such delicacy that it can untie knots, seems to have endowed him with mental capacities of like flexibility.

He was brave and generous. When the stoutest of the partisan leaders threw the glove in his face, he picked it up quietly, and his antagonist disappeared from the arena. He met his fate like a man. In his long struggle with death, there was much that was sublime. He uttered no repinings; he expressed no resentment toward the thing that had struck him; there came from his bed of suffering no cry, save that sad longing to see once more the green fields of his home. When he was elected to the

presidency, it seemed that the better days for the republic were come ; for surely much was to be expected from his enlarged mind, his great soul, and his long training in statecraft. He laid his strong hand upon the wheel, and he is gone. It is his own thought that men affect but for a little while our institutions ; that like the raindrops, they may pass through the shining bow and add to its lustre ; but when they have sunk the proud arch still in glory spans the sky. May it prove to be true. " Put him up higher ! " cried a voice, when he arose to speak in the Chicago convention. The voice proved to be that of a prophet. It is a consolation to the American people now that he is being mourned as ruler never was before, to know that in that higher sphere to which he has been raised, he is at last at rest from the bitter pain and the hopeless struggle.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, upon the day of his funeral, when every city in the land is draped in black, and all trade is suspended, notes this brief outline of his career and meagre sketch of his character.

HENRY ARMITT BROWN.

HENRY ARMITT BROWN.¹

MR. PRESIDENT:—It was my fortune to have been nearer to Mr. Brown, than perhaps, any other of his friends among the young bar, during the preparation of his last, and probably, his greatest work. After he had been invited to deliver the oration at Valley Forge, he came to me, because of my acquaintance with the locality. Together, only four months ago, we examined the intrenchments there, and rode to the Paoli and the Warren tavern, and following the track of the British army, crossed the Schuylkill at Gordon's Ford. Together, a little over two months ago, we read over the completed oration. The assistance I was able to give him was little indeed, but the opportunity it afforded me of getting a closer insight into his character, I shall always cherish among the happiest memories of my life. He was ambitious, but ambition with him was almost entirely devoid of that illness which usually attends it. He was honest, but his integrity was not of that sort which sits aloft amid luxury and ease, above the reach of temptation, and takes no thought of what may be below. The consciousness of great abilities made him entirely self-reliant, but his confidence never degenerated into vanity. The successes he had achieved, numerous as they were, never made him forget that courtesy which becomes a gentleman. The culture he had received, did not enervate him, and applause had failed to lead him astray. Feeling the im-

¹ Address at the meeting of the Bar of Philadelphia, August 24th, 1878.

pulse that came perhaps unwittingly from the possession of unusual power, when the occasion called him forth, he was always ready, and no one could be long in his presence without forecasting for him a future limitless in its possibilities. As an orator, and it was in oratory that he loved to excel, my own deliberate judgment is, that there is no man now living in America who was his equal. And surely, an opinion which I have often expressed while he was alive, it will not be considered adulation for me to repeat now that he is dead. Some are elocutionists, some have the trick of words, some are comprehensive and some are clear and quick in thought, but he was all combined, and the wonder of it is that one whose delivery was so effective should have been so careful in his preparation. The Valley Forge oration, beyond question the finest which the Centennial Anniversaries called forth, as an artistic production is a marvel. With patient industry and a determination born of enthusiasm, he thoroughly mastered the subject topographically and historically. With clear insight, he caught the true inspiration of the scenes of that dreary winter. A more beautiful picture than his contrast between the ragged Continentals upon the bleak hills, and the Royalists amid the luxury of the city, could not be limned, and for two hours and a-half the people, at the close of a wearisome day of exercises, stood up and listened. A very capable historical critic has said to me, that there is no more that can be added to the story of Valley Forge. And hereafter, in the ages to come, when men look back with veneration toward the heroes who suffered and died there, the young orator, whose earnestness to do justice to their memories so sadly shortened his own career, cannot be forgotten. Surely some of their renewed glory belongs to him.

The sorrow which I feel in his early death is partly a selfish grief, partly regret at his broken hopes now forever ended here, but beyond all the loss to my native State. We have many men in public life from Pennsylvania, but they are chiefly of the earth. We have many men who are capable and pure, but they have eaten of the Lotos, and the spear has dropped from their nerveless hands. With his strength and his ambition he could not have been kept from the national councils, but he is dead, and the fruits we were promised we shall never gather. Why Sumner was spared to Massachusetts until his work was done, why Calhoun was permitted to grow gray in the service of South Carolina, and our Brown, the peer of either, and more liberal than both, was snatched away in the green wood, is a question beyond our ken, but which repeats itself the more sadly, because we look in vain for one to fill his place.

CHARLES FREDERICK TAYLOR.

CHARLES FREDERICK TAYLOR.¹

COMRADES and friends : It is a custom in Eastern lands for the believers in Allah, to make an annual visit to the grave of their prophet. To this shrine the adherents of the true faith come with each passing year, to lay their offerings upon his tomb, and gather new inspiration and new courage, to contend against the difficulties with which the pathway to the happy realms above is beset. Their fervor, which may have lost something from contact with the world, is again enkindled. Their zeal, if it has become in aught diminished, is here renewed and they depart with the weapons of their faith burnished, and with their nerves braced to continue the good fight they have commenced. You and I, comrades, have come from a distance to the grave lying here at our feet, upon a similar errand. After an absence of a year, we have returned to scatter flowers over him whose name has been given to our Post—to recall, in a few words, as we stand here in sorrow together, the scenes of his life, and to learn from his example new lessons of virtue and self denial.

There were many things which made the sacrifice of this life unusually great. Had he been disposed to follow other promptings than those of duty, it would have been easy to have found many reasons why he should not expose himself to the dangers of the field, and the privations of the camp. At the time of the commencement of the war, he had scarcely attained the age of manhood. There are some

¹ Address at Longwood Cemetery, Kennett Square, upon Decoration Day, May 30th, 1871.

men who snuff the scent of battle from afar, and take delight in carnage and destruction. There are some to whom, rejoicing in the possession and exercise of physical strength, the struggle and the contest are a gratification. But he was a student, whose intellect had been trained in the schools of Europe, and whose hours of leisure were given to the retirement of the closet. He was one whose talent, encouraged by the world wide celebrity, merited and won by an older brother,¹ would naturally seek to gain its laurels in the quiet paths of literature, rather than amid the storm and tumult of war. His youth had been spent and his ideas formed among a people whose creed it is that wrath is oftener turned aside by a soft answer than conquered by heavy blows. The doctrines of his ancestry, and the early teachings of the good mother who bent over his cradle, were those of peace.

But the time came when considerations such as these were as the green withes that bound Sampson. The books over which he had pored in the past—ambition that was pointing ahead to the smiling future—even the cherished opinions of his forefathers were forgotten. A blow had had been given at Charleston, and his country was calling upon her sons to come to the rescue. These placid valleys that seventy years before he was born had been trodden by the revolutionary armies, were again disturbed. The Quaker hills that had echoed with the thunders of the battle of Brandywine, now rang with a bugle blast from the Potomac. The summons was answered by the tap of the drum and the tread of the hurrying feet. The dragon's teeth had been scattered widely, and from every nook and corner of this broad land, sprang forth armed men. The Friend in his drab coat, and using his plain

¹ Mr. Bayard Taylor.

speech, stood side by side with the Celt in his check shirt, muttering coarse oaths, and the faces of both were turned toward the South.

There was much in the cause to awaken the sympathies of the stern moralists of the community about Kennett, for, down at the bottom of the contest, lay the principle of justice to the lowly and freedom to the enthralled. Men of their faith, for standing by the friendless and oppressed, had suffered martyrdom in the South, and insult and contumely in the North, and now the struggle had come.

The first name signed upon the muster roll of Kennett was that of Charles Frederick Taylor. The earnestness and patriotism he had exhibited, led to his selection as captain, and ere many days had elapsed his company was in Harrisburg and incorporated with the "Bucktail" regiment. The "Bucktails" won, unaided and alone, the first victory of the Army of the Potomac, and on their banner were inscribed all the brilliant engagements in which it participated. Against that army the rebel horde hurled its whole strength and the Pennsylvania Reserves were ever in the front. During those two earliest years of the war, when there were the hardest fighting and most suffering, when the blows fell thick and fast, and both the combatants fresh and eager for the fray were straining every nerve to gain the ascendancy, this youthful hero experienced all the vicissitudes of a soldier's career.

At one time he was leading his command in the brunt of the fight, and at another, was suffering from squalor and hunger amid the loathsomeness of a southern dungeon. Ere long he was commanding the regiment, and had won the proud distinction of being the youngest commissioned Colonel in the army of the Potomac. And now, after years of strife and bloodshed, the turning point was reached. The hill of difficulty had been

climbed to the summit, and a crisis approached big with the fate of America—it may be of the coming generations of the world. Lee had marched his army into Pennsylvania, and upon the field of Gettysburg, was to be determined whether the record of this republic should be rolled up and laid away among the things of the past, or whether there was still a mission for it to fulfill. In one of the most desperate struggles of that ever memorable engagement, Col. Taylor was at the head of his regiment leading a charge; his soul was fired and his eyes were flashing with the consciousness of the success which he foresaw was at hand; his sword pointed to the rebels in the front and the victory which lay beyond; words of triumph were upon his lips and—here he lies.

The triumph was for you and me, comrades, but not for him—unless it be that those who have passed the immortal gates still sometimes look back to rejoice in the good deeds they have done on earth. He did not live to see the fruition of that which his last thoughts seem to have anticipated. His career was short, and yet if those of us who may reach the allotted three score years and ten, should be able to point to a page as complete and unstained as that which bears his story, we may well be satisfied. He died too soon for the aged mother, whose light hands still often rest upon his grave, too soon, for the friends who still, as the evening shades deepen, talk in low tones of the brave heart that is gone—but not until the truth, beauty and nobleness of his character had made impressions that will last through time.

SIX WEEKS IN UNIFORM:

BEING THE RECORD OF A TERM IN THE

MILITARY SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES

IN THE

GETTYSBURG CAMPAIGN OF 1863.



SIX WEEKS IN UNIFORM.¹

My only reason for writing the following narration of the events which transpired, relating particularly to myself, during a short term of military service, is that the scenes and occurrences may be described while they are still fresh in my memory, and the impression of them vivid and distinct. It must have been noticed in the experience of every one, that however deep and strong may be the marks which particular circumstances have made upon our feelings, time will gradually erase one point after another, wear off the edges, and render the whole dim and uncertain. I have therefore determined to write truthfully, minutely, and as clearly as possible, whatever occurred within my own observation during that time, thinking that in future years it may be a satisfaction to me to read what has here been transcribed — *Philadelphia*, November 22d, 1863.

FOR several days previous to June 16th, 1863, there had been considerable excitement in reference to a raid, which it was said, the rebels were about to make into Pennsylvania, and there were even rumors flying about that there was a large force of them already in the southern portion of the State, and that Greencastle had been burned. Gov. Curtin, evidently alarmed, had issued a proclamation calling upon the people to rally to the defence of the commonwealth, but for some reason, it was not responded to with any alacrity, and almost everywhere the apathy with which it was received, seemed to speak ill for the spirit and patriotism of the

¹ This paper is so very personal in its character that it is published after much hesitation and with many misgivings. Several considerations have had weight in inducing me to commit what

community. In a few of the country towns, there was some little effort to raise men, and in Philadelphia, a meeting was held, the newspapers called on the citizens with glowing words to volunteer, but nobody appeared to be willing to shoulder the musket.

In the meantime the Governors of New York and New Jersey had offered their regiments of organized militia, and a number of them had already been sent to Harrisburg, which made the matter look still worse for the Pennsylvanians. Among the causes for this general sluggishness, I may mention the following: the idea impressed upon the minds of many Democrats that the report was gotten up for political purposes, and Gov. Curtin wanted to entice them into the service to keep them from the polls; the fact that during the preceding summer, the militia had been called out but were not made use of in any way; and the opinion of most persons that it was

may seem to be an impropriety. Col. John P. Nicholson, and other friends, who are students of the military history of the rebellion, and whose judgment is worth much more than my own in such matters, have earnestly urged me to print it. The Comte de Paris and General Longstreet, unite in saying that "the slightest incident which affected the issue of that conflict (Gettysburg) had a greater importance than the most bloody battle fought afterwards." A Pennsylvanian naturally resents the statement, so often made in prose and verse, that John Burns was the only man in Gettysburg to display loyalty and courage, and information concerning a regiment, one of whose companies came from that town, and which was the first force to engage the rebel army there when it entered the State, ought not, perhaps, to be withheld. An effort was made to recast the paper, but it was soon found that the result was to destroy all of the color and freshness which constituted its only literary merit, and the attempt was abandoned. It is hoped that the freedom of comment upon men and affairs will be excused as the quick and enthusiastic impressions of a boy of twenty.

a mere cavalry raid which would be settled without much difficulty, and there was no necessity for such a great disturbance or interfering with the transaction of business. During the day first mentioned, I had thought continually upon the subject, and come to the conclusion to join a company, if any of my friends would be willing to go with me. So after work in the evening, I went over to Phoenixville, and after talking awhile about it proposed to some of them to go up to Harrisburg and unite with some company there, as there was but little prospect of one being raised in our own neighborhood. Horace Lloyd seemed to think well of it, but being unable to give a definite answer without first consulting with Mr. Morgan, promised to let me know early in the morning whether he could be spared from the bank—so I returned home undecided. Immediately after breakfast the next day I went to hear Lloyd's answer, and found the town in a perfect furore of excitement. Some further news had been received, the Phoenix Iron Co. stopped their works, and offered to pay \$1 per day to each man in their employ who would enlist, and two companies were then filling up rapidly, one under their auspices particularly, and the other seemingly under the charge of Samuel Cornett, Jos. T. McCord, John D. Jenkins, &c.

Going into Ullman's sitting room where V. N. Shaffer was writing down the names of recruits rapidly, I was informed that they expected to leave for Harrisburg in the 9½ A. M. train. As it was then 8 o'clock, the time for preparation was exceedingly short, so telling Shaffer to put my name among the rest, I hurried home to get my things ready. I believe mother would have made more objection to my going than she did, but I was in such a hurry that she had very little opportunity. However, she made considerable opposition, but perceiving that I

was decided, assisted me in tying up a red horse blanket with a piece of clothes line so that it could be thrown across the shoulder, prepared some provision consisting of a piece of cheese, several boiled eggs, with sundry slices of bread and butter which were put in one of the boys' school satchels, and a tin cup fastened upon the strap, and thus accoutred, I bade all good-bye, except grandfather who was out in the field, and hastened over to town. In the meantime the departure of the company had been postponed until evening, and being formed in ranks by McCord, we marched through the borough in the dust to the sound of the fife and drum, and returning to the hotel held an election for officers, in which John D. Jenkins was chosen Captain, Jos. T. McCord, 1st Lieutenant, and A. L. Chalfant, 2d Lieutenant. The captain had been in the Mexican war, was a long while High Constable, and had the reputation of being very brave and determined, but was entirely unacquainted with the modern drill, and it seems to me, rather slow in thought and action.

McCord was a long time in Company G. First Reserves, participated in the Peninsular battles—was thoroughly booked up in Hardee, thought by many to be of a tyrannical disposition but I preferred him to any of the others. Chalfant was in Mexico and now keeps a kind of a saloon in Phoenixville.

After the election we were dismissed with orders to meet at the same place at four P. M. I bought some necessary articles, a flannel shirt and a large knife and went home to dinner more deliberately than before. At the appointed hour we left Ullman's and marching down to the depot filled a special car which had been procured. As we passed Dr. Whitaker's, Andy's mother called to him that he must not go, but he continued with us.

He had been trying to persuade her to give her permission all day, but she refused, although his father consented. There was a tremendous crowd at the depot who cheered with their accustomed vigor as the cars passed away at half past four. At Pottstown a large number of persons were collected who told us that a company from that place expected to leave on the following day. Through the kindness of Mr. Thomas Shaffer and some others we had on board several fine hams and a quantity of water crackers which were served around at about supper time and made a very good meal. A number of the men had taken care before leaving Phoenixville to lay in a good supply of liquor and consequently were soon in a drunken and noisy humor. However, we were all noisy enough and being in excellent spirits, sang patriotic songs and cheered and shouted incessantly. Before we reached Reading a heavy storm of rain passed over us and the appearance of the sky seemed to indicate continued wet weather. At the latter place the train was delayed at least an hour, taking on the troop cars, and running backward and forward, so that as night was approaching our present prospect of seeing the Lebanon valley which was new to the most of us, was very slim. George Ashenfelter here brought on to the cars a company of rowdy firemen, who were nearly all of them drunk, and took a great delight in fighting with a number of negroes on the train. Nobody had any control over them except George, though he managed them without much difficulty, by occasionally knocking one or two down. We arrived at Harrisburg about half past ten o'clock. I recall with considerable amusement the expectation I had formed of what would be our reception. I had supposed as a matter of course, and I think many of the rest had the same idea, that the Governor would have some officer at the depot ready to receive us, com-

fortable quarters prepared for us, and treat us as if we were of some consequence.

We were, therefore, surprised, and our feelings somewhat chilled, to find that we were left to provide for ourselves and seek accommodations as best we might. As a company we represented so much strength, but personally we were of no importance whatever. This doctrine, universal in the army but new to us, was forced rather abruptly upon our notice, and the contemplation of it formed our first experience in military life. To reconcile our minds to it was the first difficulty to be overcome. After deliberating a while we started for the Capitol. As we marched through the streets people inquired where we were from and cheered us loudly, shouting "Bully for Phoenix," &c., but we made the observation, and some gave expression to it very pointedly, that for a town which was said to be in great danger of capture, and whose inhabitants had been packing up their effects, and removing them and their persons to other cities for safety, there were entirely too many men in the streets and on the corners who appeared to be taking matters as coolly as if there was no cause for disturbing themselves.

A feeling of displeasure could not be repressed when thinking that we had come a hundred miles from a sense of duty while those in the immediate vicinity of the Capital, who had every incentive to arouse themselves, were doing nothing. What before was uncertain and undefined became open indignation on reaching the Capitol buildings. The Copperhead convention, which had assembled for the purpose of nominating a candidate for governor, had just chosen Judge Woodward, and held possession of the hall and seats of the House of Representatives, shouting, hurrahing and making inflammatory

speeches, while the pavement, the stone porch, and the floor of the galleries were covered with militia, trying to sleep amidst the din. The thought was enough to anger a saint—the Capital of the State threatened by the rebels, the Governor almost beseeching men to come to the rescue, and those who respond compelled to lie outside upon the stones and listen to the disloyal yells of the enemies of the country comfortably quartered within.

Lloyd, Andy¹ and myself went all over the building searching for a lodging place, and finally pitched upon the stone porch as the most eligible spot, being covered by a roof, more clean, cool and less crowded than the inside. Several of the men chose the pavement, but as it rained during the night they were driven within. I spread out my horse blanket, put my bread satchel under my head, and endeavored to go to sleep, but the novelty of the position, the solidity of the bed, and the unpleasant practice the man above me had of putting his boots on my head, rendered it almost impossible. I finally dozed and dreamed a little, with the shouts of the Copperheads ringing in my ears. About one o'clock they adjourned, and came out stepping over us, and went to their hotels, all of which they had previously engaged and crowded. The men groaned and cursed them, damned Woodward, McClellan, and traitors generally, and there were several fights in consequence. I awoke Andy and Lloyd, and proposed moving our quarters into the hall, which Andy and I did, and slept the rest of the night in the seats there, very pleasantly, but Lloyd remained outside. A number of our fellows amused themselves in destroying copies of the "Age" and other papers of like

¹ A. R. Whitaker.

character, which packed up ready for mailing, had been left behind. In the morning, we were awake by daylight, with eyes swollen, and feeling very little refreshed by the night's slumber.

After breakfast, I wrote home to mother, to report progress thus far, and we then strolled over the grounds, walked down to the Susquehanna, and wandered about over the town. There were great efforts made by some to find a breakfast in the town, which was almost impossible, so that we three contented our appetites with what we had brought with us.

Before long, we learned that there was a good bit of discontent manifested among the militia, and we were told that orders had been issued not to accept any for a less term than six months, and already many talked about returning home, as they had come with the expectation of serving as the militia hitherto had done, many having their business matters at home demanding their attention, and they had no idea of remaining for that length of time. About nine o'clock we were ordered to fall in, and having taken my place in line, Shaffer² came to me and said, "Your place is in the rear." "What is that for?" I asked. "Sergeants always are in the rear of the company," was the reply, so I took my station accordingly. The names of the non-coms. were then read to us, viz.: Sergeants Smith, Vanderslice,¹ Shaffer,² Pennypacker and Keeley.³

The Corporals I have forgotten, though Lloyd, Caswell,⁴ and Sower⁵ were among them. We then marched out to Camp Curtin, and were taken to one corner of the

¹ Hamilton Vanderslice.

² V. N. Shaffer.

³ Jerome Keeley.

⁴ J. Ralston Caswell.

⁵ Samuel Sower.

camp, very near to the railroad, and by the side of a small tree which stood there. A wheat field was within a few rods, and it answered the same purpose for which an out-house is used generally. On the opposite side of the railroad, and some distance off was a farm house where we got water, went to wash, and sometimes bought milk. It had also attached to it, a fine orchard, the shade of whose trees afforded a pleasant spot to loll and rest upon. About noon we were furnished with wedge tents, and Lloyd, Shaffer, Keeley, Andy and myself having concluded to bunk together, chose one, put it up, and floored it with boards. At that time, there were few companies in camp, but they soon commenced to flock in rapidly. A company numbering one hundred and twenty men came up from Phoenixville in the evening. They comprised, principally, the men and bosses employed by the iron company, and as the result proved were of great disadvantage to us. Joe Johnson, John Denithorne, &c., were the officers. Many of them had no desire to go into service, but came up simply on account of the excitement, and because they disliked to remain at home amid so general a movement.

During the day, the subject of being sworn into the service of the United States had been discussed among our men with various expressions of opinion. Some seemed willing to accept it, some were indignant thinking they had been deceived, and others appeared only anxious to back out entirely. The only alternative offered was the "existing emergency" or "six months." The latter was a long time under the circumstances, and the croakers among us said the former might last until the war was over, as, if we were once sworn in, the government could keep us as long as it chose. Sam. Cornett and others who had been very active in

forming the company, and eager to show their patriotism and spirit, went home, giving as a reason that the hay crop must be attended to or some similar excuse.

Their course, it seems to me, was extremely reprehensible; as they should have thought of their business matters before they left home, and to my certain knowledge several who saw these prominent citizens, so earnest in offering themselves and so ready to withdraw, were considerably influenced by it in their future movements. We had already commenced drawing rations, and had made our first trial of "hard tack," "salt horse," pork, &c., and were surprised to find them much more agreeable than we had expected. At our first meal we had salt beef, and after eating for some time, one of the party expressed his satisfaction at the good quality of the meat, which was echoed by all the rest, except Lloyd, who did not appear to relish it much, and innocently inquired, 'Did yours smell bad?' We told him that it did not, and upon examining his portion, discovered he had received an offensive spoiled piece, which he was uncomplainingly endeavoring to force down. "Well," he said, "I thought I was in the army, and had to eat it." with such an air of innocence and resignation, that it threw us all into a roar of laughter. He has'nt heard the last of it yet.

In the morning and evening we were drilled pretty severely by Lieut. McCord who understood the tactics thoroughly. After morning drill, Andy, Lloyd and myself went with the Captain and Second-Lieutenant into Harrisburg to see Governor Curtin upon some business. At the Capitol we met Sing. Asheufelter who accompanied us. While there we took the opportunity of "drawing" some envelopes from the Governor's private box. Afterward

we four walked about town for a time, when Sing. left us promising to come out to camp in the afternoon.

Returning we stopped in a confectionery and bought three small pies which we were devouring as we walked along the street, when we overheard some benevolent old lady in spectacles who eyed us attentively remark: "Poor fellows! how they enjoy them." The idea of applying the epithet to a set of fellows who were only two days from home, as if they were suffering from starvation, seemed rather comical. However, the old lady displayed a sympathising heart. A little fellow sang out in the popular slang "How are you *pies*?" By night the campground was nearly filled up with tents and the room for drill was necessarily curtailed. During the night it rained and we were consequently somewhat chilly. Another great difficulty in the way of sleep was that our tent was only a few yards from the Pennsylvania Railroad and on account of the extraordinary amount of business, trains were running upon it continually day and night. As they approached the camp the engineer commenced to blow his whistle, and the shriek could be heard at a distance first, then rapidly coming nearer and growing fiercer until opposite the tent, when the sound had accumulated to such a pitch, it seemed like the unearthly yells of some foul fiend, or the dying shrieks and groans of some deep chested Titan giving vent to intense agony. Lloyd would jump straight up from his blanket with "Damn, I thought it was the Devil."

(Saturday, June 20th.) We arose as usual at day-break, and as there was some difficulty in getting the men to go for water Lloyd and myself volunteered and filled the kettles at the farm house. After some battalion drill in which I, as a sergeant, cut a very awkward figure, finding it almost impossible to keep

from getting tangled up, Lloyd, Sing., Andy and myself again went into Harrisburg, and crossing over the tottering wooden bridge which spans the Susquehanna, climbed up the very steep hill on the western bank of that river upon which they were busily engaged throwing up fortifications. A large number of men were employed and the plan of operations was, after placing a line of hogsheads filled with gravel forming the enclosure, to dig a deep ditch on the outside and bank the earth up against them. The back of the fort toward the river and town terminated on a very steep bank in some places like a precipice. We examined the whole area very attentively and thought it quite a pleasant place, though I came to a different conclusion a week or two afterward. Upon leaving it Sing. took the cars for Carlisle, and we returned to camp. During our absence a dispatch had been received from the Phoenix Iron Company, telling their employees not to be sworn into the U. S. service, and if they were they would not be paid the promised bounty and might lose their positions at home. Such a course of action after making bona fide engagements and by means of them inducing men to go, then to veer around, break their own promises, and oppose the accomplishment of the very purpose for which they started, was, to say the least of it, exceedingly small. Governor Curtin had also been in camp and made a speech, saying that it was necessary to be sworn into the government service in order to receive equipments, clothing and pay, that it was a disgrace to Pennsylvania that while New York regiments were hurrying toward the line, her own sons were delaying from a mere matter of form, and that he pledged his word they should be sent home as soon as the emergency was over. Some who heard him were satisfied. Ralston Caswell and Tom. Reddy joined the Pottstown Company.

John Denithorne's men took a vote upon the subject, and only two of them, Sam. and Charlie Milligan, were willing to remain. Colonel Jennings came down to see the Captain with the object of getting our own company into his regiment, which was then being formed, and all who were ready numbering forty-five marched up to the quarters of the mustering officer to be sworn in, but to our great mortification after waiting for a time we were taken back to the tents. Lieutenant McCord then told us that with those men we could only retain our Lieutenants, and would lose our Captain, to which he and all the rest objected. Toward evening Denithorne's company and a large number of ours left for home.

(Sunday.) Early in the morning two or three of us went over to see Owen Eachus, who was orderly sergeant of a company of students from Lewisburg. The next company to us on the ground was from a college at Gettysburg and I struck up quite an acquaintance with one young fellow who was guarding the officers' tent. I will have more to tell of them hereafter. Sometime in the day Colonel Jennings sent word that we could retain our officers with fifty men and we made desperate exertions to raise the required number, calling the roll frequently and endeavoring to hunt up recruits through camp. It was all in vain however, as we never got above forty-eight. At noon Mr. Ashenfelter¹ left for Phoenix and I sent a letter home by him. Colonel Ramsey arrived from the Iron Company with another order recalling positively their hands, which was read aloud and completely destroyed what little hope was left. Cyrus Nyce and Web. Davis from the Pottstown company came over to our tents and tried to persuade some of us to go

¹ Henry Ashenfelter.

with them, as they only numbered seventy-five men and had some fears of losing their Captain, whom they represented to be the most desirable kind of a man.

(Monday). As there was no possibility of our raising a company, the only choice left to those of us who still remained was to go home or join some other party and nearly all, disliking the latter alternative, and concluding that having held out as long as there was any chance of effecting an organization they had done all that could be expected of them, determined to return in the first train. I was in a dilemma. I disliked the idea of going home in that manner, considering it dishonorable and discreditable in itself and dreading jeers which I knew must be endured and to a certain extent would be merited. I also had a strong inclination to try what a soldier's life was like and to know something of it from experience. But in order to do this, it was necessary to bid farewell to my friends and place myself for an indefinite length of time in a company of strangers, among whom I would be of no importance whatever, with the prospect of having the roughest duties to perform, which I knew would be doubly unpleasant from being galling to my pride. I deliberated upon the matter for some time but finally concluded to remain, and having made my determination, I felt more free. While I was thinking over it, Joe Rennard came to me and said that if I would remain he would do so too. I afterward told him what conclusion I had come to and we agreed to stick together. A man by the name of Combe went with the Gettysburg students; Caswell and Reddy as mentioned before had joined the Pottstown company; and now David R. Landis, John Rhodes, John B. Ford and Richard Renshaw, alias "Tucker" expressed their intention of going with us. After some consultation,

we considered it best to unite with the Pottstowners, and having collected our baggage we carried it up to their tents, which were just inside the gate and were kindly received by Lieutenant Richards who told us we would be mustered in sometime during the afternoon. I was very favorably impressed with that gentleman and had no reason afterward to change my opinion. Rennard and I concluded to "bunk" with Reddy and Caswell, or "Rolly" as we called him, while the others put up a tent for themselves. After depositing our blankets, Joe¹ and I went into Harrisburg for the purpose of bidding farewell to those "homeward bound." We found them at the depot and Lloyd and Andy walked up with us to the Capitol grounds where we sat and talked until it was time for us to return. I felt more sorry to part with them than anything else. On our way back we met Chalfant pretty thoroughly tight, and he invited us very cordially to go into a tavern close at hand and take a parting drink. Upon my refusal, he informed me I would get over that nonsense before I was long away. We reached camp in time for dinner, which consisted of rice so miserably cooked and badly burned that I could not eat a bit of it. I discovered immediately the difference between our Phoenix cook and the present one, who was a dirty, filthy old villain² entirely unacquainted with his business. The company was made up of three parties, numbering in all over eighty men, of whom eight were from Phoenixville, about a dozen from Pine Grove, and the remainder from Pottstown. The officers were as follows, viz.: Captain, George Rice, who had been married very recently and was called from his wedding tour to take command of the company; First Lieutenant, Henry

¹ Rennard.

² I now ask his pardon

Potts; Second Lieutenant, Mark H. Richards; Sergeants, Dyer who did not understand the drill and whose only recommendation was his physical power, Sheetz a noble fellow who had already received two honorable discharges from the service, and who was then suffering from the effects of a ball which at Fredericksburg entered his breast and came out below the right shoulder, Lessig a one-eyed man to whom I took a strong dislike from the first time I saw him, and Meigs¹ and Bert. Lessig; Corporals Evans,² Davis,³ Lloyd,⁴ MacDonald,⁵ &c. Through the liberality of the citizens, the company had come from Pottstown thoroughly armed, clothed and equipped, and on that account was made Provost Guard of the camp. About five o'clock we went to the mustering officer, were each called by name, told to take off our hats and hold up our right hands, and were sworn "to serve the Government of the United States during the existing emergency against all enemies whatsoever;" a remarkably short and simple ceremony—but five minutes before we were our own men, now we belonged to Uncle Sam.

That affair was scarcely concluded, when I heard the lieutenant say, "Corporal Evans, I guess these men want something to do, take them," and so we went off under charge of Evans, to assist in putting up the Union Tabernacle Tent, which had just arrived in the care of some reverend gentleman who applied to the different captains for a detail to erect it. We happened to be just in time, and worked energetically for about an hour at driving stakes and pulling ropes. Our first military duty should certainly have portended something good. As

¹ William G. Meigs.

² Miller D. Evans.

³ D. Webster Davis.

⁴ John S. Lloyd.

⁵ Charles W. MacDonald.

Rolly had the floor of his tent covered with straw, we slept very comfortably that night.

(Tuesday, June 23d). Early in the morning, we received our clothing, &c. I drew a canteen, haversack, tin plate, knife and fork, blouse, shoes or "gunboats," blanket, cap and pants, and was fortunate enough to get pretty well fitted, with the exception of the cap, which was too small. Many of the men took overcoats (furnished by Pottstown) and drawers, but expecting the weather would be warm, I considered them superfluous. The former would have been very useful to me afterward, for being hurried away, I did not succeed in procuring a gum blanket as I intended. Of the clothing which I brought up with me, I gave the boots and coat to Reddy, and sent the remainder home by a young man, who was returning, and kindly volunteered to take them.

Soon after, I witnessed the performance of one of the unpleasant duties connected with the service. A large and powerfully built cavalryman had imbibed enough whiskey to make him crazy, and creating some disturbance in camp, he was brought up and put in the guard-house. There he swore terribly at the idea of confining him, a man who had fought on the Peninsula, and becoming excited, kicked the boards off the side of the house, pitched the stove out of the door, and mashed up things generally. They finally were compelled to knock him down and tie him, and he lay there and raved until he became sober. Scheetz had charge of him, and I congratulated myself upon having nothing at all to do with it.

Being ordered to fall in, we took our places in rank, and marched over to the armory to get Springfield muskets instead of those which the company then had. As I was one of

the party sent into the building to carry out the arms, I took care to reserve for myself a gun which was in first rate order. I was so green, however, concerning matters of that kind that I had to call upon Reddy to explain the method of fastening the bayonet; which had rather a complicated arrangement. I also secured accoutrements which were furnished with a strap to go over the shoulder, a great advantage when there are forty rounds of cartridges in the box. Most of the others had only a belt around the waist. Before breaking ranks, the captain said that after dinner, we would have to take the old muskets into Harrisburg, and as the day was quite warm, and the roads very dusty, I determined to count myself out. When the time arrived, the one-eyed sergeant finding me out of my place, I explained to him that there was no necessity for my marching into town, as I had no gun to take, but he quickly overcame that difficulty by suggesting that I could carry the gun of some one who was then on guard, and so in I went with the rest. After storing the arms in a factory, the Captain gave us liberty for a half an hour, upon all promising to meet him at the expiration of that time. Rhodes and I went down the main street, and I purchased a shirt from a rascally Harrisburg skin flint, who seeing my private's uniform, gave me a great deal more impudence than I would have borne, had I not been under the necessity of getting the article.

Upon returning to camp, we stacked arms in front of the tents, and had scarcely time to carry our accoutrements inside, when I heard the voice of the Captain shouting, "Fall in, fall in quickly, men," so hastily fastening them on again, I took my place in rank, near the right of the company. The Captain cut off a squad of about twenty, ordered them to "right face, double-quick, march," and off we hurried toward a crowd collected about the centre of

the grounds, not knowing what was the matter. We soon learned however. A rowdy from Philadelphia in one of the companies, getting into a quarrel, had killed a man with a butcher knife, and a big fat policeman of Wm. B. Mann's posse, who on account of his size was called "the infant," endeavoring to arrest him, the fellow again made use of his knife, and by two or three wicked lunges, compelled the policeman to withdraw. The provost guard were sent for, and when we reached the scene of disturbance, he was shouting at the top of his voice "Co. C.—Leap, Frogs—Leap," and had collected about him a number of his adherents, who expressed their determination of not permitting him to be arrested.

We were brought to a "charge bayonets, forward march," and though they swore, hissed and jeered considerably, we succeeded in dispersing them without a great deal of difficulty. We then formed a hollow square, he was placed in the centre, and in this way we proceeded to Harrisburg, followed by about seventy-five roughs, cursing and hooting at us. He made a good bit of resistance, and swore that he would never be taken there alive. I was stationed right behind him, and several times he pushed with force enough against my bayonet to make it pierce his clothing, but that seemed to satisfy him. I must acknowledge that I felt exceedingly unpleasant, as I was continually afraid he would be fool enough to endeavor to break through, and we would be compelled to bayonet him, something which would have put me to a most severe trial. Our one-eyed sergeant kept calling out, "stick him, boys, stick him," and I felt so provoked that I could have stuck *him* with quite as much satisfaction. After reaching Harrisburg, we gave him into the custody of the police, and I have not heard anything of "Smitty," as his friends called him,

since. We returned to camp covered with dust from our two tramps into town, and I obtained permission to go down to the canal and wash, which added very much to my convenience.

Right beside our tents, was encamped a small body of Milroy's men, who had come up to Harrisburg with some of that general's baggage trains, having escaped after the battle of Winchester, in which his troops were so effectually scattered. Their drill, and especially the exercises with the bayonet were watched by us greenhorns with the greatest admiration. In the evening, a rumor was spread abroad that the rebels were approaching in large numbers, and that all the citizens had been ordered to report themselves for duty within a few hours. It created some excitement, but was without foundation. What gave to it some appearance of truth, was that the Captain sent knapsacks around to all the company, and we were ordered to be ready to march in the morning at 6 o'clock.

(Wednesday.) Through some change in the arrangement, we were awakened about 3 A. M., and supplied with three days' rations of hard tack, bread and boiled meat, which were stowed away in our haversacks. I was somewhat anxious to know how long that medium sized piece of meat was expected to last, and was informed "until you get some more;" which as it happened turned out to be longer than I want to be deprived of animal food often. In the haste and excitement of packing up, Reddy took the opportunity of exchanging his and Caswell's blankets for mine and Rennard's, as the latter were composed of better material and woven more tightly. He was a great rogue, but he seemed to have a genuine affection for "Rolly," ran his errands, brought him water, made his bed, and took care of him

generally. Rolly was about five feet eight inches high, and weighed two hundred and fifty pounds, so that he was not capable of much exertion, at least it was very fatiguing to him. I was in a great hurry to have everything strapped on, and remember feeling quite uneasy from fear of not being ready in time. Before we had moved many times, however, I found that the danger of being left behind was very slight, and learned to take my ease in preparation. We waited that morning about two hours for orders, but finally they came, and one company after another left their tents, and marching out to the side of the camp toward the town formed in line. First came Co. A. the Gettysburg students, of whom I have spoken before; then ourselves, Co. F.; next Co. D., Captain Pell; and the other seven companies I never became much acquainted with. The regiment as we soon learned was the "26th P. V. M.," and was commanded by the following named officers: Colonel Wm. W. Jennings, an intimate friend of Gov. Curtin, was a fine looking man of about twenty-eight years of age, and when the war broke out had charge of a factory in Harrisburg. He then entered the service, and afterward was colonel of a regiment of nine months' men in the army of the Potomac. Every one liked him, because he understood his business, acted toward his men as an officer should, and from former experience, knew how to take care of them. I never heard a single word of complaint against him, and I think he possessed the respect of every man in the regiment. On more than one occasion, he exhibited considerable military ability. Lieutenant Colonel Jenkins was from Hanover, a man who was said to have obtained his position by some management, and who had in a wonderful degree the faculty of rendering himself

particularly disagreeable.¹ He knew little or nothing about the drill. Major Greenawalt was a large, stout man, with a deep bass voice. He had come up to Harrisburg as a captain of a company, and some years previously, I was told, he made two overland trips to California on foot. During all the time we were out, he refused to have a horse, and marched with the men. There was something about him which drew the admiration of all, probably his imposing appearance and manly attributes increased by his reputation for great physical strength. It was reported that he was more than a match in a fisticuff for any other two men in Lebanon, his native place. Such a character must necessarily command respect upon occasions, and in times, when courage and muscular power are the qualities most likely to be required. The Adjutant² was a young fellow from Co. A., who had a clear ringing voice, and pleasant agreeable manner. I saw very little of him excepting on dress parade. The Sergeant Major³ was from our own company.

After getting our places in the regiment there was another delay of more than an hour on account of the cars not being ready, and finding that my knapsack and other articles were somewhat of a weight upon the shoulders, I followed the example of many others and lay down upon my back, supporting the knapsack on the ground. I frequently afterward took the same position with less anxiety about soiling my breeches and it answered the purpose very well for a time, but as the support was under the shoulders and the head extended over with nothing upon which to rest, the neck soon became tired and painful. I was not long in learning another

¹ He was afterward killed while bravely fighting before Petersburg, Va.

² Harry W. McKnight.

³ John W. Royer.

way of resting, viz. : to place the butt of the musket upon the ground behind me while standing, and the muzzle underneath the lower part of the knapsack.

There was a great deal of curiosity to know where we were going, but all we could learn from the officers was that there would be a march of about ten miles before we reached our place of destination. I was very desirous of taking a trip down the Cumberland Valley, and after getting on the cars, we watched carefully the direction they took. They moved slowly to and through Harrisburg, over the railroad bridge across the Susquehanna, then a short distance down the Cumberland Valley road, again up the river, and after thus baffling about finally started off on the road to York, amid the cheering of all on board. We travelled along very slowly, some times stopping for a half an hour or more, and then creeping on at such a snail's pace that it was very tiresome. I remember very distinctly in what a glorious humor we all were, without any anxiety except to reach the end of our journey. At nearly every house which we passed the women came to the windows and waved their handkerchiefs, and then all set up such a cheering, hurrahing, and tiggering that it was enough to deafen one. At several places on the route we passed squads and companies of Colonel W. B. Thomas' twentieth regiment and their camps looked so pleasant upon the green, that the idea passed through my mind of how nice it would be to be stationed in some copse or grove for a few weeks and guard a bridge or something of the kind, then return home and let those Phoenix fellows know what they missed by not remaining. From York, where we waited some time and saw a large number of paroled prisoners from different States who were then going to camp, we departed for Gettysburg by way of Hanover.

After leaving York I noticed that the country seemed to be exceedingly dry, and the crops, which were then nearly ready to harvest, were generally very poor. As there was one of our companies from Hanover, a large crowd of men and women from the neighborhood had collected and were patiently awaiting our arrival. They had not heard and consequently could tell us nothing concerning any rebels. The barns in that section are all of the same red color which predominates so strongly in Montgomery and Berks counties and evidences the Dutch taste.

At that place the train was divided and a portion of the regiment was sent ahead, while we kept several miles in the rear. Nothing of importance occurred until we reached a point about seven miles from Gettysburg, when we learned that those ahead had met with an accident. We slowly approached as near as was safe, and there getting off the cars were marched to a wood on the right of the track where we found the other part of the regiment, and stacked our arms by companies in regular order. Leaving our traps by the muskets, all hastened over to see what had happened. It appeared that an old woman had been driving a cow along the top of a high embankment where the road crossed a deep gully and small creek. The old woman got out of the way when the cars came up, but the cow ran along the track, was caught about midway and thrown over the bank dead. The cars were forced from the track by the concussion but fortunately kept their course almost parallel with the rails, bumping over the sills until they got beyond the gully, and there all the track was torn up and they badly broken were piled together. Some of the men were somewhat bruised but none seriously—Combe, in company A, was one of the number. Had they gone over the edge of

the bank which was not more than two feet off, it would have been terrible. As it happened I presume it was an exceedingly fortunate accident as had it not occurred, we would probably have proceeded that night on to Cashtown into the very teeth of the rebel army and some of us perhaps been hurt. I went down into the ravine to look at the cow which was very old and miserably poor. I pitied the old woman who was standing there crying, while a number of our fellows among whom was Sergeant Meigs, had out their knives and were already busily engaged cutting off steaks wherever any meat could be found. After he had finished Meigs offered me his knife which I declined, feeling a good bit of hesitation about making use of it in that way, when he told me I would be glad to get meat like that before a great while. It was then about 4 P. M. In the evening we were drilled a little by the Orderly who knew nothing about it, and the cook, old Mike, made some coffee. Soon after dark, Rennard and I prepared our sleeping accommodations for the night and putting one blanket upon the ground, the other over us, and the knapsacks under our heads, we got along finely. It was the first night we passed without shelter and was spent very comfortably. At first I was very uneasy about bugs getting in my ears, but soon became accustomed to it and had no further annoyance from that source.

(Thursday.) It is a great satisfaction to get up in the morning and feel that you are all ready for the day, without so much trouble of preparation, dressing, tying cravats, &c. We arose very early, and immediately started for water. There was a house and a spring very close at hand, but the water had such a bad taste, as to be almost unfit for drinking, and we went nearly a half a mile to a brick house for some, which was better. There were also

some cherries at the latter place, which did not remain a great while. In the morning, we were drilled by the Captain. There was a little incident connected with it, which I will mention, as it startled me for a moment. We were going through the exercises, had been brought to a "charge," and were standing in that position when the Captain suddenly seizing my bayonet, threw his whole weight against it, and nearly overthrew me. I supposed he was angry at the time about something, but soon perceived he was only trying me, so after that when he came around, I quietly braced myself, and imagine it would have been rather a dangerous experiment to make a second attempt. During the day, a large number of country wagons came into camp from the vicinity of Gettysburg, with pies, &c., for Co. A. As that company was always inquired for so particularly, they were henceforth styled the "Pie Company." We had become known as the "Leap Frogs," from an incident which I have previously narrated. Our fellows, however, soon began to look out for the wagons, and going some distance to meet them, would on being asked what company they belonged to, reply "Co. A.," and before those for whom it was intended knew anything of the matter, carry off the spoil, leaving the countryman to suppose "it was all right." Corporal Lloyd who had been in service before and understood the ropes, was one of the most active in that kind of foraging, and he also "drew" from a farmer's house, a large pot full of butter, which had been put away for winter use, and bringing it into camp, retailed it out to the men. I invested to the extent of five cents, without asking any questions.

During the day, the farmers told us it was reported that the rebels were advancing in large force, and that considerable numbers of them were in the woods and hills

about Cashtown. Some of the men were a little uneasy, and Ford said that he came down to fight, but did not expect to be sent off with a few hundred men alone to fight thousands of rebels. My own opinion was that rumor had greatly exaggerated the number, and probably a few small bodies of cavalry, such as had previously come into the State, were scouting around, and if we could only get near enough to them, we would easily scatter or capture the whole party. The only difficulty which presented itself, was the readiness with which, being on horseback, they could elude us infantry. Therefore, feeling very unconcerned myself, I took delight in playing upon the fears of some of the others, and was sure to tell Ford all the wonderful stories which I heard. Some one brought into camp a copy of the Harrisburg Telegraph, and among other items, we were much amused to find that "General Couch had thrown a large body of troops in the neighborhood of Gettysburg to outflank the rebels."

About the middle of the afternoon, a strong wind arose, and then there was every appearance of rain. The men commenced to erect their shelter tents, and Rennard and I, after watching how the operation was performed, put up our own upon the outskirts of the wood. The *modus operandi* is very simple, and I will here describe it as well as I can. The tent is formed of two pieces of thick muslin about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long and three wide, each of which is supplied with a rope, and they are arranged so as to button together. When they are thus buttoned, there is a rope at each end of the tent, and if two trees can be found the proper distance apart, nothing remains to be done but tie the ropes tightly around them at a suitable height, and secure the four corners of the tent with wooden pins. Then by digging a small gutter to drain off the water,

the work is completed. If no such trees can be found, two upright stakes and a cross-piece or ridge pole are required. These the neighboring fences generally supply. The latter is much the better method, as the tent is more firm. I have frequently seen them improvised by thrusting two muskets, bayonets downward, into the earth and tying the ropes around the locks. When properly fixed and well stretched, they turn an ordinary shower, but heavy and beating rains will force their way through to some extent. When the stakes are the right height there is just about room enough inside to sit up in the centre without touching the top, and lying down cross-wise, to stretch out at full length. When it is permitted, it is much preferable for five persons to go together, as it gives a great deal more room in the tent, and the fifth piece answers to cover up whichever end is exposed to the rain. After getting ours fixed as well as we could at the time, we spread one of the blankets down on the inside, and lying upon it awaited the rain. Rolly was guarding the baggage at the cars, and Reddy, who did not consider it worth while to put up a tent, scoured around camp, and every once in a while came to us with a loaf of bread or something of that sort, which he left in our charge. Where he procured them I cannot tell. About eight o'clock in the evening, after we had arranged matters as comfortably as possible for the night, Sergeant Meigs made his appearance and said, "Pennypacker get ready for picket duty." As there was every prospect of a heavy rain, I was not particularly pleased with the order, but having nothing to do but make the best of it, I agreed with Rennard to take his overcoat and leave my blanket in its place. So putting on my accoutrements over the coat, and charging him to take care of my haversack and knapsack, I took my Springfield musket and

started for the place where I saw the others forming in line. About half way I met Lieutenant Richards, who said it was necessary to take everything along, and as there was but little time to spare, he went back and assisted me in strapping them on. My blanket was in the knapsack, and in my hurry, I forgot to take it out, so that Rennard was left without either. The detail numbered one hundred and twenty men, under command of Lieutenant Mowry, and I thought then it was rather a large picket party. Of the twelve from our company, I only remember beside myself, Cyrus Nyce and Sergeant Meigs, who acted as Orderly

We started off on the road to Gettysburg, looking into every thicket for a picket station, and imagining that every wood in the distance must form part of the line, but one after another was passed, and still we did not stop. About two miles from camp, we halted at a tavern, but it was only to get some water in the canteens. We there saw some of the outer pickets, among them the "one-eyed sergeant," and after leaving them, we knew that picketting was not the object for which we were sent. It soon commenced to rain, but not very rapidly. That was my first experience in marching, and as the Lieutenant appeared to be in great haste, we moved very quickly, and it was not long before I began to feel exceedingly warm and disagreeable. Those seven miles seemed almost indefinitely prolonged. At last, however, Gettysburg was in sight, and before entering the town, the Lieutenant made us a short speech, saying that he wanted us to go through the streets quietly and in ranks, and that he had been informed, supper and comfortable quarters for the night were already provided for us, so we began to think we were more fortunate than those who were left in camp.

We marched some distance into town, and stopped before a hotel, when the Lieutenant after giving orders for no one to go out of ranks, disappeared. It was raining, we were tired and anxious to be disencumbered of our loads, but we waited patiently for his return, in expectation of that supper, and speculating upon the sleeping accommodations. Quite a number of people collected about us, of whom a large proportion were men, and they seemed very slightly discomposed by the state of affairs in the neighborhood. I inquired of one little fellow who was running around talking of rebels, "what a rebel was," and received for a reply, a "black abolitionist." I endeavored to convince him that I was a black abolitionist, and told him to tell his father so, but the idea was evidently so preposterous to him that I believe he concluded I was joking. The lieutenant could not be found, and the men began to drop off one after another in search of places to rest, until none but Doc. Nyce and myself were left. In order to be near at hand, we went across the street to a stone door step, where we sat down, and both fell asleep. After a time something awoke us, and concluding we would have to take care of ourselves, we went inside the tavern, and lying down in the entry with a number of others, secured a second nap from which we were aroused about one o'clock by the command "Fall in men." The lieutenant had returned, and upon getting our places, we marched around to a restaurant, were supplied with a piece of bread and a tin-cup full of hot coffee, and then proceeded to the depot upon the platform of which we passed the remainder of the night. It was an extremely filthy place, but sheltered us from the rain. I never knew certainly what caused the prolonged absence of the Lieutenant, but it was reported that when

we reached Gettysburg he was ordered by Major Haller¹ who controlled operations there, to advance to Cashtown about eight miles distant and that, doubting the propriety of obeying, he had hired a horse and ridden back to see Colonel Jennings who protested against such a course and succeeded in preventing it. Professor Jacobs in his "Notes on the Battle of Gettysburg," says that we were a hundred picked men detailed as bushwhackers or riflemen to be sent to the mountains at Cashtown, and that had the intention been carried out we would have met with almost certain destruction.

∧ (Friday, June 26th.) In the morning it was raining in torrents. Some of the men went to the hotels and bought their breakfasts, but I confined myself to my haversack principally because I was fearful of being absent when ordered to march. At that time I was very careful not to disobey a command, but I afterward discovered it was the better plan to provide for myself and leave to the officers the responsibility of having their orders fulfilled. I believe there are no circumstances in which a man's welfare depends more upon his disposition and ability to take care of No. 1. The remainder of the regiment came up in cars about 9 A. M., and I hastened to return Rennard's overcoat to him feeling unpleasantly from having deprived him of it, but of course it was impossible for either of us to have foreseen what occurred. He gave to me my piece of shelter tent, wet and consequently heavy, which I carried tied upon the top of the knapsack. We waited then for some time, and many made use of it in scattering over town and hunting up something to eat.

About ten o'clock we started on the Chambersburg road and marched some three miles from town to a wood

¹ Granville O. Haller of the regular army.

which stood a short distance to the right, perhaps seventy-five yards from the road. We filed across the intervening field and were taken to a low spot of ground within the wood, where instead of stacking arms we placed them butts upward, and with the bayonets thrust into the ground in order to keep the powder from becoming wet. The regiment was all in one line and was ordered to pitch tents, each man opposite his own musket, and within a certain limited number of feet from the row. It was a very unfavorable place for a camp as the ground in consequence of the heavy rain was almost in the condition of a swamp and the feet sank into the water at every step. We were already pretty thoroughly soaked, and on looking around I thought there was a prospect of our remaining so for some time. However, Rhodes, Landis and I who chanced to be together, selected a spot beneath a little hawthorn tree as a comparatively eligible location for our tent, one end of which could be fastened to a limb. While they buttoned the pieces together, I went to the fence to get a stake for the other end, and returning with it saw a number of men, coming from the lower portion of the wood with arms full of shingles.

Perceiving at once the advantage of having them for a floor, I left the stake at the tree and ran with all speed in the direction whence they were carried. The first thing I met was a creek which I cleared with a long spring and found a pile of shingles within a short distance of the bank. I lugged over one load, but before getting back with the second Landis had discovered a supply in some other quarter and they had enough already for two layers. The tent was up, but so loose that it swayed about; the shingles took up considerable of the small space inside, and our knapsacks half of the remainder; Landis was jammed in on one side with his back pressed

against the muslin and his feet covered with mud sticking out; Rhodes was fixed nearly in the same way on the other and I could not imagine where I should stow myself. Everything seemed to be wrong, it was calculated to make one feel ill-humored, and I broke out with "Where in the thunder do you fellows expect me to go. If this is 'nt the most disagreeable——" when I was interrupted by an unusual stir and bustle among the men, and the voice of the Captain shouting "Strike tents. Fall in quickly men." The first idea which struck me was, "what's the matter," the next a feeling of satisfaction that my trouble about the tent was thus summarily removed. Rhodes and Landis came out of there in a hurry, pins were pulled up and pieces unbuttoned, knapsacks strapped on, and we were at our guns in a very few minutes. There was little time to spare either, as some of the companies were already moving off and we were compelled to run to reach our place in the regiment. The guns of those who had gone for shingles or scattered in search of other articles in the barns, etc., were left standing there. I also noticed that instead of going toward the road we started back through the fields and rather in the direction of Gettysburg. Of course we understood from these circumstances that something of more than ordinary importance had occurred and could conjecture readily its character, but of the particulars we were then entirely ignorant.

I will narrate them now as I heard them afterward. Lee's army had entered Pennsylvania and that portion which subsequently occupied York, consisting of about ten thousand infantry, artillery and cavalry, under command of General Early were then advancing from Chambersburg to Gettysburg. It was a piece of supreme folly to send our regiment, numbering between seven and eight hundred

men, perfectly raw and undisciplined, to meet such a force, and I believe Major Haller has the honor of that smart arrangement. It is said that when we left the wood, they were but three-fourths of a mile distant, and Prof. Jacobs affirms that they captured our pickets at their posts. I cannot vouch for the latter statement, for I did not even know that any pickets had been stationed, though I presume there were, as Colonel Jennings was too good an officer to neglect a precaution of such moment.¹

But to resume: we crossed three or four fields until we came to one of the numerous back roads, which we entered, and along which we proceeded in a rapid march. It is scarcely necessary to state, that in consequence of its muddy and slippery condition, travelling was laborious and tiresome. At first, we chose our path as much as possible, and avoided the mud puddles, but we had not gone a great

¹ "On reaching the forks of the road on the east slope of the mountain about one and one-half miles from Cashtown I sent General Gordon with his brigade and White's battalion of cavalry on the macadamized road through Cashtown towards Gettysburg, and I moved with the rest of the command to the left through Hilltown to Mummasburg. I had heard on the road that there was probably a force at Gettysburg, though I could get no definite information as to its size; and the object of this movement was for Gordon to amuse and skirmish with the enemy, while I should get in his flank and rear so as to capture the whole force. * * The militia regiment which had been encountered by White's cavalry was the 26th Penna., consisting of eight or nine hundred men and had arrived at Gettysburg the night before and moved out that morning a few miles on the road to Cashtown, but had fled on the first approach of White's advance, taking across the fields between Mummasburg and Gettysburg and going towards Hunterstown; of this force a little over two hundred prisoners in all were captured and subsequently paroled. Hay's brigade was halted and camped about a mile from Gettysburg, two regiments having been sent to aid French in the pursuit of the fugitive militia but they were not able to get up with it."

Gen. Jubal A. Early's official report.

way before we came to a running stream about knee deep. There was nothing to do but ford, and through we went. "I guess that settles the question of wet feet," said Lieutenant Richards, and we afterward continued straight forward, moving out of the direct line for nothing.

The first intimation of danger which we received through the officers, was from the Lieutenant-Colonel, who came riding back, and muttered as he passed, "We'll go up here a little way, get a good position, and give 'em hell before they *do* take us." But we still kept marching, and the position was not taken. Indignation was the uppermost feeling in my mind. I believed we were running away from a lot of cavalry, because the Colonel was afraid to rely upon us, and that we would be everlastingly disgraced. I did not relish the idea of going down there to return with less credit than before, and I said to Lieutenant Richards, "The Colonel don't appear to have any confidence in his men. Why don't he try us, and then if we are whipped or misbehave, it will be time enough to run." He replied: "I guess the Colonel knows more about the matter than we do, and has good reasons for his actions," and so the conversation ended, but I was far from satisfied. The route pursued was an exceedingly crooked one, turning at nearly every corner. We had not marched many hours before a number began to flag, and a rest being absolutely necessary, we halted for a few minutes, but soon started on again. The effect of this was, that the companies became very much scattered and confused, the stronger men working forward to the front of the regiment, and the weaker gradually falling back to the rear. About the middle of the afternoon many tired out commenced to drop off, and were passed sitting by the roadside, and all were fatigued enough to conclude that it was extremely hard work.

At four o'clock, I was near the centre of the regiment, and had just passed Web. Davis and Buckley, a friend of Doc. Nyce, who said they would go no further. I was ascending a small hill, to the right were fields, and at some little distance a wood. Upon the top of the hill on the left was a medium sized brick house. About opposite the house, a branch of the wood extended to within perhaps a hundred and fifty yards of the road. It was at this place, that the rebels first made their appearance, and commenced picking up the stragglers in the rear. Seeing all of our men jumping over the fences on the right, I followed suit, and found myself in a corn field. Nearly all were in the adjoining wheat field further on, so I directed my steps thither. Every one knows the disadvantage of going through a wet corn field, and how the mud clinging to the feet, impedes every moment. If in addition, they remember that I carried a pretty heavy load upon my back, was wearied with the previous fast tramping, and the "rebs" not far behind, they can form a pretty good idea of an unpleasant situation. I thought to myself, "Well, I wouldn't run across this field if the devil himself were after me," and I do really believe, that if the whole rebel army had been within a few paces, I would have turned around to fight in a kind of determined desperation. So I walked slowly toward the rest. In this field, there was the greatest imaginable confusion. The officers were running around waving their swords, shouting and swearing, but no one dreamed of obeying them; the men having been previously all mingled together, were separated from their companies, and each fellow did as he thought proper. In fact they were compelled to do so, for the commands from half crazy Captains and Lieutenants were often unintelligible, and perfectly contradictory. Collected together in little knots, or standing alone, they commenced firing off

their pieces as rapidly as possible. Some were falling in behind the fences, and others streaking off over the fields. I believe every man was shouting or yelling. I did not see any of the regimental officers, and think they must have been further ahead. After firing off one load and ramming down another, I began to look around for Co. F., but could not see any one of them. About half a company were drawn up behind the next fence, and thinking I might find some of them there, I went over to them. The great bulk of the regiment were much farther off, and the balls from their muskets and the rebel carbines whistled over our heads very rapidly. We were rather between the two there, and had the benefit of all the firing. I was not at all disturbed by it, though I once or twice involuntarily dodged my head, and momentarily expected to see some one drop, but the aim was entirely too high. Here I met Sergeant Scheetz and Corporal Lloyd, and proposed to the former to take charge of the squad, and post them where he thought proper. He suggested that it would be better to take a position on the edge of the wood, as the cavalry could not come through without being broken up, and giving us a good opportunity to pick them off. It was a few yards nearer the "rebs" than we then were, and we joined a small party who had already stationed themselves there. Scheetz said we ought to send out skirmishers, and some volunteering advanced a considerable distance into the wood. The Sergeant had great difficulty in getting his gun, which was wet, to go off, but finally succeeding, he rammed down another cartridge with the remark, "That is good for one — anyhow." Lloyd proposed that when they came up, we should discharge our pieces once, and then surrender. I shouted to those who were on the other side of the field, as to a parcel of boys at play, "Stop that firing

—you'll hit somebody after bit," which tends to show what my feelings were at the time, and in what light I viewed the affair. One fellow from Pine Grove was so excited or ignorant that he rammed down the ball first, and poured the powder on top, thus rendering his musket useless. In the meantime the "rebs" had divided, some coming up the road as far as the brick house where they captured a few of our men who had gone inside, and the rest went over to the right, and were separated from us by the wood I have mentioned. Our regiment were now nearly all collected together, and were drawn up in line, some two or three fields distant.¹ Supposing the idea was to await an attack there, we concluded we had better go over and join them, which we did. Fully believing we would continue the fight, I took off my knapsack in order to be unencumbered and placed it in a fence corner where I could easily get it afterward. Upon taking my position in rank and after waiting for a short time we commenced a retreat toward the mountains. I hastened back readjusted my knapsack, and before long we were entirely concealed by the woods. Here we halted to have the roll called and among quite a number who were missing I was not sorry to learn the "one-eyed sergeant" was included. Web. Davis, Buckley and Reddy were also among the captured. Although an hour previous I had felt excessively tired, the excitement of the skirmish had completely removed all fatigue and had so refreshed and invigorated my spirits that I seemed to be as elastic as in the morning. I suppose it affected the others in the same manner. While here Rennard who

¹ The regiment was promptly formed on the left of the road and opened fire, checking his advance and compelling him to fall back with some loss in killed and wounded. Bates, Vol. v, p. 1225.

stepped to one side for some purpose, left me in charge of his gun, but as we moved off almost immediately I stood it up against a tree within his sight, but some chap who was passing by managed to exchange it for his own which had a ball firmly wedged in the barrel. Crossing creeks and fields, tearing down the fences and tramping grain and corn, over gullies and hills, but keeping principally to the woods and mountains, we continued our retreat.¹

I suppose the Colonel had little doubt of our ability to repel the cavalry, but their evident intention was to delay us until the arrival of infantry and other support. General Early had expressed his determination of taking the regiment entire, and that night said in Gettysburg that we had thus far escaped but on the morrow our capture was certain. In circumstances in which there is anything

¹ "HANOVER JUNCTION, June 27, 9 A. M. The telegraph operator is still at Hanover. Col. Jennings' regiment left Harrisburg on Thursday for Gettysburg. The engine ran over a cow, seven miles from Gettysburg, and the locomotive and several cars were injured, but no one was hurt. On Friday morning the regiment went to Gettysburg. The Phila. City Troop and another cavalry company preceded them * * * at 3 o'clock on Friday afternoon, our cavalry left Gettysburg as the rebels entered * * * Before leaving, a train with thirteen freight cars, some with Col. Jennings' supplies, was run to this side of the bridge at the end of the town. The bridge and the train were afterwards destroyed by the rebels."

"YORK, June 27, 1 P. M. Nothing has been heard yet of Jennings' regiment. The attack on them commenced about three yesterday, by a large cavalry force, and continued to the last advices. The loss is not known, but it is reported that a number were taken prisoners."

"HARRISBURG, June 28th. Col. Jennings' regiment which had the skirmish at Gettysburg arrived here to-day. He lost about three hundred men in prisoners and stragglers. The officers were sent to Richmond and the men paroled. Some of the men have arrived here."

THE PRESS, June 29th, 1863.

like an equality of force, running is properly considered disgraceful; but as we were situated, our strength was entirely inadequate for successful opposition, and we found ourselves drawn into a trap from which we could only be extricated by skill and celerity. Considering the matter calmly now, I am perfectly willing to bear all the stigma which inconsiderate and ignorant persons may deem connected with it, especially since I well know that all the hardships to be endured and difficulties to be surmounted in a military life are not confined to the battlefield. The man who dies in his tent from fever or freezes while on picket, may suffer infinitely more than he who is pierced by a bullet or blown to atoms by a shell, though the latter attracts more public attention from the éclat with which it is attended. If I am capable of judging at all of my own mind, I would in any part of the time have preferred an engagement to the retreat, notwithstanding I might have had occasion to change my opinion had we been brought into a severe struggle, and though I believe Colonel Jennings deserves the highest praise not only for having adopted the sole proper course of action but for the dexterity with which it was conducted.

A large proportion of the men had taken off and lost their knapsacks during the skirmish, and others already tired with the labors of the day and seeing the prospect of a long march ahead, were one after another throwing them aside. I carried mine until pretty late, when Lieutenant Richards came to me and said that we still had a tramp of indefinite length to make, and thinking that it was probably costing me more than it was worth, I unstrapped it and left it behind some bushes. It was the object of the Colonel to keep the regiment under cover, if possible, until we could get beyond the reach of the rebels, and several times their scouts were in very close proximity. About

dusk when we were upon top of a hill, and were just on the point of crossing a field which intervened between us and another wood that we wished to enter, two or three of their horsemen were discovered moving along the opposite fence. They did not see us, however, and we lay down quietly among the trees until they had departed. There was so little noise among the men that the least sound could be heard distinctly. While at that place "Tucker"¹ loaned me his gum blanket as he had an overcoat beside and did not wish to be burdened with both, but I unfortunately had no string with which to fasten it over my shoulders. There was something very thrilling and romantic to me then in the idea of our position, and the resemblance we had to hunted game endeavoring to elude their pursuers. A sense of danger gave intensity to the interest with which we watched the chances of being captured. It soon after became very dark, which caused us to feel more secure but increased the unpleasantness of travelling. About nine o'clock we had descended a road between two woods and arrived at a stream of some size and depth, crossed by a shaky foot log which had formerly possessed a railing for the use of the hand, that the effects of time had partially destroyed, leaving gaps of several feet, so that in the dark it required a degree of care to walk over safely. Just as the first of the regiment had stepped upon this log, the sound of horses' hoofs was heard upon the summit of the hill rapidly approaching. Immediately a panic seized upon the men and all made a rush for the log. Not a single word was spoken, and as the stampede commenced from the rear it sounded to me precisely like the rustle of a sudden gust of wind. I ran with the rest for several yards, and lost Tucker's gum

¹ Robert Renshaw.

blanket, but having time to recover my thoughts, I saw that nothing was to be gained by crowding upon the log, and returned to hunt the blanket, but though any number of shelter tents were scattered around I was unable to find what I sought. In their eagerness to get over, several were pushed into the water, and some even jumped in from the bank and waded through up to their waists. A number of guns were lost in the stream, having been dropped in the unaccountable fright. I waited until the hurry had subsided, and crossing at my leisure, found Renard on the other side with two guns which he had carried—showing that he had maintained his composure. He gave one of them to some fellow who had lost his own. It appeared that two or three of our scouts were the cause of the alarm. I was so impressed with its utter folly, and so out of patience with myself, that I determined if such a thing should occur again, I would retain my presence of mind and stand still until I saw some necessity for moving. I do not attempt to palliate or justify such a foolish fright, but considering the perfect darkness of the night, the delicate position upon the bank of a stream with part of the regiment already on the log, and the knowledge each one had of the presence of the enemy in the immediate neighborhood, I doubt whether any body of men would have acted better in like circumstances. When I remember too what Xenophon tells of the conduct of the celebrated "ten thousand" Greeks in a somewhat similar case, and how men who have since proven themselves as brave as any who ever fought, ran in the early part of the war all the way from Bull Run to Washington, I think we are at least excusable. Had we actually been attacked at the time, I firmly believe twenty-five men would have cut us all to pieces. After all had crossed over in safety, we waited along the road for a few minutes, and while

there some fellow came riding toward us at full gallop. In an instant every piece was cocked and raised to the shoulder, and I only wonder some one did not shoot him. It proved that our equanimity had not been entirely restored. The man was frightened nearly out of his senses, and giving a confused and unsatisfactory account of himself, was taken into custody.

A drizzling rain kept falling through the night, and any one can easily imagine, as we blundered on, how fatiguing marching became. In the woods we were continually stumbling over brush and stumps or being caught by bushes and briars; in the ploughed fields we were compelled to carry an extra weight of clay with each step. It was actually a pleasure to enter a grain field, for the long straw tramped down prevented us from sinking in, and made a good road. We left a trail through them like that of some huge roller. Several of the farmers accompanied us on horseback acting as scouts, and every once in a while they would be sent ahead to reconnoitre the way. At such times when a halt was ordered, each man would drop down in his tracks and snatch a few moments slumber while awaiting the command to proceed.

The intention of the Colonel at first was to endeavor to reach the railroad somewhere in the neighborhood of Hanover, and a man was dispatched on horseback to telegraph for cars, but after travelling for some time in that direction, he learned the place was occupied by the rebels, so we turned toward York. The Lieutenant Colonel was sent to that city, and as we did not hear anything concerning him for several days, it was supposed he was captured. Some time during the night about a hundred of our men who were separated from the rest at the log, and had been wandering around through the woods since, by the greatest good fortune met with us. We

were then in a road, and as usual, when they came up nearly all jumped over the fences, and cocked their muskets ready to fire. Having learned something by my former escapade, I stood where I was, watching intently to see what was the matter. A figure only a few feet from me, whom I recognized by his gruff voice to be the Major, said: "Men, you act like a set of sheep," and I felt somewhat gratified to know that I was not included.

Toward morning we lay down and slept for perhaps an hour among some stone piles along a fence, but by the first appearance of dawn were on the march again.

(Saturday, June 27th.) Those who worn out were unable to go further dropped off one after another, and took shelter in the various farm houses. Some were captured and others escaped by exchanging their clothing for a citizen's suit.

About ten o'clock we halted in a wood where we remained for two hours or more. A fire was soon started, and we dried our clothing by it as well as we could. A number crowded around it and went to sleep, waking up afterward feeling stiff and wretched. I went to a spring which was near, and washing the mud from my stockings and shoes, put them on again with a great deal more comfort. Then taking a seat upon a log, I drew from my haversack a piece of bread covered with dirt and soaked with water, which I was eating with the relish of a man really hungry, when George Meigs came up and asked me if I would not give him a little piece of it. I divided it with him, and he was so grateful that he reminded me of it more than once afterward. Graham, a youth, who came from the Pottstown newspaper office, loaned me his gum-blanket with more than ordinary kindness, and this time I secured it with a string. While here some booby fired off his gun to remove the load, and his foolish ex-

ample was followed by perhaps fifty others before it could be stopped, and consequently the "rebs," who heard the discharge, were in our camp in a very short time after we left it. Some of the prisoners, who were then in their hands, told us that when the reports were heard, they concluded we had been overtaken, and gave up all hopes of our escape. By some means, the Colonel received intelligence that the "rebs" were advancing on York, so upon leaving the wood, we took the road for Harrisburg. About two o'clock we came to a tavern where the people had prepared, and gave to us, a meal of bread and apple butter, the first we had eaten with the exception of the afore-mentioned piece of bread, since we had left Gettysburg on the previous morning. Of course we were in a condition to enjoy and be thankful. From there we pushed on rapidly, and as evening approached, I began to feel that my powers of endurance would not hold out a great while longer, but was felicitating myself upon the prospect of our successful escape, when being within a mile of Dillsburg, some of the citizens came out in great haste to meet us with the information that the rebels were in advance of us, and that it would not be safe to proceed. In my heart I cursed the rebels, for it seemed that just when we were in hopes of obtaining some rest, and were congratulating ourselves upon the favorable opportunity, we were called upon to make still further exertions to insure our safety.

The Colonel immediately formed the regiment across the road, so as to occupy all the space, and brought them to a charge bayonets. Co. A knelt down in front, so that those behind could fire over their heads, and Co. F were drawn up within a few feet of them with loaded muskets, the rest in succession. From the disposition of affairs, it looked very much as if he ex-

pected an attack, and he made a short speech to us saying, that if we maintained that position firmly, all the cavalry in the rebel army could make no impression upon us. After waiting about ten minutes without perceiving any hostile demonstrations, we marched at a charge through the town, and off to the right half a mile to the top of a hill, upon the crest of which, five companies were faced in one direction, and the remainder in the opposite. Small scouting parties could be seen some distance off, but not in sufficient force to render them dangerous.

The people had provided supper for us in the town, but as it happened we could not stay to eat it, they carried to us on the hill as much as we needed. It consisted of bread spread with apple butter, and coffee. I tried in vain to secure a piece of meat, which I began to want. As soon as it was dark, we started on again, the Colonel having told us that after a march of about four miles, we would halt long enough to get some rest and sleep, which he saw were now indispensable. "Doc" Nyce and George Meigs remained in Dillsburg, and they said a large force of "Greybacks" passed through there during the night. A couple of fellows whom we had brought along with us as suspicious characters refused to proceed, and commenced to make some noise, but on finding there was likely to be an application of the bayonet, they became peaceable and submissive. We may have only gone four miles, but it seemed much further before we reached the camping ground, which was a wood enclosed in the semi-circular bend of a stream. It was surrounded by wooded hills, and approached by a foot log crossing the creek. Co. F. was detailed for picket duty, and about a dozen of us were sent to guard the log. Some were stationed, and the rest including myself were

told that we might sleep under a large tree which stood there, but were carefully cautioned to have our muskets in our hands with bayonets fixed, ready to jump up at a moment's notice. The ground was wet and cold, but we were asleep in a very short time. Once we were aroused through a mistake, occasioned by the approach of one of our officers, and though my musket was in my arms, in springing up suddenly, I managed to seize that of the man next to me.

(Sunday June 28th.) After a rest of three or four hours, which refreshed us considerably, we returned to the road and continued our march. Sometime before day, we were startled by the rapid discharge of three or four muskets in the advance, and the regiment came to a halt. In a few minutes it was reported that we had reached General Couch's outer picket lines, and a young fellow on guard had been killed. I never knew whether the latter was true or not, but hope it was false. The station was in the barn of a tavern, opposite to which we waited for some fifteen minutes, and filled our canteens with water. We were very much rejoiced to find ourselves at last within the union lines, and the Lieutenant told us that we were only about twelve or fourteen miles from Harrisburg. At seven o'clock we came to a small town whose name I have forgotten, where we were furnished with breakfast. Rennard and I sat down on a board alongside of the Major and were talking about the distance to Harrisburg, when he cast a damper on our spirits by telling us that it was very uncertain about our going to that place, as the rebel column was already beyond Mechanicsburg and it was expected the capital would be attacked, perhaps captured before night; and that if we did reach it, it would only be by a long round-about march. We were then off to the right of the direct road.

I began to think we were never going to get beyond the reach of the villains. That morning I was very much troubled with the diarrhoea which rendered me so weak that several times I was on the point of giving up. Once when compelled to stop, I told Rennard that I did not believe I would be able to go any further, and I would probably remain in some farm house. He advised me to hold on as long as I could, and though the regiment had gained perhaps a quarter of a mile, I overtook them, determined to endure it as long as possible. I never before in all my life felt so utterly miserable and I remember thinking that if ever I came out of that scrape, I would be careful not to become entangled in such another. After several more weary hours and miles, we were gladdened by the sight of Harrisburg at a distance over the hills—and a faint cheer arose along the line. Some fellow had even ambition enough left to attempt to create a laugh, and the Colonel appeared to be in the best of spirits—well he might be! At a place I think on the Susquehanna a mile and a half from Fort Couch the people gave us some dinner. Here parties were cutting down trees across the roads and preparing abattis to resist the advance of cavalry, which was looked for every moment. I went to the Captain and asked him whether he would grant me leave of absence for a few hours promising to report myself in that time, but he refused. I could not help thinking rather bitterly of a number of his own friends who had stopped with his permission at different points, but said nothing. My intention was to go to some house and request the favor of lying down in the entry or stable until I felt better. Between that place and the fort we passed several regiments of militia who crowded about us, inquiring who we were and where we had come from. Some of them said “They look hard

don't they? as if they had been out for a year;" and I expect we did present a pretty rough appearance. We had lost all the regimental baggage, drums, tents, blankets, &c., and over two hundred men, and the remainder were dirty, stiff and foot sore, limping along like so many cripples. We were destitute of everything pertaining to comfort or convenience. Somewhere near two o'clock we came to the fort and halted at the foot of the hill. Here we saw Reddy and a man called "Jersey" who had been captured and paroled, and they narrated their adventures. Neither of them was able to tell me anything concerning Rolly, and I took it for granted he had been taken, his weight making an escape by running impossible.¹ We

¹ August 21st, 1881. I made a visit to Gettysburg on the 15th inst., and learned from persons who were there in 1863, many additional facts, and went on foot over the battlefield and over the grounds occupied by our regiment near the town. Mr. Rufus E. Culp, son of the owner of Culp's Hill, who was a member of Co. A., tells me that our camp June 26th, 1863, was on the Marsh Creek, to the right of the Chambersburg pike. The engagement took place on the road from Mummasburg to Hunterstown, near the Harrisburg road. The creek we crossed on a log, was the Conewago, and the place about two and a half miles below the Harrisburg road. Our camp the next day, where the men fired off their muskets, was at Woolford's Mill, at the junction of the Bermudian and Lattemore creeks. From there we went up the Lattemore creek to the Harrisburg road. In the engagement, a rebel was shot and carried into a barn. The farmers who were with us through the night of June 26th, were J. W. Diehl and A. F. Gitt. Mr. Diehl says, that the rebels were on both roads upon the front, and also in the rear, and that he could see no chance of escape for us but to cross the Susquehanna near Golesborough. He also says, that we left some dead rebels on our path.

Major Robert Bell was at the head of a company of horse from the town, under the direction of Major Granville O. Haller. He was in the room at the Eagle Hotel, when Lieutenant Mowry reported to Haller with our detachment, on the night of June 25th. The intention

then marched up into the fort and stacked arms on the side of the hill. There were two or three New York regiments beside us, who had recently come up from Chambersburg, and one of them had an enormous quantity of chickens which they had "drawn" from the farm yards on the way. I endeavored to find their Surgeon to get some medicine from him, but he was not about. I then

had been to send us out to occupy the pass in the South Mountain, a narrow defile where a few men would have a great advantage. This plan was abandoned, upon Bell's telling them that the rebels were already in possession of the pass. He rode out the next morning with Jennings to Marsh Creek. After we had camped, they rode further to the top of the hill, and there were the rebels, cavalry, infantry and artillery. "I do not see that I have any business with these men here," said Jennings, "What shall I do with them?" "What do you want to do?" asked Bell. "I came from Harrisburg, and I guess the best thing would be, to try and get back again."

It was a rainy day, and Bell pointed out the direction and explained the roads. As he saw the end of the regiment marching off up the hill, he thanked the Lord that he was not on foot. They captured the company left as a rear guard. The force which struck us at Witmer's was two regiments of cavalry.

The brick house where the engagement took place mentioned in my narrative, belonged to Henry Witmer. About fifteen of our men, I am told by its present occupants, were captured here. One man who hid in a meat tub was finally discovered. Another fired from the garret window at a rebel cavalryman and shot his horse. He changed his uniform for an old suit belonging to Mr. Witmer, and made his escape. When the rebels came back by the house, there were two of them supported on their horses, supposed to have been shot. The Witmers found a number of bullet holes in the gate and fences afterwards.

At the house of William Wert, a half a mile above, a number of our men were captured. Our line of battle was formed in Wert's field.

Henry Witmer's house is about four and a-half miles from Gettysburg by the Carlisle road, about seven by the Harrisburg road.

went in search of some water, and discovered that the only supply of that necessary article in the fort was what had been pumped up from the Susquehanna, and having been filled into barrels which previously contained oil of some kind, it was so nauseous as almost to create vomiting. George Meigs came to me and offered me his canteen. On placing it to my lips I was delighted with a draught of lemonade which he had bought from a sutler in camp and offered to me, he said, in recompense for the piece of bread I had given him. I was amply repaid.

That afternoon the rebels came to within three miles of the fort which was the nearest point they reached, when ordered back by Lee for the purpose of concentrating his forces to oppose Meade. In my opinion there is not the least doubt that in one day more they would have entered Harrisburg. Many of the citizens had vacated their houses, and large quantities of goods had been sent by the merchants to New York and other places for security. Even farmers miles away deserted their homes, which was very bad policy as both parties despoiled and took whatever was wanted from the vacant houses, and when the owners returned they must have found many things destroyed which they could have protected had they been present.¹

¹“Late on Thursday evening, however, 100 picked men from the 26th Regiment were ordered up from their encampment to Gettysburg, with the design of sending them to the mountain as sharpshooters or bushwhackers in order to cut off the rebel pickets, who, according to information then received, extended down the southeastern flanks of the mountain and were making gradual approaches toward our town. But the heavy rain of the night caused them to be detained until the balance of the regiment arrived and thus they were saved from almost certain capture or destruction.”

“Friday, June 26th, the 26th Regiment arrived at Gettysburg from their camping ground at 9 A. M., and by order of Maj.

During the night it rained, and as I had returned to Graham his gum blanket which he needed for himself, there seemed to be no alternative but to sleep out on the open bank, without any shelter whatever. I lay down spoon fashion, between Tucker and another man, and the former covered me over as well as he could with the lapels and tail of his overcoat. Thus packed together, we kept each other warm, and I shall ever feel grateful to Tucker for the kindness and goodness of heart he exhibited on that and the succeeding night. Thanks to his care and my own fatigue, I slept pretty well notwithstanding the adverse circumstances.

Haller, though contrary to the earnest remonstrances of Jennings, Colonel of the regiment, was sent forward at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ A. M. on the Chambersburg turnpike. This was a suicidal movement of a handful, chiefly of inexperienced men, in the face of a large body of experienced troops. The rebels afterward laughed at the folly of the order. But advancing to the distance of about three miles to the westward our little band encamped and threw out their pickets. At about 3 P. M. the rebels in force made their appearance and captured nearly all their pickets, 40 in number. Col. Jennings, who had on several occasions shown himself to be an officer as skillful as he is cool and brave, seeing the trap into which he had been led, immediately upon sight of the enemy divided the regiment into three squads in order to deceive them with the appearance of a large body of infantry. The deception proved so far successful that the rebels did not press them, fearing that a direct attack might prove more serious than a mere skirmish. Jennings's band however hastily retreated eastward over the fields and by country roads, occasionally skirmishing with the enemy's cavalry which was sent in pursuit of them, and after losing 120 more of their number near Hunterstown, and zigzagging very frequently, being often within hearing distance of their pursuers, they reached Harrisburg on Sunday, the 28th of June, much fatigued, having marched 54 out of 60 continuous hours. Too much praise cannot be awarded Col. Jennings for the skillful manner in which he conducted this retreat and saved the regiment from capture."—*Jacob's notes on the Battle of Gettysburg.*

(Monday, June 29th.) The Colonel reported the regiment unfit for duty, and requiring a few days rest. It was rumored through the fort that the "rebs" were falling back, and I for one was very well pleased with the information.

As our quarter master was among the missing, and red tape requires that all demands for subsistence should be made through him, we were unable to draw rations, and had nothing to eat except some hard tack which some of the men in another regiment gave to us. I felt an irresistible craving for meat, and under the influence of it, on writing home to mother an account of our adventures, I asked her to send me a piece of dried beef. That was providing for the future, but did not do much towards alleviating present necessities, so conquering some few compunctions, I went down over the hill to a small collection of houses on the bank of the river, and unsuccessfully endeavored to beg or buy some. At one house, the neatest and most capacious there, I inquired "whether they had not a piece of ham," and on being answered in the negative, "whether they could not spare me a few drops of laudanum." They said they would be willing to give it to me if they had any, but that General Hall was about occupying the premises as his headquarters, and all their articles of every kind had been removed. I discovered however, under the bank, a spring of good water with a narrow steep path, leading to it from the fort, which I frequently had occasion to make use of afterward. The descent was almost perpendicular, and it could only be ascended by the assistance of the bushes which grew on the side of the hill. I also found it a most convenient means of exit when I wanted to go down to the river to wash, or for any other purpose.

(Tuesday, June 30th.) In the morning we were sup-

plied with shelter tents, blankets and other necessary articles, and in the afternoon marched out some three or four miles after the rebels, who were retreating. Being unwell, I had a great dislike to starting out again, but we fortunately had not far to go, and relieved some regiment stationed on the front. On the way we halted once along the road, and while waiting, a negro servant of one of the officers came riding toward us on a Colonel's horse. When he approached, one of the men stepped out, stopped him, and for mischief inquired for his pass. The man said he had none, and after some parleying was permitted to proceed. On arriving opposite Co. D, a big stout bully, by the name of Bill, caught the bridle of his horse, and began to curse and abuse him in a most shameful manner. The negro replied very peaceably, but Bill picked up several stones as large as he could well lift, and hurled them at him one after another with all his strength. One struck him in the middle of the back, and had it been his head must have knocked him senseless. Some of our fellows who were incensed at such a wanton outrage interfered, and for a while it looked as if we were going to have a regular rumpus. Bill said, "it served him right, he was only a d——d nigger anyhow," and he appeared to have a number of friends who were ready to support him in any abuse he could bestow on a "nigger." This case was carried to headquarters, but I believe he only received a reprimand.

Our camp was in an open field not far from the river, and some two or three hundred yards from a deserted house, whence the men brought chairs, boards, doors and whatever could be carried away. Some even lugged up a stove, which was perfectly useless to them. While here, we were surprised by the appearance of the Lieutenant Colonel, Rolly, and a number of others whom we

had thought captured. Their arrival diminished the loss in our company to I think, seventeen. Among these, was Corporal MacDonald, of whom they tell a pretty good story. For some private matter, after the company was sworn in, he went to Pottstown, and before returning, as there was then every probability of our being away for a long time, he visited all his friends, and rather importantly bade them a last farewell. On reaching Harrisburg, he found the regiment had gone, and hastening after them, arrived at Gettysburg just in time to be captured by the rebels. They asked him how long he had been in the service. "About two hours" said he, and the next day he went back to Pottstown a paroled prisoner, considerably crest fallen and almost ashamed to go out on the streets. Rolly and the others had been left at Gettysburg in charge of the baggage, and upon the approach of the "rebs," they, together with Major Haller, were compelled to skedaddle. They footed it to Hanover, and from there were carried on cars. At Columbia, they participated in the firing of the railroad bridge over the Susquehanna. Rolly curses Major Haller for an arrant coward, and says, that when the "rebs" were coming, he drew them up, told them if they wanted him to send for him, and scampered over the bridge as fast as he could travel.

Toward evening we moved our quarters to another field. I went to the Surgeon who had then arrived, and asked for some medicine for my dysentery. He gave me some castor oil in a small quantity of whiskey which I swallowed. Rhodes and Landis put up a tent for us three, while I lay about not fit for much of anything.

(Wednesday, July 1st.) After breakfast we had our guns to scour, and as they were very much rusted from being continually in the rain, it was no slight task. John Vanderslice, a gentleman from Phoenixville, over sixty

years of age, who came up with us, and had since been at Chambersburg with a battery, came to see us, and afterward left for home. In the afternoon, Rennard and I went to a small dam, not far off, and washed our bodies and underclothing with the expectation of having them dry and clean. In the former we were disappointed, for shortly after returning to camp, we received orders to pack up, and were obliged to put them on wet. A large force of negroes were employed on the hills cutting off the timber, in order to give the artillery from the fort and opposite bank of the river opportunity to play upon any approaching enemy. Toward evening, we marched back to Fort Couch, and were furnished with the wedge tents of a regiment which had just departed. Rolly, Rennard, Tucker, Ford and myself arranged to take one together, but before it was put up, Rennard and I were detailed for guard, and had to leave it in charge of Rolly. The next morning when we were relieved at guard mounting, we found the tent erected in a very undesirable location, being partially doubled over the cook shop of the next company, which contracted our limits, beside making it extremely unpleasant. I went to the Captain and asked permission to remove it to an open space nearer their quarters, but he would not give his assent. A short time afterward some of the Pottstowners took possession of the very same place. After that I never asked a favor when I could possibly help it, but in matters of that kind, did just as I pleased, and what was not right had to be done over.

In relating the events of the next week or two, which were passed in the fort, I will endeavor to give them as connectedly as possible, but will not maintain the precise arrangement of dates, as has previously been done. The Colonel was made commander of the post and it was our

duty to garrison the place, Company F. being especially commissioned by him to take charge of the gate. That was much more agreeable than walking around the parapet and beside relieved us from the necessity of going on picket. Two large marquee tents were arranged with board seats in them and other conveniences for guard quarters, and being just within the entrance of the fort, formed a very pleasant and capacious retreat for the reliefs off duty. My turn to go on guard came around once in every three or four days and I had no particular objection to it, save that it rained nearly every night and I was consequently very often soaked. The muskets too became wet and rusted and had to be cleaned very frequently, an operation which I always disliked or rather detested. We also commenced to drill regularly, something in which we hitherto had had little experience. We had squad-drill in the mornings before breakfast, company, from nine to eleven, regimental, from two to five P. M. and dress parade at six. The latter always possessed an attraction for me, arousing all the military ardor and enthusiasm in my nature, and exciting emotions which it is difficult to describe, but somewhat akin to those which I suppose every one has experienced upon hearing a band of music play well "The star spangled banner." The sharp ringing tones of the Adjutant and the gruff bass voice of the Major, who had command on such occasions, sound through my ears even yet. The roll was called at five A. M. and nine P. M. Absence at either time was followed by double fatigue, or water duty for the next day. Rolly overslept himself one morning and was sent with a number of others to clean the filth from off the grounds, which made him swear most bitterly. There was a sutler in camp from whom could be bought little articles at most exorbitant prices, and

another down at the bridge where I sometimes purchased butter. The men were generally very anxious to have soft bread but it always seemed to me that without butter hard tack was much preferable.

I once employed the sutler to bring over from Harrisburg a package which mother wrote to me had been expressed. It contained a very large piece of dried beef, weighing several pounds, and a case of needles, pins, scissors, &c., all of which proved very useful to myself as well as others. The beef we cut in slices and Tom, the Captain's negro cook, loaned us his pans with which to fry it. Mike the company's cook, having from his position considerable power in the facility with which he could give burnt victuals and fat or boue for meat, was extremely insolent, and was also the filthiest man I ever had the misfortune to come in contact with. As an exemplification of the latter quality the following incident will serve. A New York regiment, encamped near us, had received their pay and returned home. Mike who was of an acquisitive disposition gathered up a quantity of underclothing they had left lying around their tents, but fearing that they might contain "greybacks," or in other words "body lice," he boiled them thoroughly in the camp kettles, and that very day we had bean soup for dinner made in the same vessels. Let any one imagine how his feelings would be galled at being compelled to carry water or do other like services for such a creature, and he can form an idea of some of the minor annoyances connected with a private's duties.

The Chaplain of the regiment had prayer and preaching very often in the evenings. There was a Presbyterian Minister from Erie, Pennsylvania, a private in one of the companies, who frequently entertained us with accounts of his travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, and also with

selections from Bible history, in which he was exceedingly well versed. He was generally well read, a rather fluent speaker, and the men showed there appreciation of him by gathering in crowds to listen to his discourses. Some one also had printed a poetical account of the battle of "Bailey's hill," as they styled our skirmish near Gettysburg, and made considerable money by circulating it through the fort at ten cents a copy. Some of the men had their tents arranged very comfortably. We floored ours with boards and made a sort of a table and seat in front, but I think it was the meanest one in the whole company. A large quantity of filth had accumulated about the fort, rendering it unpleasant as well as unhealthy, and the time we spent in it was very disagreeable to me—more so I suppose because I was continually troubled with diarrhoea. Joe. Rennard took a violent cold during our march and had such a terrible cough that he was sent to the hospital, in a tavern under the hill, where he remained until we were mustered out some weeks afterward. Country people sometimes came into the fort with fruit and berries for sale, but I was afraid to eat them, and confined myself almost exclusively to camp-fare. It is likely I would have felt better had I not been quite so abstemious, for I afterward found berries to be an excellent remedy.

On the third of July we heard numerous rumors of a battle between Meade and Lee, in which the latter was badly beaten, and the succeeding midnight we were awakened, ordered to prepare for marching, and went down to a train of cars but found it already filled with soldiers. It was raining in torrents and we stood there waiting for transportation for several hours, but as there did not appear to be any provided, some of us went into a grain house by the railroad, and went to sleep.

After a time we were called out and placed in passenger cars (how fine they were), where we sat for half an hour and then marched back to our old quarters in the fort, at which we arrived about twelve o'clock. Col. Williamson, who was on a visit to the company, from Pottstown, said they had received some unfavorable news in Harrisburg from the Army. I was immediately put on guard, and thus in the rain, I spent my Fourth of July.

When the news of the capture of Vicksburg, with the garrison and stores, was received, there was the greatest rejoicing among the men. Gen. Hall ordered all the troops in his command to be drawn up in the fort, and after making a speech to them detailing all the circumstances then known of that important success, a German battery stationed there fired a salute of thirty-three guns in honor of the victory. Some began to think that the "emergency" was very nearly over.

During the following week the three months militia arrived from all parts of the State in great numbers, and trains were running day and night conveying them down the Cumberland Valley. The people, who had never been thoroughly aroused until the State was invaded and the crisis upon them, then commenced to exert themselves in earnest, and a large force was organized and thrown into the field, though too late to be of very effective service. We, who had seen the rebels and been roughing it somewhat, felt ourselves to be of considerable consequence among the new comers, especially as many of them were of those who had previously refused to take the oath and returned home.

A great many farmers from the valley who were going back to their places, and citizens from Harrisburg and other towns, came daily to visit the fort through curiosity, and were a regular nuisance to us on guard. None were ad-

mitted without passes from William B. Mann, who was provost-marshal at the bridge. On one occasion a party, consisting of a gentleman and two or three ladies, came up the hill when I was on duty and requested admission, but not having the requisite passes of course I could not permit them to enter. They seemed to be very much disappointed and one of the ladies asked me whether I really would bayonet her if she should attempt to run by, and added that I did not look very dangerous. I told her that I would not advise her to try such a course, so the ladies sat down on the bank, while the gentleman went back to procure a pass. He was absent about an hour, during which time we carried on a conversation upon various matters and they entertained me very agreeably. I learned that the principal talker of the party was a Miss Schall from Ogdensburg on the Schuylkill, who was very well acquainted with Mr. and Mrs. Thompson and other members of the family. Several persons from Phoenixville came to see us, among others Jerome John and Miss Boyle,¹ who were then on their way with hospital stores for the wounded at Gettysburg. On the afternoon of the ninth, Uncle Joe² came into the fort and found me on drill. The next morning he came again bringing a vial of mixture for dysentery, and after talking and looking about for some time, he and a friend left for the battlefield.

I was soon afterward put on guard. It is the duty of the sentinel to salute an approaching Lieutenant or Captain by bringing the piece to a shoulder, any officer above that rank by presenting arms. During my watch in the afternoon a supercilious puppy of a Major, who was in undress uniform and had a small leaf upon the front of his coat, came riding

¹ Rebecca E. Boyle.

² J. R. Whitaker.

rapidly up, and as he passed me holding my musket at my shoulder, cried out in a pompous and insulting tone, "Why don't you come to a present?" I replied, "Why don't you wear your straps, then?" He pointed to the leaf on his coat and shouted, "Are you so blind that you can't see?" I did not present, however, and he passed on. It would have been a great satisfaction to have kicked him. The guards are appointed for twenty-four hours and are divided into three reliefs so that each man is on duty two hours, and off the next four. On retaking my post that night at ten o'clock the guard of the first relief told me, after giving the countersign, that there had been considerable alarm during his watch, on account of continual firing in the woods two or three miles distant, where our picket line was, that the long roll had been beaten several times, and as something was evidently wrong, it was necessary to be very careful. I determined to be on the alert, and a little excitement of the kind answered very well to prevent drowsiness. The night was extremely dark and every once in a while there would be a flash and report of musketry from the pickets. The Colonel and Major came down and stood by the gate over an hour, endeavoring to discover what could be the cause of the disturbance. Both thought it was very extraordinary, as the pickets would not certainly fire in that manner without some reason for it. They went outside a few paces and Lieutenant Richards came to me and enjoined upon me to be sure and challenge them as they returned. So upon their approach I cried, "Halt! who comes there?" "Oh nonsense," said the Major, and passed in. The Colonel finally ordered two additional companies to be sent to the line and Company F to come down and sleep by the gate upon their arms. My two hours soon slipped away, I heard no more of the disturbance, and never knew

its origin. Before morning a heavy thunder storm arose and the men were thoroughly soaked. I was sound asleep in the tent for guards, entirely unconcerned. Sometimes two hours standing in the same position without being permitted to rest the musket, move from the spot, or sit down, seemed very long, and the time, especially in the quiet and darkness of night, rolled around slowly.

(Saturday July 11th.) It is usual for those coming off of guard to be excused from drill, and all other duties on the following day. Expecting therefore nothing else to do this morning, I had concluded to go down to the Susquehanna, and give myself and clothing a thorough ablution. When morning came, however, we were ordered to have everything prepared to strike tents, and police the ground, which doubtless was in great need of it. At the first sound of the Colonel's whistle, the pins were to be drawn; at the second, tents to be laid over; at the third, get to work. In consequence of everything being wet from the rain, and the threatening appearance of the clouds, the Colonel delayed giving the signal, in the hope that the sun might presently come forth, and we were commanded to remain by our tents in readiness at any time to commence operations. After waiting for an hour in no very good humor, I determined to leave, whatever might be the result, and went down to the river, washed out my clothing, took a bath, went to the hospital, and had a chat with Rennard, whose cough was still very severe, and returned to the fort after an absence of two hours to find them yet waiting to hear the whistle. Shortly afterward, the police business was postponed until a more suitable occasion, and we were informed there would be inspection of arms by the Major in the morning succeeding. So after dinner, I prepared to clean my musket, borrowed the implements, and had just taken it all apart, and was sitting

on the bench in front of our tent busily scouring away, when the Orderly came along and said, "Pennypacker, I'll take you for one." "What for?" I inquired. "Police duty," said he. I said, "Why, Orderly, I only came off guard this morning." "Can't help it, you'll have to come," he replied. I urged further, "My gun is here all in pieces, and I can't leave it," and received for an answer, "Come on;" so leaving everything lying as it was, with the probability of finding half of the articles stolen when I returned, I went, in company with some half a dozen others and the Orderly, to the upper end of the fort where they were making arrangements to erect some large tents for General Hall's headquarters. We were first sent for spades and shovels, and then shown where to use them. There was perhaps half an acre of ground to be cleaned, tents to be put up for the General and staff, boards to be carried a considerable distance, and cut the proper length for the floors, and every prospect of its requiring all the afternoon to finish the work. To crown all, the Major, whom I had met at the gate in the morning previous had charge of matters, but he fortunately did not recognize me. I worked with apparent diligence, for perhaps three-fourths of an hour, and then watching my opportunity, dodged behind some tents and made tracks for the quarters of Co. F. I was evidently making rapid improvement in the knowledge of military matters, having disobeyed orders to my own advantage twice during the day; though for the latter offence, I fully expected to be at least put on double duty. There is one thing to be noticed in regard to affairs of this kind, which is that a subordinate officer feels no responsibility for the result of an undertaking, and consequently does not care what happens after he has performed the part entrusted to him. Thus it was expected of the Orderly to furnish a certain num-

ber of men, he took us up, left us in the proper hands, and though he saw me back a very short time afterward, he never thought it was any of his business to inquire how or why I returned. In the same way it is the duty of a guard to prevent any one from crossing his particular beat, and of the Commander to see that there are guards sufficient to encircle the space which is desired to be enclosed, so that if a person should persist in attempting to go over a portion of the beat, he would probably meet the bayonet, but as far as the guard is concerned, he could pass two inches beyond those bounds with perfect impunity. When guards were stationed along the bank to prevent the men from going down to the river, they always told the best way in which they could be evaded, to any one who inquired. All the water we drank was carried across their line, as that pumped up was totally unfit for use.

(Sunday, July 12th.) Some time during the night, marching orders were received. The Captain came around and threw a knapsack into each tent, which he said must answer the purpose of the whole party. By mutual consent, I took possession of the one left with us, and put in it whatever little matters, belonging to the others, were necessary. We were furnished with three days' rations, and I also stowed in my haversack, the larger portion of the piece of dried beef, which had been sent to me from home. It was not yet daylight when we bade farewell (thank fortune, a last farewell) to the fort, and marched down to the railroad. There entering freight cars in which we had the advantage of not being crowded, we started down the Cumberland Valley, a part of the State I had often longed to see. Before going many miles, the train stopped for a time, and as our canteens were empty, we filled them from a gutter running along the road, finding

the water cool and pleasant, but rather muddy. We stopped again at Mechanicsburg, where the people told us of some of the rebel operations in that vicinity. On approaching Carlisle we saw the ruins of the barracks which had been destroyed, and in that very pleasant looking town we waited over an hour. While sitting here in the cars, I saw a man pass by with a large piece of bread and butter in his hand, in a few minutes another came along, so concluding they must have come from somewhere, and that considering the provender, that was just the place to suit me, I quickly made my way from the cars, and traced the provision carriers back two or three squares to a tavern, in the kitchen of which an old lady was cutting and spreading bread as fast as she could handle the knife, and the room was full of soldiers waiting their turns. They crowded around her so closely that she could scarcely move, and she was scolding away with all her might. I arrived too late to get any meat, but received a large slice of bread and returned to the car. We soon after started off, and I with a number of others got up on top of the cars, and had a fine view of the country as we passed through. About noon we came to Shippensburg which was as far as the railroad at that time had been repaired, the rebels having destroyed it for a great many miles. There we met Owen Eachus, whose company was provost-guard of the town, also Dr. W. A. Peck of Phoenixville, who was Surgeon in charge of the hospital. We stacked arms in the street, and sat down on the door steps of the houses, each one near his own musket. I presently saw a lady come to a window on the opposite side of the street from me and hand out a waiter full of bread and preserves. A few minutes afterward found me watching under the same window, and when the waiter again protruded, I secured my share. It required some exertion, too,

as there was no lack of applicants. A woman in another house who saw the operation said to me as if surprised, "Yousens don't go and take what you want like the otherens did" referring to the rebels. I was shocked at the ignorance with which she placed us in the same category. As usual we were curious to know where we were bound, and it was reported that we were to go to Scotland bridge to guard some point there, which turned out to be a mistake.

About half after one we commenced our march. It was one of those hot and sultry days, which tend to make even a person in perfect inactivity feel feverish and unpleasant, when not a breath of air was stirring, and the very atmosphere we inhaled seemed almost to suffocate. We had not proceeded far before we were covered with dust and our clothing soaked with perspiration, which rolled from us in streams. For some reason we went an unusually long distance without taking a rest, and before we stopped several of the men had fallen over from the effects of the heat. Among others Ford, who was walking a few paces from me, suddenly pitched over on his face in the road, and was picked up senseless. The Colonel ordered him to be carried into a house and Rolly remained with him. He was afterward taken back to the hospital at Shippensburg and left in the care of Dr. Peck, who promised to give him every attention. A short time subsequent to that we halted in an apple orchard and stayed there over an hour, and a moist breeze having arisen, threatening a thunder storm, the rest of the march, though longer, was not so fatiguing. While at the orchard, wishing to make my load as light as possible, I gave the Sergeant-Major a large piece of my dried beef. At many of the houses which we passed the people stood at their gates with

buckets and tubs and gave water to those who wanted it. It was very thoughtful and I know their kindness was appreciated. The custom in marching is to keep in ranks and step through the towns, but in the open roads the command is given "route step, arms at will," and each one is at liberty to walk as best suits his convenience.

Our next stopping place was a small village called Greenville. Here, while sitting by the roadside, two little boys, scarcely old enough to wear breeches, came along asking the men for their canteens in order to fill them. I was pleased with the idea of children coming on such an errand, and when one of them approached me, wishing to hear him talk, I inquired whether he had seen the rebels. "Yes," he said, "they were naughty men; they took my little dog," and in sorrowful accents he told me further that his dog was black and had a white spot on his tail. A large flag was hung across the road and each company as it passed underneath cheered lustily for the stars and stripes. It was nearly dark when we reached Chambersburg, after a march of some twelve miles during the afternoon. There was a large army of militia encamped in that neighborhood, comprising, I suppose, many thousands, though I am unable to form any definite idea as to the exact number. Apparently there was some hesitation and doubt as to where we were to go, but finally we were taken to a clover field on the right side of the pike, belonging to Col. A. K. McClure, and there stacked arms. From the aspect of the clouds, we were apprehensive of rain before morning, but as the facilities for putting up tents were exceedingly slim, we spread our blankets upon the ground and went to sleep, trusting the weather to fortune. Upon that occasion the fickle goddess favored us and we remained dry.

(Monday, July 13th.) Doc. Nyce and I went to a house

on the outskirts of the town and ate breakfast, for which we paid twenty-five cents each. It was the first time we had eaten from a table since leaving home, and I never enjoyed a meal more. It seemed to me I could not get enough of those short-cakes to satisfy myself, and they disappeared in a most miraculous manner. On returning to the muskets, I sat down upon a large stone in the centre of the field and wrote a letter to mother, which a boy promised to put in the Post Office for me. It soon after commenced raining very hard and we took shelter under a sort of archway which crossed the pike at the toll gate. Becoming tired of waiting there, I proposed to Nyce to go in and have a look at the town. There was a certainty of our getting wet; a probability of being arrested by the provost and sent to the guard-house; a possibility of the regiment moving off during our absence and leaving us in the lurch; but knowing that if we did not risk something we could see but little, in we started. Following the pike for some distance we turned to the left, crossed the Conococheague, a rapid stream which runs directly through the centre of the town, and went to the hospital, where we saw a number of greyback prisoners who were confined there. We endeavored to find some cakes in the stores, but there was not anything of the kind in the place; all having been consumed and the bakeries stopped. We then concluded to go to the depot and take a view of the depredations which the rebels had committed there. All of the buildings belonging to the railroad company were in ruins. The plan adopted for their destruction was to batter in the walls with heavy bars until the structure fell. I was at a loss to understand why they had not applied fire and thus saved themselves from what must have required a great deal of labor. All the machinery which could be injured had been rendered

useless, and even the large masses of iron exhibited the marks of blows from sledge hammers. A boy who was there told us that one of the "rebs" had been crushed beneath the walls when they fell and was still buried among the rubbish. As it was then nearly noon, we thought it would be well to try and get some dinner before returning to camp; so, going to a house, we inquired of the lady whether we could get a meal there, were answered in the affirmative, and sat down to a table at which we ate a tremendous quantity. Afterward, on asking the price, the lady told us she would never charge a union soldier for a meal while she had food in her house, and positively refused to accept any money whatever. Considering the number of men who were hunting around ready to devour everything of an edible nature, and the great scarcity of provisions caused by the presence of both armies, such generosity was extremely laudable. On going back to the muskets, I heard that one of the coal regiments was encamped on the other side of the pike, about half a mile off, and knowing that Charlie Roberts was a 1st Lieutenant in it, I concluded to go and see him. After a long hunt I found his tent and looked in, but as three of them were inside fast asleep I did not disturb them. That afternoon we were given another supply of rations, among other things sugar and coffee were divided. I did not care about the coffee, but I drew my own sugar and that of some eight or ten others, who did not want to be bothered carrying it, and gave me permission to take it in their names. I stowed in my haversack all that I could get and found it a very agreeable article to have soon afterward.

Toward evening, being ordered to fall in, the Colonel told us we would only have to march about three miles to a better location for a camp, where we would join our

brigade, from which we had been separated at the fort. We marched through the town and about a mile and a half further to a wood on the left of the pike, where we pitched tents beside the others, thinking we would probably remain there a few days. We soon heard, however, that we were to start again in the morning, and a rumor was flying about that Meade had captured Lee's entire army at Williamsport, and we were going on to escort the prisoners back. We were very much pleased with the news, but the idea of making a double trip on foot across Maryland was not so agreeable. It turned out to be a canard, however.

(Tuesday, July 14th.) The camp was only a few rods from the railroad, and early in the morning I went to it to see what was the method of destroying the track. The rails were laid in heaps along the road, all of them across gutters or hollow places so that both ends were supported upon the bank. Then the sills were heaped underneath the centre and set on fire, and when the iron became hot and soft it bent from its own weight. In this way both sills and rails were rendered useless. In one place we saw some rails which while hot had been wound around a tree. We were told that the track was in this condition for seven miles, and that several thousand men were engaged in the work. How those fellows managed to make such long daily marches, and at the same time scour the country so effectually for miles and accomplish so much hard labor, was more than I could understand.

We had expected to leave at 4 A. M., but there was the usual amount of delay and ceremony, so that it was quite late before we received orders. Before starting the Colonel made a little speech to us, saying that we would then for the first time, march with the brigade, and from his acquaintance with our past performances he knew we

could walk away from anything on the ground, especially as the greater number of the others were city chaps. There was one wagon belonging to our regiment, and those who were sick or unable to carry their baggage, were allowed to have it hauled. Of course, the accommodation was restricted to a very few, but Rolly who was favored in that respect, succeeded in getting his blanket and my knapsack taken as his own, a relief for which I was very thankful. He thought he would not be able to keep up, but said he intended to hold on as long as possible. One regiment after another to the number of four or five came winding out of the woods and took position along the pike until all were stretched out in one long line. We brought up the rear which is by far the most difficult station on a march, for the following reasons: It is usual to rest about ten minutes in each half hour at the head of the column. Now wherever there is a break in the road such as a mud puddle, a run or something of that nature, each man of course hesitates an instant either to choose his way or make a jump. This seems to be but a little matter, but as it is increased at every rank, by the time the rear is reached it frequently becomes many minutes. Let us suppose that each rank of two men loses only one second at a run, which is certainly a very moderate estimate. In a regiment of eight hundred men this would be 400 seconds, and in four such regiments 1600 seconds or twenty-seven minutes expended at every crossing which have to be made up from the "rests," or by running, and consequently the rear generally gets up to the place for a halt too late to be benefitted by it. Soon after we started the clouds cleared away and the sun shone out warmly. The pike was so cut up by the passage of two armies and their wagons during the heavy rains, that the water in some places stood knee deep, and rendered travelling

upon it almost impracticable. We were compelled to make a detour by some side roads on the right, and in this way lengthened our journey considerably. Even then we marched a good part of the time in the fields on account of the ill condition of the roads. A guard was placed in the rear of each regiment to pick up all who straggled without a pass from the Surgeon, and at nearly every halt the roll was called before we were permitted to sit down. Sometimes the Orderly would be interrupted in the midst of it by that never-ceasing command, "Fall in." Those who were absent on such occasions were marked for guard duty the next night. To guard against sun-stroke, I filled my cap with leaves and every once in a while poured water on them from my canteen. The march that morning on account of the heat was very hard, and before noon we were continually passing men lying in the fence corners and along the road completely overcome. Some of them died from the effects of the sun. I think fully one-fourth of one of the Philadelphia regiments straggled, and I overheard Colonel Jennings as he was looking at some of them, rather sneeringly remark "city fellows," a class for whom he apparently had a contempt. Often some poor, tired creature would start the cry of "rest," which then ran all along the column, but it seldom had any influence upon the officers who rode upon horse-back and having nothing to carry, of course, were unable to tell by experience how much the privates endured. It is well it is so, for I am afraid if the commanders had to go on foot and carry their own baggage there would be very little progress made. I was still very much troubled with diarrhœa, and at times had very severe pain. Rolly kept up with a great deal of difficulty, and very early threw away a small piece of pork and his tinplate with the exclamation, "D——n it Sam, I've got to come down to

light marching order." About one o'clock we halted in a wood and stacked arms, when he threw himself down on the ground beside the guns and lay there upon his back without a movement until we started on in the afternoon. I ate some dinner and slept for perhaps an hour. The remainder of the march was comparatively easy, and about dusk we arrived at a mill dam upon the opposite side of which, and a mile from Greencastle, was our destined camp. Close at hand was a farm house occupied as the headquarters of General Dana, whom we had met upon the road and saluted a short time before. There was no way of crossing the dam except walking around the breast which took up so much time that it was quite dark when we reached the top of the hill and settled for the night. We were all in want of water, but complained of feeling too tired to get any, so having tried in vain to persuade some of the others to go, I took two or three canteens and filled them from a pump at a farm house which I discovered not far off. Rolly and I then spreading one blanket out upon the clover and covering ourselves with the other, went to sleep. During the night a storm arose and we were awakened by the rain beating in our faces, while I found my leg soaking in a puddle of water. We put the blanket over our heads, however, and slept until morning in spite of the rain.

(Wednesday, July 15th.) We expected to march again early, so rolling up our wet blankets, Rolly made the same arrangement in regard to them which had succeeded so well the day before. Several hours having slipped away without any indications of a movement, we learned that Sergeant Meigs, with a squad from our company had been sent to hunt up some cattle for beef, which looked as if the intention was to remain there for some time, and we were heartily glad of it. Later in the day,

it was reported that Gov. Curtin was coming down to see us on some business. A large number of troops forming several brigades had arrived during the night and were continually coming in, so that the hill was covered over with them. Two or three sutlers also made their appearance with loaded wagons, which were soon emptied. Among other things they had a supply of Philadelphia newspapers, a day or two old. Cheese was a standing article with them and was greedily bought up at about twenty-five cents per pound. After dinner I went down to the creek to wash and found the stream as far as I could see it lined along the bank with men cleaning their clothes and bodies. The water, in consequence, was muddy and dirty, but answered the purpose better than none at all. On returning Rolly, "Tucker" and myself put up a tent and having plenty of time, we procured a light ridge pole and good, strong pins. In the evening I witnessed the sport of tossing from a blanket. Four men take hold of the corners of a blanket, and getting some fellow on it throw him up into the air and catch him again as he falls. It is rather a dangerous amusement for the one thrown, as several instances have occurred in which his neck was broken by the fall.

(Thursday, July 16th.) Nearly all of the regiments moved on towards Hagerstown. We had marching orders, but on the receipt of the intelligence of Lee's successful retreat over the Potomac at Williamsport, they were countermanded and Colonel Jennings was made Acting Brigadier and placed in command of the camp. Had Lee delayed one day longer, and Meade made his intended attack, it is very probable we would have taken part in a severe battle, as we were only a march of a day and a half distant from the scene of operations, and the struggle in which the former staked the existence of his

army, perhaps of the Confederacy, and the latter complete victory, would doubtless have been terrific.

Early in the morning we struck tents and moved to a more pleasant location on the edge of a wood. Here, by permission, five of us, Rhodes, Landis, Rolly, Nyce and I put up a tent together, and through the increased length had room enough to be comfortable. We took considerable pains to have it nice, selected a good position on the slope of the ground so that it could be readily drained, elevated it about the right height, put fence rails along the inner edges, stretched the muslin out to make it tight and firm, dug drains and gutters all around, and when our work was completed, had, without exception, the best tent in the company. We also admitted "Tucker," who had lost his piece of tent while at Fort Couch. Desiring to see Greencastle, I persuaded Rhodes and "Tucker" to accompany me, and we started off across the fields for the town, which was about a mile distant. Meeting several who were returning from there we inquired of them whether we could get in without passes. Some said we could, by dodging, and others told us there was a picket on the road near the outskirts of the place, arresting all who had not the necessary documents, and even if we escaped them, we would be certain to be captured by the provosts. Determined, nevertheless, to risk it, we proceeded, and when in sight of the picket party struck off to the right through a cornfield, and making a wide circuit, came into the town from the rear. Jumping over a garden fence, we cautiously entered one of the back streets and seeing a couple of men ahead in uniform we followed them at the distance of a half a square. At the very next corner they ran against a squad of guards coming down a cross-street and were marched off. We dodged behind a stable and waited until they had departed, then emerging from our

hiding place we went to a house and asked the woman whether she could get us some dinner. She said she had not much in the house, but if we chose would get ready for us all she could. So one of us was stationed at the front, another at the back door to give the alarm upon the approach of the provosts, while she cooked dinner, which consisted of fried fitch, cabbage, potatoes, molasses, bread and butter, and rye coffee. During its preparation she entertained us with accounts of the rebels, telling how "sassy" they were, how they scared a young man into fits from the effects of which he died, how she cursed them to their faces, something that judging from her appearance and manners she was very able to do, and how she threatened to cut their throats with the huge butcher knife with which she was then slicing the bread. Shortly after a young fellow, one of Milroy's men, who was staying there, and her daughter came in with a bucket full of blackberries and she gave us each a saucer full. We paid her twenty-five cents a piece and then went further in town to the main street, where we bought some little articles. On coming back we chanced to see a woman taking some pies out of an oven and thinking they would suit us exactly, we hurried into the yard eager to make a purchase. At first she positively refused to part with any, saying she wanted them for her family, but after some cajolery she finally consented to let us have two or three. We carried them into camp by the same route we had come. There they told us Governor Curtin was on the ground addressing the men, and soon afterward he came over to our regiment, and though he was very hoarse made a short speech. He said among other things that there was every prospect of the "emergency" being over and our being sent home in a few days; but being of one Commonwealth, no Pennsylvanian had a

right to sleep quietly at home while these people of the border were driven from their habitations and their property despoiled; that when they had returned with the probability of remaining undisturbed, we might consider our services finished. Upon the conclusion of his remarks we gave him three cheers and he drove off.

(Friday, July 17th.) A number of cattle were brought in for beef, and shot. I had acquired a disgust for fresh beef from a singularly unpleasant taste, which the method of preparation gave it, and from seeing our dirty cook holding the pieces down on the ground with his filthy feet while he cut them off with an axe. When, however, we could manage to get hold of some of the raw meat and fry it ourselves I could eat it with great relish. I liked the salt pork much better than beef, and generally ate the proportion of two or three men, as some of them would scarcely touch it. A dislike to the coffee had also grown upon me, and I drank water altogether. At a farm house a few fields from where we were encamped was the finest spring of water I ever saw anywhere, being almost as cold as ice and affording an inexhaustible supply. Much nearer and directly in front of the camp, underneath a steep hill, were several smaller though equally good springs which we used principally. Small pipes made from the bark of trees had been fitted in them for the water to run through as it came from the bank, which materially assisted in filling the canteens. Every morning early we went there for that purpose and to wash in the delightfully cool and fresh stream. It is one of the most important considerations to have a camp where there is plenty of good water. Pumps are very frequently exhausted by the continual use, from which results one beneficial effect, the supply is usually cold and agreeable. That region abounds in raspberries, black-

berries, &c., and I consumed great quantities of them. I found they did me much good, cured me of the diarrhœa, and I soon began to get fat. We had them almost daily at our meals for desert, and in this way used the sugar that I brought from Chambersburg. Rolly was detailed to guard a man's house from depredators, and was very well pleased with the situation, as they cooked his rations nicely for him and added to them beside. Mike cut my hair for me close to the head in military style. Numbers of the men scattered abroad in all directions to "forage," and though some of them were brought in once in a while by the cavalry to the guard house and strict orders were issued against it, I concluded it was the right way to get along and see the country. We were drilled regularly by the Lieutenant Colonel, who had such an odd tone of voice that no one could understand his orders, sometimes he would shout "shoulder arms, order arms, support arms," entirely contrary to the manual, and would be obeyed by some reluctantly by others not at all. On one occasion he cursed the Adjutant up and down for a mistake evidently made by himself, upon a review of the brigade by Colonel Jennings.

(Saturday, July 18th.) After drill, Doc. Nyce and I started on a foraging expedition. For two or three miles we kept pretty closely along the pike, which had been terribly broken up by the heavy baggage trains and artillery. As a proof of how little it was then used, at different places we saw quantities of corn growing several inches high right in the middle of it. We found in that distance three or four wagons and caissons whose spokes had been cut and wheels destroyed after they had given way on the retreat. Shells, rebel clothing, haversacks, &c., were scattered about plentifully. We visited two or three of their camps and at one of them in a wood, Nyce

picked up a ramrod and presented it to me. At the two first houses to which we applied for dinner they told us they actually had nothing to eat themselves, but at the third we were more fortunate and procured a very good meal of meat and vegetables. They said the "rebs" had gone into the cellar, filled their canteens with molasses from the hogshead and emptied the remainder on the floor, served the vinegar and other articles in the same way, stolen all their chickens, cows and horses, carried from the barn the rakes, pitchforks, &c., and wantonly destroyed many things they could not use. There was scarcely a horse left in that part of the country, a clean sweep having been made of those animals. In one secret spot among some bushes by the side of a creek, Doc. and I saw a place that looked as if some had been hidden there for safety, from the many marks of their feet upon the ground. We were gathering raspberries at the time, and pushing pretty far into the bushes, happened to meet with it. A large proportion of the wheat, though dead ripe, still stood uncut in the fields, from the want of horses to haul it in, and I have no doubt that a great deal was lost. On our way back we stopped in a barn where some of the rebels had slept and gathered up a number of letters and other documents left behind by them. What was of greater present value, I found a hen's nest with five eggs in it and immediately took possession of the contents without hesitation and left no nest egg either. On reaching camp we boiled them in our tin cups and had a dainty supper.

(Sunday, July 19th.) The Major inspected arms about ten o'clock. After that was concluded I started off on another tour, this time unaccompanied, and wandered along the railroad for a couple of miles picking and eating raspberries as I went. I then turned off to the right on

some back road, and after getting my dinner at a farm house, came across a path where the berries were very fine and plentiful, and filling my pocket handkerchief with about two quarts of them, carried it into camp for the other fellows. Renshaw, who had received news of the death of his brother from wounds inflicted at the battle of Gettysburg, with considerable difficulty succeeded in getting a furlough for a few days to attend his funeral and left for Phoenixville. The next day Ford's father brought on a box of provisions for his son, who was lying sick at Shippensburg, and came into camp expecting to find him with us. Being disappointed, however, he left the box for Rhodes, and as it contained a couple of chickens, bread and butter, cake, cheese, jelly, &c., we had a regular feast at his expense.

(Tuesday, July 21st.) Early in the morning those who had been guarding the farm houses in the vicinity were recalled, and about nine o'clock we struck tents and started by the pike towards Chambersburg in jovial spirits "homeward bound." On the way we passed a barn in which was lying a rebel soldier who had been wounded through the neck at Gettysburg, and they said he was in a miserable condition without having anyone to attend to his wants. That day's march was the easiest we had experienced, from two causes, first, because there was a strong cool wind blowing, which was very exhilarating; and second, our Colonel who had command of the brigade, was very careful to see that we were placed in the advance. Late in the afternoon we arrived at our previous camp near Chambersburg, and Rolly, Nyce and I put up a tent together, being expressly forbidden to make them more than the usual length. Soon afterward I was detailed for guard, and the Sergeant Major who was posting us said to me, "Nyce you will be Colonel's Orderly—report at

headquarters without your musket." It was a very singular thing that many of the men said that Nyce and I resembled each other so much they could not tell us apart. I was frequently saluted as "Nyce" and he by my name, though he was nearly six feet high and much heavier. I went to the Colonel's tent and upon carrying some orders around to the different companies in the dark, was dismissed for the night, about nine o'clock with instructions to report again in the morning.

(Wednesday, July 22d.) The Major took the Captains and Lieutenants off some distance to drill them in the manual, and I was sent to order the best drilled Sergeant in the companies to take the men out for the same purpose. At eight o'clock, at guard mounting, I was relieved by Smith, a son of the President of the Reading Railroad. Scheetz was the Sergeant selected in our company, and he drilled us in the following style: marched two or three fields off to be comfortably out of sight, formed under a large tree, "shoulder arms, order arms, shoulder arms, stack arms, break ranks, march," and we lay there on the grass until the two hours were over, and then returned to the tents. It suited the men exactly. We paid up for it, however, in the afternoon on battalion drill under the Lieutenant Colonel. During the day a great many women came into camp with baskets of pies and molasses cakes for sale. Nearly all were sold, but they were miserable, unwholesome things. The crusts were almost as tough as sole leather, and the contents of the poorest kind as a general thing. In the night Nyce was taken sick with something like cramp, and as he suffered a great deal of pain I took a tin cup and went to the Surgeon's tent for some medicine for him. It was extremely dark, but knowing the direction of the Surgeon's quarters I found them without much trouble except tumbling over some

ropes. I aroused him, procured the medicine, and started back in so much of a hurry that I lost my way completely and was brought up suddenly by a "halt" from one of the guards at the officers' tent of Company B. He seemed at first unwilling to permit me to pass, but when I stated the case to him, he felt the letters on my cap and the tin cup in my hand, and said it was contrary to orders, but he guessed it would be all right. Knowing then which way to turn I soon found the tent, and on swallowing the preparation Nyce became easier.

(Thursday, July 23d.) A young fellow from our company, named Nat. Hobart, who had been left at Gettysburg, and had seen the battle with all the military transactions there, came into camp. He presented to me some caps that he had taken from the boxes of some of the dead rebels. Several "emergency" regiments passed us on their way to Harrisburg to be mustered out, also, a large squad of rebels prisoners went by under guard. We all ran out to see them, and as we stood along the edge of the road, one of them said to another, "there's that Twenty-sixth that we drove from Gettysburg."

After dinner I, with a number of others, was detailed under Sergeant Scheetz to dig a couple of privies, and had a chance of handling the spade and shovel for a couple of hours. They are made about fifteen feet long, two wide, and three deep. Then a fork cut from a tree and made the proper length is fixed firmly at each end of the trench and a sapling laid across so as to be supported by the forks.

There was considerable dissatisfaction manifested by the men toward our Quartermaster, whom they accused of not supplying the usual quantity of meat and other rations. They said that in order to make money he sold what was due to them, and their dislike was expressed by

hissing, hooting and groaning wherever he appeared. Some even talked loudly about mobbing him. I do not know what were the merits of the case, but it is certain the rations were frequently very slim. Rolly had been quite unwell for several days, and was scarcely able to eat anything—the rations did not suit him at all.

(Friday, July 24th.) Nyce and I tried to get a pass to go into town and having failed, concluded to go upon our own authority. We started soon after dinner and inquired of several coming out, whether the provosts were on the alert. As usual they were very unsatisfactory, some answering in the affirmative and others in the negative. We walked boldly up the pike and had scarcely entered the town when we saw a squad about a square off coming toward us, so we turned quickly to the left and went around by one of the back unfrequented streets, running parallel with the pike, which we followed for several squares. Seeing some little fellows playing with old bayonets, we asked where they had got them and they told us the “rebs” had left them at the depot on vacating the premises. We offered to give them four cents for two of the weapons, to which the urchins readily agreed, and promised to keep them for us until we returned. One went along to show us where there was a bakery. It was on the Main street, and a woman at the counter told us that men were nabbed in the store every day. She kept watch at the door, and the person who waited on us had just finished tying up some cakes and other little things we had bought, when she turned around and said, “Here they come.” We snatched up our things, struck out through the back door, across two or three gardens and private yards, clambered over a high board fence, and did not stop until we had reached a safe distance. Getting our bayonets, we started for the Cone-

cocheague creek, and following along the bank to a good place for bathing, out of sight of the town, we stripped off our clothes and took a swim. The water was very cold from coming directly from springs. In a short walk, we counted I think a dozen. We hurried out on account of an approaching thunder shower, and reached camp shortly after it commenced raining. About this time we heard of the riots in New York, and it was rumored that Governor Curtin had offered our services to assist in quelling them. Some of the fellows were uneasy about it, especially one poor man by the name of Lockhardt, whom all delighted to tantalize with these floating reports, because of his aversion to the service, and his anxiety to get home. He was terribly afraid of being drafted and since then, actually had the misfortune to draw a prize in Uncle Sam's lottery. Another was Van. Missimer, a big, fat, lazy fellow, who was assistant cook, and who could generally be seen sitting upon his beam end on a log, watching dirty Mike blow his nose with his fingers over the camp kettle in which the meal was being prepared.

Saturday, July 25th. In the morning we had no drill, but were all at work policing the ground, cleaning things up and burning the trash about the place. We considered this a certain indication of a movement as we had previously policed at the fort, Greencastle, and every camp at which we stopped, before leaving it. After the work was accomplished, Nyce and I went to a farm house and got our dinners. The lady said she had fed a large number of the rebel officers, who were generally very polite, and paid in their scrip, but they had taken from the farm six horses without any compensation. I bought from her a five dollar blue-back confederate note, for which I gave her fifty cents. In the afternoon we had a tremendously heavy storm, which completely flooded the camp, beat

through the tents as if they had been made of paper, and streams of water like little rivulets poured underneath, wetting our blankets and everything else. Some were entirely drowned out and emerged "to stand the storm," looking like so many soaked rats. We were more fortunate than many, in having our tent pretty well drained, but were, nevertheless, thoroughly watered. After the rain had somewhat slackened, we endeavored to arrange things as comfortably as possible, but about dark we were informed that we would leave for Harrisburg before morning, so there was no sleeping to be done that night. The men were in excellent spirits, with the prospect of going home, and gathering together all the brush, fence rails, logs and wood of any kind that could be found near, they made a bonfire of them and kept it burning until we marched. The Captain had a few potatoes in his tent, which were brought out and some of them eaten, while the remainder were used for throwing at each other's heads for amusement. We took down our tent and dried it with the blankets by the fire, and packed them up in our knapsacks in order to be in readiness when the Colonel's whistle should be heard. While waiting, a mail arrived, which contained for me two copies of the "Phoenix" and a letter from Lloyd in answer to one I had written to him a few days before. About two o'clock the sound of a whistle rang through the wood, and with a shout we "fell in" and were soon on the road. It was still raining, exceedingly dark, and as we went sometimes on the pike and then in the fields, we had a regular time of it slipping into mud puddles and scrambling over fence rails, before we reached Chambersburg. We were then packed in dirty freight cars, forty in each, so that in sitting down, our legs had to be intertwined, and at four o'clock moved slowly away. It was

not intended we should leave that night, the turn of another regiment coming ahead of ours, and no orders had been issued to our Colonel to that effect; but having learned that transportation was awaiting the Twenty-seventh regiment, and knowing how to take advantage of circumstances, by management he had everything prepared, hurried us on the cars in the night before they had arrived, and was off before anyone was aware that a mistake had been made. We returned by the same route we had gone down, and nothing worthy of mention occurring on the way, we again came within sight of Harrisburg on the afternoon of the 26th of July. Disembarking from the cars, we marched to the foot of the hill, upon which stood the fort, and then pitched tents in a field. We expected to be mustered out next day, but our past experience of the delay attending military matters should have taught us better.

(Monday, July 27th.) Rennard had been removed to a hospital in Harrisburg and, having discovered his whereabouts, I wrote a letter to him telling him he had better come over and join his company. The Captains were very busy making out their muster rolls, and an advertisement was published in one of the papers warning all paroled prisoners and absentees to make their appearance immediately. Our company soon became quite full again, and some of the new comers I did not remember having seen before. Two men who had deserted were compelled to carry logs up and down before the tents as a punishment. Rolly received a letter from home saying that a box of provisions had been sent to him a week or so before, and learning that it was then lying in the depot, he prevailed on the Colonel to give a pass for him and me to go after it. At the bridge the guards said it would have to be countersigned by the Commandant of the post,

so I went up into the fort to seek for that officer. The place was entirely deserted, except by the Dutch Artillery company, whose Captain was the man I wanted, and I found him in his tent playing cards. He signed my pass. I left the fort by way of the old bank, and was never in it afterward. At the depot we were unable to find the box, and notwithstanding all my efforts Rolly insisted on telegraphing to Phoenixville that we would be there in a day or two. On our way back we stopped in a hardware store to be weighed, and he had come down to two hundred, having lost fifty pounds, while I stood at my old figure of one hundred and thirty. When we returned to camp we learned that mustering out had been stopped on account of a rumor that the rebels had again appeared in the State, and it was said we were to start down the valley again on the morrow. It would have been amusing to an uninterested party to have seen how crest fallen every one seemed, and what a number of solemn faces were to be met with. I must acknowledge that I felt very unpleasantly on the subject. While we were down below I could have remained there indefinitely, or gone further without any painful sensation in regard to home, but when we started on the return, my thoughts were engaged in forming anticipations of the pleasure of meeting, and wandered continually in that direction, so that the news we had received acted like a wet cloth. The Harrisburg paper of the next morning, however, said the report was a canard, and the business was resumed.

(Tuesday, July 28th.) Rennard came into camp early and was still troubled with a cough. Nyce and George Meigs were sent down to Dillsburg for some muskets which had been left there, and returned with two or three. In the afternoon we marched over to Camp Curtin and deposited our muskets in the same armory from which we

had taken them. Going through the bridge in column, we stirred up such a cloud of dust that we were almost suffocated, and being completely covered with it, found it necessary to take a wash in the Susquehanna afterward. Mat. Anderson, who was a private in the Twenty-seventh, came over to see us in the evening and spent some time.

(Thursday, July 30th.) The reason of so much delay in mustering out was that the mustering officer, Bush, was more fond of carousing about the hotels of Harrisburg than attending to his business. The Colonel, however, fastened on to him somewhere and brought him over, determined that he should not escape until our regiment was mustered out. "Well, but Colonel," I heard him say, "I must go over and get my dinner," "No you don't, Bush," replied the Colonel, "I will order dinner for you here, chickens, turkey or anything you want." So in the afternoon we marched by companies to the farmhouse in which he was quartered, answered to our names as the roll was called, and that ceremony was concluded, bringing us one step nearer the end. The weather was very warm and we found lying on our backs in the tents an exceedingly monotonous employment. There were several of Beadle's dime novels circulated about which served to pass away the time. Toward night General Stahl rode through camp and mistaking him for General Sigel we gave him three cheers.

(Friday, July 31st.) I was put on water duty for absence at roll-call the night before, having gone to sleep in my tent and not hearing the drum. Our Commissary Sergeant gave us three or four loaves of fresh bread, part of which we fried in the pork fat and it made a very palatable dish.

(Saturday, August 1st.) In the morning we delivered up our tents, blankets, haversacks and canteens, and were

left with nothing but our clothing of those things with which we were supplied by government. The accoutrements and knapsacks belonged to Pottstown. About the middle of the afternoon the Adjutant read a farewell order from the Colonel. We gave three times three to both of those officers and shouting good bye to Company A. we (F.) marched over to the farm house and were paid off. I received \$19.26, some of the others rather more on account of having been sworn in sooner. From there we went to Harrisburg, and after getting our suppers at various places (Nyce and I at a restaurant), about seven P. M., we started in freight cars down the Lebanon Valley. Some of the fellows had taken the opportunity of imbibing enough to make them very drunk, and getting on top of the cars, fell fast asleep there. They were in continual danger of tumbling off and the conductor told us that one fellow from Lebanon had rolled upon the track. He thought the man must have been killed, so the others were carried down and put inside. Two came staggering into our car, and, after vomiting all around in a manner to make themselves as disagreeable companions as could well be found, threw themselves down on the floor, and were soon snoring away in perfect unconsciousness of every thing. It was a beautiful, clear, and moonlight night, the scenery along the road could be distinguished almost as readily as if it had been day, and Lieutenant Richards and I sat by the side opening of the car looking at the fields, woods and villages as they rolled rapidly by, without feeling the least inclination to sleep. At Lebanon we parted with the Major and his company. The people of that place had very kindly provided a tub of ice-water with three or four dippers in it for Company F, and we carried it on to our car thankful for the thoughtfulness displayed as well as the real benefit of the gift. Between two and three

o'clock we arrived at Pottstown. The citizens had prepared an *extempore* collation in the yard of one of the hotels, and after a speech from a minister, we attacked the viands and ate what we required. Then giving up our accoutrements and bidding farewell, the party of us from Phoenixville, under charge of Rolly, got on the engine of a coal train and soon after day light came in sight of the town. At the depot we met Mr. Hicks and Billy Davis. Landis and I crossed the bridge together, but before going to the house I bathed myself thoroughly in the Schuylkill. On entering the gate the dog "Jack" did not recognize me and made such a noise that the whole household was aroused. Mother, Aunt Lib, Harry and Isaac came running to the door to welcome me--and thus was concluded my part of the "Emergency."

The Captain, First Lieutenant, Rolly, Rennard, Nyce and several others were afterwards sick, and two of the company, Byers and Hays, died from the effects of the exposure.

MUSTER ROLL OF COMPANY F.

Captain, GEORGE RICE.*First Lieutenant*, HENRY POTTS, JR.*Second Lieutenant*, MARK H. RICHARDS.*Sergeants.*

William A. Dyer,	George Scheetz,
William S. Lessig,	William G. Meigs,
Englebert Lessig.	

Corporals.

Mahlon V. Smith,	John S. Lloyd,
Miller D. Evans,	John Corbert,
Henry Richards,	John Guest,
D. W. Davis,	Charles W. MacDonald.

Privates.

John Auchey,	Jerome Byer,
Wm. P. Buckley,	Christian G. Bair,
Edwin R. Bechtel,	Nathaniel Bickel,
Wm. J. Binder,	John R. Caswell,
Horace A. Custer,	Mahlon Collar,
Hiram Collar,	Saml. S. Daub,
Abram Derolf,	Robert Ennis,
Daniel E. Ellis,	Jonas D. Fritch,
John H. Fryer,	Thos. W. Feger,
Jonathan Fray,	Benjamin Frock,
Charles Frick,	John B. Ford,
John Fry,	Michael Fryer,
Daniel Graham,	Henry C. Hitner,
Samuel Hetzall,	Jefferson F. Huber,
Joseph L. Hayes, Jr.,	Levi Herring,
Paul Herring,	Isaac Herring,
John W. Hollowbush,	Jonathan Hummel,
Henry Huber,	Henry J. Hobart,
Nathaniel P. Hobart,	George Liggett,

David R. Landis,
Michael Lessig,
George Meigs,
Merit Missimer,
Patterson Marshall,
Cyrus Nyce,
Samuel W. Pennypacker,
John Rhodes,
Joseph G. Rennard,
Thomas Reddy,
Edwin F. Smith,
Robert F. Small,
Ephraim Schroppe,
Augustine W. Shick,
Werner Thomas,
W. W. Wynn,

William Lachman,
George Mayer,
Van Buren Missimer,
George Morrow,
Theodore McKane,
Henry A. Prutzman,
Henry G. Rahn,
Richard Renshaw,
Benjamin S. Rowe,
Calvin B. Sponsler,
George W. Shaner,
Israel Spancake,
George Steele,
William J. Thomas,
Joseph K. Welles,
Frank Wagoner.

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